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The church historians of England

THE CHURCH HISTORIANS OF ENGLAND.

R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL, LONDON.

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THE CHURCH HISTORIANS OF ENGLAND.

REFORMATION PERIOD.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF JOHN FOXE.

CAREFULLY REVISED, WITH NOTES AND APPENDICES.

VOL. II.—PART I.

Seeleys.
FLEET STREET AND HANOVER STREET.
MDCCCLIV.

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ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

VOL. II.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK III.[1]

CONTAINING

THE THREE HUNDRED YEARS,
FROM THE REIGN OF KING EGBERT TO THE TIME OF
WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

Now remaineth, likewise as before I did in describing the descent and diversity of the seven kings, all together reigning and ruling in this land, so to prosecute in like order the lineal succession of those, who, after Egbert, king of the West Saxons, governed and ruled solely, until the conquest of William the Norman; first expressing their names, and afterwards importing such acts, as in their time happened in the Church worthy to be noted. Albeit, as touching the acts and doings of these kings, because they are sufficiently and at large described, and taken out of Latin writers into the English tongue, by divers and sundry authors, and namely in the History or Chronicle of Fabian; I shall not spend much travail thereupon, but rather refer the reader to him or to some other, where the troublesome tumults between the Englishmen and the Danes at that time may be seen, whoso listeth to read them. I have furnished a table of their names and reigns; and the acts done under their reigns I have compendiously abridged, using such brevity as the matter would allow.

Therein is to be noted, that, before the reign of Edward the Confessor, the Danes obtained the crown under their captain, Canute, who reigned nineteen years. Harold Harefoot, son of Canute, reigned about four years; Hardicanute, son of Canute, two years; Edward the Confessor, an Englishman, son of Ethelred, twenty-four years; Harold, son of Earl Godwin, an usurper, one year; and William the Conqueror, a Norman, reigned twenty-one years and ten months.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 10. Ed. 1583, p. 135. Ed. 1596, p. 126. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 150.—N.B. The first eight pages of the Latin Edition of 1559, bring the reader down to an account of the proceedings of a Convocation of Bishops, holden at Lambeth, in the time of Wickliff, A.D. 1377.—Ed.

A TABLE OF THE KINGS WHO GOVERNED AND RULED ALONE, FROM THE TIME OF KING EGBERT THE GREAT, TILL THE CONQUEST OF WILLIAM THE NORMAN.

N. B. The Numbers attached to the Titles of the Sovereigns denote the Order in which they severally reigned.

The Saxon Line.

1. EGBERT THE GREAT, King of England, A. D. 827, died 836.

2. ETHELWOLF, his son, d. 857, and had issue four sons, viz.

3. ETHELBALD, d. 860; and ETHELBERT, (reigned together.)

4. ETHELBERT, d. 866; alone.

Ethelwald.

5. ETHELRED I., killed by the Danes, 871.

6. ALFRED THE GREAT, d. 901, and was succeeded by his son,

7. EDWARD I., d. 924.

8. ATHELSTAN, his nat. son, d. 941.

9. EDMUND I., d. 946.

10. EDRED, d. 955.

11. EDWY, divided the Kingdom with Edgar, d. 959.

12. EDGAR, d. 975; married twice.

⚭ 1st, the dau. of Earl Ordmer, and had Issue

⚭ 2dly, Elfrida, dau. of the Earl of Devon, and had Issue

13. EDWARD II., murdered at Corfe Castle, by order of Elfrida, 978.

14. ETHELRED II., d. 1016.

⚭ 1st, Elgiva, by whom he had

⚭ 2dly, Emma, sister to Richard II., Duke of Normandy.

16. EDMUND II., surnamed Ironside, m. Algitha, and was murdered at Oxford, 1017, by two accomplices of the traitor Edric, D. of Mercia.

Edwy, murdered by Canute.

Alfred, taken by the treachery of Earl Godwin, and died in prison.

20. EDWARD the Confessor, m. Editha, dau. of Earl Godwin, d. 1066.

21. HAROLD II., son of Earl Godwin, killed at Hastings by William the Conqueror, 14 Oct. 1066.

Edmund & Edward, who were both sent by Canute to the King of Sweden, with directions to put them to death; but he sent them to Stephen, King of Hungary, to be brought up. Edmd married Stephen's sister, and died without issue; and Edward married Agatha, the daughter of Henry II, Emperor of Germany, by whom he had Edgar Etheling (who died very old without issue,)—and Margaret, who married Malcolm, King of Scotland, by whom she had

Edgar, Alexander, and David, successively Kings of Scotland, from the last of whom descended James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England; consequently in him the Saxon and Norman Lines were united.

Matilda, mar. Henry I., King of England.

The Danish Line.

15. SWEYN, King of Denmark and England. He obliged Ethelred to fly into Normandy. The nobles swore allegiance to him, soon after which, in 1014, he died, and Ethelred returned.

17. CANUTE THE GREAT, the son of Sweyn, m. Emma, the widow of Ethelred II.; he died 1036, leaving two sons, viz.

18. HAROLD I. d. 1040.

19. HARDICANUTE, d. 1042

The Norman Line.

Rogvald, a Norwegian chieftain.

Rollo I., his son, Duke of Normandy, 912; d. 927.

William Longsword, his son, d. 943.

Richard I., brother to William, d. 996.

Richard II., d. 1027.

Emma, m. Ethelred II., after whose death she m. Canute the Great.

Robert, who died 1035, kept a concubine, whose name was Harlotta, a tanner's daughter, by whom he had

22. WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, who m. Matilda, daughter of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, d. 1087.

EGBERT THE GREAT,

Egbert.

A.D. 800.

KING OF THE WEST SAXONS, AFTERWARDS MONARCH OF THE WHOLE REALM.

In the reign of Brightric, a little before mentioned, about the year of grace 795, there was in his dominion a noble personage, of some called Egbert, of some Ethelbert, of some Ethelbright; who, being feared of the same Brightric, because he was of kingly blood and near unto the crown, was, by the force and conspiracy of the aforenamed Brightric, chased and pursued out of the land of Britain into France, where he endured till the death of the said Brightric; after the hearing whereof Egbert sped him eftsoons out of France unto his country of West-Sax, where he in such wise behaved himself that he obtained the regiment and governance of the above-said kingdom.

In this time came in the Danes first into the north parts, and were driven out again

Bernulph, king of Mercia, abovementioned, and other kings, had this Egbert in such derision, that they made of him divers scoffing jests and scorning rhymes, all which he sustained for a time. But when he was more established in his kingdom, and had proved the minds of his subjects, and especially God working withal, he afterward assembled his knights, and gave to the said Bernulph a battle, in a place called Elinden, in the province of Hampton;[1] and, notwithstanding in that fight were great odds of number, as six or eight against one, yet Egbert (through the might of the Lord, who giveth victory as pleaseth him) had the better, and won the field;[2] which done, he seized that lordship into his hand; and that also done, he made war upon the Kentish Saxons, and at length of them, in like wise, obtained the victory. And, as it is in Polychronicon testified, he also subdued Northumberland,[3] and caused the kings of these three kingdoms to live under him as tributaries, or joined them to his kingdom.[4] This Egbert also won from the Britons or Welshmen the town of Chester,[5] which they had kept possession of till this day. After these and other victories, he, peaceably enjoying the land, called a council of his lords at Winchester, where, by their advice, he was crowned king and chief lord over this land, which before that day was called Britain; but then he sent out into all coasts of the land his commandments and commissions, charging straitly that, from that day forward, the Saxons should be called Angles, and the land Anglia.

A.D. 807

A.D. 823.

A.D. 827

This land first called Anglia.

About the thirtieth year of the reign of Egbert, the heathenish people of the Danes, which a little before had made horrible destruction in Northumberland, and especially in the isle of Lindisfarn, where they spoiled the churches, and murdered the ministers, with men, women, and children, after a cruel manner, entered now the second[6] time, with a great host, into this land, and spoiled the isle of Sheppy in Kent, or near to Kent; where[7] Egbert, hearing thereof, assembled his people, and met with them at Charmouth: but in that conflict he sped not so well as he was wont in times before, but with his

A.D. 832

Danes now the second time entered this land.

A.D. 833

See Appendix.

(1) "Elindon in Hamptuensi provinciâ." Polychr. Most of the historians, however, say, "Ellandune," *i. e.* Wilton.—Ed.
(2) Of this victory went a proverb,—"Rivus cruore rubuit, ruina restitit, fœtore tabuit."
(3) See Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. lib. i. c. 3. [Also Harpsfield, Hist. Eccl. Secul. 8, c. 21.—Ed.]
(4) Ex Flor. Hist. (5) "Chester" here means Caerleon: see vol. i. p. 338, note.—Ed.
(6) More correctly, "the third time:" see vol. i. p. 378, note (3).—Ed.
(7) "Where" here means "whereupon." "Whereof hearynge, the kynge Egbert," &c. Fabian.—Ed.

Egbert. knights was compelled to forsake the field. Notwithstanding, in the
A. D. 833. next battle, the said Egbert, with a small power, overthrew a great multitude of them, and so drave them back.[1] The next year following, the said Danes presuming upon their victory before, made their return again into the land westward, where joining with the Britons, by their help and power they assailed the lands of Egbert, and did much harm in many places of his dominion and elsewhere; so that after this day they were continually abiding in one place of the realm of England or other, till the time of Hardicanute, last king of the Danes' blood; so that many of them were married to English women, and many that now be, or in times past were, called Englishmen, are descended of them. And albeit that they were many and sundry times driven out of the land, and chased from one country to another, yet, that notwithstanding, they ever gathered new strength and power, that they abode still within the land.

See Appendix.

England five times plagued by other nations.

And thus, as by stories appears, this troublesome land of Britain, now called England, hath been hitherto by five sundry outward nations plagued: first, by the Romans; then, by the Scots and Picts; thirdly, by the Saxons; fourthly, by the Danes, of whose outrageous cruelty and hostility our English histories[2] do most exclaim and complain; fifthly, by the Normans, who, I pray God, may be the last.

Then it followeth in the story, that the time of this persecution of the aforesaid pagans and Danes continuing, King Egbert, when he had ruled the West Saxons, and over the more part of England, by the term of seven and thirty years, died, and was buried at Winchester, leaving to his son Ethelwolf his kingdom, who first was bishop of Winchester, (as Hoveden recordeth,) and after, upon necessity, made king, leaving withal, and pronouncing this saying to his son, "Felicem fore si regnum, quod multa rexerat industria, ille consueta genti illi non interrumperet ignavia."

ETHELWOLF.

A. D. 837. Ethelwolf, the son of Egbert, in his former age had entered into the order of sub-deacon, as some others say, was made bishop of Winchester; but afterwards, being the only son of Egbert, was made king through the dispensation, as Fabian saith, of Pope Paschal:[3] but that cannot be, for Paschal then was not bishop: so that, by the computation of time, it should rather seem to be Gregory IV.[4]

This Gregory IV. was the third pope who succeeded after Paschal I., being but four years betwixt them: which Paschal succeeded after Stephen IV., who followed after Leo III., next pope to Adrian above in our history mentioned, where we treated of Charlemagne.[5] From the time of that Adrian I. unto Pope Adrian III. the emperors had some stroke in the election, at least in the confirmation of the Roman pope. Notwithstanding, divers of those aforesaid popes in the mean time began to work their practices to bring their purpose about; but yet all their devices could take no full effect before the said Adrian III., as hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared; so that the emperors all this while bare some rule in choosing the popes, and in assembling general councils. Wherefore,

(1) Fabian, c. 158. Rog. Hoved. lib v. c. 1. [See Appendix.—Ed.]
(2) Ex Rog. Hoved. lib. v. (3) Guliel. lib. de Gest. Anglor. saith this pope was Leo. IV.
(4) See Appendix.—Ed. (5) Suprà, vol. i. p. 375.

by the commandment of Louis, the emperor, in the time of this Gregory IV., a general synod was commenced at Aix-la-Chapelle, where it was decreed by the said Gregory and his assistants: first, that every church should have sufficient of its own proper lands and revennes to find the priests thereof, that none should need to lack or go about a begging; Item, that none of the clergy, of what order or degree soever they be, should use any vesture of any precious or scarlet colour, neither should wear rings on their fingers, unless it be when prelates be at mass, or give their consecrations; Item, that prelates should not keep too great ports or families, nor keep great horse, nor use dice, or harlots, and that the monks should not exceed measure in gluttony or riot; Item, that none of the clergy, being either anointed or shaven, should use either gold or silver in their shoes, slippers, or girdles, like to Heliogabalus. By this it may be conjectured, what pomp and pride in those days had crept into the clergy. Moreover, by the said Pope Gregory IV., at the commandment of Louis, the emperor, the feast of All Saints was first brought into the church.

Ecclesiastical History.

A General Synod at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Every Church to have sufficient to find its own priests.

The Feast of All Saints.

After this pope came Sergius II., who first brought in the altering of the popes' names, because he was named before 'Os porci,' that is, 'Swine's snout:' who also ordained the 'Agnus' thrice to be sung at the mass, and the host to be divided into three parts.

The popes' names first altered.

The host divided into three parts.

After him was Pope Leo IV., to whom this King Ethelwolf (as in this present chapter is hereafter specified) did commit the tuition of his son Alfred. By this Pope Leo IV. it came in, and was first enacted in a council of his, that no bishop should be condemned under threescore and twelve witnesses; according as ye see in the witnesses at the condemnation of Stephen Gardiner orderly practised.

See Appendix.

Item, contrary to the law of Gregory IV., his predecessor, this pope ordained the cross, all set with gold and precious stones, to be carried before him, like a pope.

The golden cross first borne before the pope.

And here next now followeth and cometh in the whore of Babylon [Rev. xix. 2,] rightly in her true colours, by the permission of God, and manifestly without all tergiversation to appear to the whole world: and that not only after the spiritual sense, but after the very letter, and the right form of an whore indeed. For after this Leo abovementioned, the cardinals, proceeding to their ordinary election (after a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost), to the perpetual shame of them and of that see, instead of a man pope, elected a whore indeed to minister sacraments, to say masses, to give orders, to constitute deacons, priests, and bishops; to promote prelates, to make abbots, to consecrate churches and altars, to have the reign and rule of emperors and kings: and so she did indeed, called by name Joan VIII. This woman's proper name was Gilberta, a Dutch woman of Mayence, who went with an English monk out of the abbey of Fulda in man's apparel unto Athens, and after, through her dexterity of wit and learning, was promoted to the popedom, where she sat two years and six months. At last, openly in the face of a general procession, she fell in labour and travail of child, and so died; by reason whereof the cardinals, yet to this day, do avoid to come near by that street where this shame was taken.[1] By Benedict III. who succeeded next in the whorish

A.D. 855

A woman pope, called Joan VIII.

(1) In reference to this event, which has proved a source of lengthened controversy, a monkish poet observes—"Papa Pater Patrum: peperit Papissa Papellum." See Bower's Lives of the Popes: Joan. Also Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 271. See Appendix.—Ed.

Ecclesiastical History. see, was first ordained (as most writers do record) the "Dirige" to be said for the dead. Albeit before him, Gregory III. had done in that matter worthily for his part already.

Dirge for the dead.

After him sat Pope Nicholas I. who enlarged the pope's decrees with many constitutions, equalling the authority of them with the writings of the apostles. He ordained that no secular prince, nor the emperor himself, should be present at their councils, unless in matters concerning the faith; to the end that such as they judged to be heretics, they should execute and murder; Also, that no laymen should sit in judgment upon the clergy, or reason upon the pope's power; Item, that no christian magistrate should have any power upon any prelate, alleging that a prelate is called God; Item, that all church service should be in Latin; yet, notwithstanding, dispensing with the Sclavonians and Poles to retain still their vulgar language. Sequences in the mass were by him first allowed. By this pope priests began to be restrained and debarred from marrying: whereof Huldericke, bishop of Augsburgh, a learned and a holy man, sending a letter unto the pope, gravely and learnedly refuteth and reclaimeth against his indiscreet proceedings touching that matter. The copy of which letter, as I thought it unworthy to be suppressed, so I judged it here worthy and meet for the better instruction of the reader to be inserted; the words thereof here follow, out of Latin into English translated.

Marriages of priests forbidden. *see Appendix.*

A learned epistle of Huldericke, bishop of Augsburgh, sent to Pope Nicholas I., proving by probations substantial that priests ought not to be restrained from marriage.[1]

Huldericke, bishop only by name, unto the reverend Father Nicholas, the vigilant overseer of the holy church of Rome, with due commendation sendeth love as a son, and fear as a servant. Understanding, reverend Father, your decrees which you sent to me concerning the single life of the clergy, to be far discrepant from all discretion, I was troubled partly with fear, and partly with heaviness. With fear—for that, as it is said, the sentence of the pastor, whether it be just or unjust, is to be feared. For I was afraid lest the weak hearers of the Scripture, who scarcely obey the just sentence of their pastor, much more despise his unjust sentence, should show themselves disobedient to this oppressive, nay intolerable, decree of their pastor. With heaviness I was troubled, and with compassion—for that I doubted how the members of the body should do, their head being so greatly out of frame. For what can be more grievous or more worthy the compassion of the whole church, than for you, being the bishop of the principal see, to whom appertaineth the examination of the whole church, to swerve never so little out of the right way! Certes, in this you have not a little erred, in that you have gone about to constrain your clergy to continency of marriage with imperious tyranny, whom rather you ought to admonish on the subject. For is not this to be counted a violence and tyranny in the judgment of all wise men, when a man is compelled by private decrees to do that which is against the institution of the gospel and the suggestion of the Holy Ghost? Seeing then there be so many holy examples both of the Old and New Testament, teaching us (as you know) holy discretion, I desire your patience not to think it grievous for me to bring a few here out of many.

Priests' marriage in the old law permitted, in the new law not forbidden.

First, in the old law, the Lord permitteth marriage unto the priests, which afterward in the new law we do not read to be restrained, but in the gospel thus he saith, "There be some which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven, but all men do not take this word; he that can take it,

(1) Nicholao Domino et Patri, pervigili sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ provisori, Huldericus solo nomine episcopus, amorem ut filius, timorem ut servus. Cum tua (O Pater et Domine) decreta super clericorum continentiâ, &c. [See the Latin infra, vol. v. p. 312, whence this translation is revised and corrected.—Ed.]

let him take it." [Matt. xix. 12.] Wherefore the apostle saith, "Concerning virgins, I have no commandment of the Lord, but only I give counsel." [1 Cor. vii. 25.] Which counsel he knowing that all men could not take, according to the Lord's saying before; nay—seeing that many professed admirers of the said counsel, who sought to please men, not God, by a false pretence of continency, actually fell into horrible wickedness. . . . . Therefore, lest through the infection of this wicked pestilence the state of the church should be too much perilled, he said, "Because of fornication, let every man have his own wife." [1 Cor. vii. 2.] Touching which saying our false hypocrites falsely do lie and feign, as though only it pertained to the laity, and not to them. And yet they themselves, seeming to be set in the most holy order, are not afraid to commit adultery, and, as we see with weeping eyes, they all do outrage in the aforesaid wickedness. *Ecclesiastical History.* †

These men have not rightly understood the Scripture, whose breasts while they suck so hard, instead of milk they suck out blood. For the saying of the apostle, "Let every man have his own wife," [1 Cor. vii. 2,] doth except none in very deed, but him only who hath made a profession of continency, prefixing with himself to keep his virginity in the Lord. Wherefore, O reverend Father, it shall be your part to cause and oversee, that whosoever either with hand or mouth hath made a vow of continency, and afterward would forsake it, either should be compelled to keep his vow, or else by lawful authority should be deposed from his order.

And to bring this to pass, you shall not only have me, but also all other of my order, to be helpers unto you. But that you may understand, that those who know not what a vow doth mean, are not to be violently compelled thereunto, hear what the apostle saith to Timothy, "A bishop must be irreprehensible, the husband of one wife." [1 Tim. iii. 2—12.] Which sentence lest you should turn and apply only to the church, mark what he inferreth after, "He that knoweth not to rule his own household and family, how should he rule the church of God?" "And likewise the deacons," saith he, "let them be the husband of one wife, which have knowledge to govern their own house and children." And this wife, how she is to be blest of the priest, you understand sufficiently, I suppose, by the decrees of holy Sylvester, the pope.

To these and such other holy sentences of the Scripture agreeth also he that is the writer of the "Rule of the clergy," writing after this manner, "A clerk must be chaste and continent, or else let him be coupled in the bands of matrimony, having one wife."[1] Whereby it is to be gathered, that the bishop and deacon are noted infamous and reprehensible, if they be divided among more women than one: otherwise, if they do forsake one under the pretence of religion, both they together, as well the bishop as the deacon, be here condemned by the canonical sentence, which saith, "Let no bishop or priest forsake his own wife, under the colour and pretence of religion. If he do forsake her, let him be excommunicate. And if he so continue, let him be degraded."[2] St. Augustine also, a man of discreet holiness, saith in these words, "There is no offence so great or grievous, but it is to be allowed, in order to avoid a greater evil." This decree is contrary to the bishops and prelates in Queen Mary's time.

Furthermore, we read in the second book of the Tripartite History, that when the Council of Nice, going about to establish the same decree, would enact that bishops, priests, and deacons, after their consecration, either should abstain utterly from their own wives, or else should be deposed; then Paphnutius (one of those holy martyrs of whom the Emperor Maximin had put out the right eye, and hocked their left legs) rising up amongst them, withstood their purposed decree, confessing marriage to be honourable, and asserting the bed of matrimony to be chastity; and so dissuaded the council from making that law, declaring what occasion thereby might come to themselves and their wives of fornication. And thus much did Paphnutius (being unmarried himself) declare unto them. And the whole council, commending his sentence, gave place thereto, and left the matter freely without compulsion to the will of every man, to do therein as he thought right.

Notwithstanding, there be some who take St. Gregory for their defence in this matter, whose temerity I laugh at and ignorance I lament; for they know not how that the dangerous decree of this heresy being made by St. Gregory,

(1) Isidore. De Divinis sive Ecclesiasticis Officiis, lib. ii. cap. 2, "de Regulis Clericorum."—Ed.
(2) Apost. Can. v.—Ed.

Ecclesiastical History.

he afterwards well revoked the same, with condign fruit of repentance. For upon a certain day, as he sent unto his fishpond to have fish, and did see more than six thousand infants' heads brought to him, which were taken out of the same pond or moat, he did greatly repent in himself the decree made before touching the single life of priests, which he confessed to be the cause of that so lamentable a murder.[1] And so purging the same (as I said) with condign fruit of repentance, he altered again the things which he had decreed before, commending that counsel of the apostle, which saith, "It is better to marry than to burn" [1 Cor. vii. 9]; adding moreover of himself thereunto, and saying, "It is better to marry than to give occasion of death."

Six thousand heads of infants found in the Pope's moat.

Peradventure if these men had read with me this which so happened, I think they would not be so rash in their doing and judging, fearing at least the Lord's commandment, "Do not judge, that you be not judged" [Matt. vii. 4.] And St. Paul saith, "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? Either he standeth or falleth to his own master; but he shall stand; for the Lord is mighty and able to make him stand." Therefore let your holiness cease to compel and enforce those whom only you ought to admonish, lest through your own private commandment (which God forbid) you be found contrary as well to the Old Testament as to the New; for, as St. Augustine saith to Donatus, "This only do we fear about you, lest, in your zeal for righteousness, you should be for punishing transgressors more with reference to the aggravation of their offences than to the tender forbearance of Christ. This we do beseech you for his sake not to do. For transgressions are so to be punished, that the transgressors may haply be brought to repentance." Also another saying of St. Augustine we would have you to remember, which is this:—"Nil nocendi fiat cupiditate, omnia consulendi charitate, et nihil fiat immaniter, nihil inhumaniter;" that is, "Let nothing be done through the greediness of hurting, but all things through the charity of profiting; neither let any thing be done cruelly, nothing ungently." Item, of the same Augustine it is written, "In the fear and name of Christ I exhort you, which of you soever have not the goods of this world, be not greedy to have them; such as have them, presume not too much upon them. For I say, to have them is no damnation; but if you presume upon them, that is damnation, if for the having of them you shall seem great in your own sight, or if you do forget the common condition of man through the excellency of any thing you have. Use therefore therein due discretion, tempered with moderation." The which cup of discretion is drawn out of the fountain of the apostolic preaching, which said, 'Art thou loose from thy wife? do not seek for thy wife. Art thou bound to thy wife? seek not to be loosed from her.' [1 Cor. vii. 27.] Where also it followeth, 'Such as have wives, let them be as though they had them not, and they that use the world, let them be as not using it.' Item, concerning the widow he saith, 'Let her marry to whom she will, only in the Lord.' [1 Cor. vii. 39.] To marry in the Lord is nothing else, but to attempt nothing in contraction of matrimony, which the Lord doth forbid. Jeremy also saith, 'Trust not in the words of lies, saying, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord.' [Jer. vii. 4.] The which saying of Jeremy, Hierome expoundeth thus, "This may agree also, and be applied, to such virgins as brag and vaunt of their virginity, with an impudent face pretending chastity when they have another thing in their conscience, and know not how the apostle defineth the virgin, that she should be holy in body, and also in spirit. For what availeth the chastity of the body, if the mind inwardly be unchaste, or if it have not the other virtues, which the prophetical sermon doth describe?"

A saying of St. Augustine.

To marry in the Lord.

What a virgin is defined by the apostle.

The which virtues forsomuch as we see partly to be in you, and because we are not ignorant that this discretion, although neglected in this part, yet in the other actions of your life is kept honestly of you, we do not despair but you will also soon amend the little lack which is behind; and therefore (though not so severely as we might, so serious is the offence) we do blame and condemn this your negligence. For although, according to our common calling, a bishop is greater than a priest, yet Augustine was less than Hierome, and a

See Appendix.

(1) Bishop Hall, in his "Honour of the Married Clergy," book iii. sect. 2 & 3, vindicates the genuineness of this letter against the cavils of his popish adversary, and in reference to this particular passage, says, "As for the number of children, I can say no more for it than he can against it. This history shall be more worth to us than his denial. But this I dare say, that I know persons both of credit and honour, that saw betwixt fifty and three score cast up out of the little mote of an abbey where I now live. Let who list cast up the proportion." See Appendix.—Ed

good correction proceeding from the lesser to the greater is not to be refused or disdained, especially when he who is corrected is found to strive against the truth, to please men. For, as St. Augustine saith, writing to Boniface, "The disputations of men, be they never so catholic or approved persons, ought not to be placed on a par with the canonical Scriptures, as though we may not disapprove or refuse (saving the reverence which is due unto them) any thing that is in their writings, if any thing therein be found contrary to the truth, as discovered through divine aid either by ourselves or others." And what can be found more contrary to the truth than this, viz. that when the Truth himself, speaking of continency, not of one only, but of all (the number only excepted of them which have professed continency), saith, "He that can take, let him take;" these men, moved I cannot tell by what cause, do turn and say, "He that cannot take, let him be accursed?" And what can be more foolish with men or displeasing to God, than when any bishop or archdeacon run themselves headlong into all kinds of lust, yet shame not to say, that the chaste marriage of priests is in ill savour with them; and do not, with the compassion of real righteousness, *entreat* their clerks, as their fellow-servants, to contain, but with the pride of mere pretended righteousness *command* them and *enforce* them violently, as servants, to abstain? Unto the which imperious commandment of theirs, or counsel (whichever you will call it), they add also this foolish and scandalous suggestion, saying, "that it is more honest privily to have to do with many women, than apertly in the sight and conscience of many men to be bound to one wife." The which truly they would not say, if they were either of Him, or in Him, who saith, "Woe to you Pharisees, which do all things before men." And so the Psalmist, "Because they please men they are confounded, for the Lord hath despised them." [Ps. liii. 5.] These be the men who ought first to persuade us that we should shame to sin privily in the sight of Him, to whom all things be open, and then that we seem in the sight of men to be clean. These men therefore, although through their sinful wickedness they deserve no counsel of godliness to be given them, yet we, not forgetting our humanity, cease not to give them counsel, by the authority of God's word, which seeketh all men's salvation, desiring them by the bowels of charity, and saying with the words of Scripture, "Cast out, thou hypocrite, first the beam out of thine own eye, and then thou shalt see to cast the mote out of the eye of thy brother."

Ecclesiastical History.

†

The absurd saying and contrary doing of Papists.

Moreover, this also we desire them to attend to, what the Lord saith of the adulterous woman, "Which of you that is without sin, let him cast the first stone against her." As though he would say, "If Moses bid you, I also bid you. But yet I require you that be the competent ministers and executors of the law, take heed what you add thereunto; take heed also, I pray you, what you are yourselves: for if, as the Scripture saith, thou shalt well consider thyself, thou wilt never defame or detract from another."

Moreover, it is signified unto us also, that some there be of them, who, when they ought like good shepherds to give their lives for the Lord's flock, yet are they puffed up with such pride, that without all reason they presume to rend and tear the Lord's flock with whippings and beatings; whose unreasonable doings St. Gregory bewailing, thus saith, "Quid fiat de ovibus quando pastores lupi fiunt?" that is, "What shall become of the sheep when the pastors themselves be wolves?" But who is overcome, but he who exerciseth cruelty? Or who shall judge the persecutor, but He who gave patiently his back to stripes? But it is worth while to learn the fruit which cometh to the church by such persecutors, also which cometh to the clergy by such despiteful handling of their bishops, more like infidels. (Nay—why may I not call them infidels, of whom St. Paul thus speaketh and writeth to Timothy; that "in the latter days there shall certain depart from the faith, and give heed to spirits of error and doctrine of devils; that speak false through hypocrisy, having their consciences marked with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats." [1 Tim. iv. 1—3.]) This, then, if it be well marked, is the bundle which will grow from their darnel and cockle sown amongst the corn; this is all the event of their madness; that while they of the clergy be compelled through a Pharisaic frenzy (which God forbid) to relinquish the company of their own lawful wives, they must become vile ministers of fornication and adultery and other sinful filthiness, through the fault of those which brought into the church of God this heresy, as blind guides leading the blind; that it might be fulfilled which the Psalmist speaketh of such leaders in

Ethelwolf. error, accursing them after this manner, "Let their eyes be blinded, that they see not, and bow down always their back." [Ps. lxix. 23.]

A. D. 852. Forsomuch then, O apostolical sir! as no man who knoweth you, is ignorant, that if you through the light of your wonted discretion had understood and seen what poisoned pestilence must come into the church through the sentence of this your decree, you would never have consented to the suggestions of certain wicked persons; therefore, we counsel you, by the fidelity of our due subjection, that with all diligence you put away so great slander from the church of God, and through your discreet discipline remove this Pharisaical doctrine from the flock of God: so that this only Shulamite of the Lord's (using no more adulterous husbands) do not separate the holy people and the kingly priesthood from her spouse which is Christ, through an irrecoverable divorcement: seeing that no man without chastity (not only in the virgin's state, but also in the state of matrimony) shall see our Lord, who, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth for ever. Amen.[1]

By this epistle of Bishop Huldericke above prefixed the matter is plain, gentle reader, to conceive what was then the sentence of learned men concerning the marriage of ministers: but here, by the way, the reader is to be admonished, that this epistle, which by error of the writer is referred to Pope Nicholas I., in my mind is rather to be attributed to the name and time of Nicholas II. or III.

After this Pope Nicholas succeeded Adrian II., John VIII., and Martinus II. After these came Adrian III. and Stephen V. By *See Appendix.* this Adrian it was first decreed, That no emperor after that time should intermeddle or have any thing to do in the election of the pope; and thus began the emperors first to decay, and the papacy to swell and rise aloft.[2] Thus much concerning Romish matters for this time.

Then to return where we left, touching the story of King Ethelwolf. About the beginning of his reign,[3] the Danes, who before had invaded the realm in the time of King Egbert, as is above declared, A.D. 838. now made their re-entry again, with three and thirty ships arriving about Hampshire; through the barbarous tyranny of whom much bloodshed and murder happened here among Englishmen, in Dorsetshire, about Portsmouth, in Kent, in East Anglia, in Lindsey, at Rochester, about London, and in Wessex, where Ethelwolf, the king, was overcome, besides divers other kings and dukes, whom the Danes, daily approaching in great multitudes, in divers victories had put to flight. At length King Ethelwolf, with his son Ethelbald, A D. 852. warring against them in Southery, at Ocley, drave them to the sea; where they hovering a space, after a while burst in again with horrible rage and cruelty, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared, so much as to our purpose shall serve, professing in this history to write of no matters extern and politic, but only pertaining to the church. The cause of this great affliction sent of God unto this realm, thus I found expressed and collected in a certain old written story, which hath no name: the words of which writer, for the same cause as he thought to recite them, (writing, as he saith, "ad cautelam futurorum,") I thought also for the same here not to be omitted, albeit in all parts of his commendation I do not fully with him accord. The words of the writer be these:[4]—

(1) Invenitur hæc epistola in vetustis membranaceis libris (testante Illyrico in catalogo.) Meminit ejusdem epistolæ Æneas Sylvius, in sua peregrinatione, et Germaniæ descriptione.

(2) Martinus Polonus.—Ed.

(3) Foxe, misled by Fabian, says, "the latter end:" see Appendix.—Ed.

(4) "In Anglorum quidem Ecclesia primitiva, religio clarissime resplenduit: ita ut Reges et Reginæ, et Principes ac Duces, Consules, et Barones," etc.—Ex vetusto exemplo historiæ Cariauæ. W. C. 1. [The passage is found in M. Westm., and with very little variation in Hoveden, Script. post Bed. p. 412, and Brompton: see infrâ, p. 108, note (1).—Ed.]

" In the primitive church of the Englishmen religion did most clearly shine, insomuch that kings, queens, princes and dukes, consuls, barons, and rulers of churches, incensed with the desire of the kingdom of heaven, labouring and striving among themselves to enter into monkery, into voluntary exile, and solitary life, forsook all, and followed the Lord. But, in process of time, all virtue so much decayed among them, that in fraud and treachery none seemed like unto them: neither was to them any thing odious or hateful, but piety and justice; neither any thing in price or honour, but civil war and shedding of innocent blood. Wherefore, Almighty God sent upon them pagan and cruel nations, like swarms of bees, which neither spared women nor children, as Danes, Norwegians, Goths, Swedes, Vandals, and Frisians: who, from the beginning of the reign of King Ethelwolf till the coming of the Normans, by the space of nearly two hundred and thirty years, destroyed this sinful land from the one side-of-the-sea to the other, from man also to beast. For why? they, invading England ofttimes of every side, went not about to subdue and possess it, but only to spoil and destroy it. And if it had chanced them at any time to be overcome of the English, it availed nothing, since other navies with still greater power in other places were ready upon a sudden and unawares to approach them."

Ethelwolf. A. D. 852.

The causes of God's wrath, whereby the realm of England was scourged by the Danes

Thus far have you the words of mine author, declaring the cause which provoked God's anger: whereunto may be adjoined the wickedness, not only of them but of their forefathers also before them, who, falsely breaking the faith and promise made with the Britons, did cruelly murder their nobles, wickedly oppressed their commons, impiously persecuted the innocent Christians, injuriously possessed their land and habitation, chasing the inhabitants out of house and country; besides the violent murder of the monks of Bangor, and divers foul slaughters among the poor Britons, who sent for them to be their helpers.[1] Wherefore God's just recompence falling upon them from that time, never suffered them to be quiet from foreign enemies, till the coming of William the Norman.

The first entering of the Danes.

Moreover, concerning the outward occasions given of the Englishmen's parts, moving the Danes first to invade the realm, I find in certain stories two most specially assigned; the one unjustly given, and justly taken, the other not given justly, and unjustly taken.[2] Of the which two, the first was given in Northumberland, by the means of Osbright, reigning under-king of the West Saxons, in the north parts. This Osbright upon a time journeying by the way, turned into the house of one of his nobles, called Bruer, who, having at home a wife of great beauty (he being absent abroad), the king after his dinner, allured with the excellency of her beauty, did sorely ill treat her: whereupon, she being greatly dismayed and vexed in her mind, made her moan to her husband returning, of this violence and injury received. Bruer consulting with his friends, first went to the king, resigning into his hands all such service and possessions which he did hold of him: that done, he took shipping and sailed into Denmark, where he had great friends, and had his bringing up before. There, making his moan to Codrinus the king, he desired his aid in revenging the great villany of Osbright against him and his wife. Codrinus hearing this, and glad to have some just quarrel to enter their land, levied an army with all speed, and preparing all things necessary for the same, sendeth forth Inguar and Hubba, two brethren, his chief captains, with an innumerable multitude of Danes, into England; who first arriving at Holderness, there burnt

Codrinus the king, and Inguar and Hubba, captains of the Danes.

(1) See vol. i. pp. 313, 338.—Ed. (2) Ex Historia Jornalensi.

Ethelwolf. up the country, and killed without mercy both men, women, and children, whom they could lay hands upon; then marching towards York, entered their battle with the aforesaid Osbright, where he with the most part of his army was slain; and so the Danes entered possession of the city of York. Some others say, and it is by the most part of story writers recorded, that the chief cause of the coming of Inguar and Hubba with the Danes, was, to be revenged of King Edmund, reigning under the West Saxons over the East Angles in Norfolk and Suffolk, for the murdering of a certain Dane, father to Inguar and Hubba, which was falsely imputed to King Edmund. The story is thus told.[1]

A. D. 852.

A.D. 867.

Another cause of the coming of the Danes.

"A certain nobleman of the Danes, of the king's stock, called Lothbroke, father to Inguar and Hubba, entering upon a time with his hawk into a certain skiff or cock-boat alone, by chance, through tempest, was driven with his hawk to the coast of Norfolk, named Rudham, where he, being found and detained, was presented to the king. The king understanding his parentage, and seeing his case, entertained him in his court accordingly; and every day more and more perceiving his activity and great dexterity in hunting and hawking, bare special favour unto him, insomuch that the king's falconer, or master of game, bearing privy envy against him, secretly, as they were hunting together in a wood, did murder him, and threw him into a bush. This Lothbroke, being murdered, within two or three days began to be missed in the king's house; of whom no tidings could be heard, but only by a dog or spaniel of his, which continuing in the wood with the corpse of his master, at sundry times came and fawned upon the king, so long that at length they, following the trace of the hound, were brought to the place where Lothbroke lay. Whereupon inquisition being made, at length, by certain circumstances of words and other evidences, it was known how and by whom he was murdered, that was by the king's huntsman, named Berike; who thereupon being convicted, was put into the same boat of Lothbroke, alone, and without any tackling, to drive by seas, and thus either to be saved by the weather, or to be drowned in the deep. And as it chanced Lothbroke from Denmark to be driven to Norfolk, so it happened that from Norfolk Berike was cast into Denmark, where the boat of Lothbroke being well known, hands were laid upon him, and inquisition made of the party. In fine, in his torments, to save himself, he uttered an untruth of King Edmund, saying, 'That the king had put Lothbroke to death in the county of Norfolk.' Whereupon grudge first was conceived, then an army appointed, and great multitudes sent into England to revenge that fact, where first they arriving in Northumberland, destroyed, as is said, those parts first. From thence sailing into Norfolk, they exercised the like tyranny there upon the inhabitants thereof, especially upon the innocent prince and blessed martyr of God, King Edmund." Concerning the further declaration whereof hereafter shall follow (Christ our Lord so permitting) more to be spoken, as place and observation of time and years shall require.

Murder will out.

This Ethelwolf had especially about him two bishops, whose counsel he was most ruled by, Swithin, bishop of Winchester, and Adelstan,

(1) See vol. i. p. 325, note (3).—Ed.

bishop of Sherborne. Of the which two, the one was more skilful in temporal and civil affairs touching the king's wars, and filling of his coffers, and other furniture for the king. The other, which was Swithin, was of a contrary sort, wholly disposed and inclined to spiritual meditation, and to minister spiritual counsel to the king; who had been schoolmaster to the king before. Wherein appeared one good condition of this king's nature, among his other virtues, not only in following the precepts and advertisements of his old schoolmaster, but also in that he, like a kind and thankful pupil, did so reverence his bringer-up and old schoolmaster (as he called him), that he ceased not, till he made him bishop of Winchester, by the consecration of Celnoch, then archbishop of Canterbury. But as concerning the miracles which are read in the church of Winchester, of this Swithin, them I leave to be read together with the Iliads of Homer, or the tales of Robin Hood.

Ethelwolf. A. D. 855.

Swithin bishop of Winchester.

Monkish miracles feigned of Swithin.

This Ethelwolf (as being himself once nuzled in that order) was always good and devout to holy church and religious orders, insomuch that he gave to them the tithe of all his goods and lands in West Saxony, with liberty and freedom from all servage and civil charges; whereof his chart instrument beareth testimony after this tenor proceeding,[1] much like to the donation of Ethelbald, king of Mercians above mentioned.

Regnante in perpetuum Domino nostro Jesu Christo, in nostris temporibus per bellorum incendia, et direptiones opum nostrarum, necnon et vastantium crudelissimas depræ̀dationes hostium barbarorum, paganarumque gentium multiplices tribulationes affligentium nos pro peccatis nostris usque ad internecionem, tempora cernimus incumbere periculosa. Quamobrem, ego Ethelwulfus Rex occidentalium Saxonum, cum consilio Episcoporum et principum meorum, consilium salubre atque uniforme remedium affirmavi: ut aliquam portionem terræ meæ, Deo et beatæ Mariæ et omnibus sanctis jure perpetuo possidendam concedam, decimam scilicet partem terræ meæ, ut sit tuta muneribus et libera ab omnibus servitiis secularibus, necnon regalibus tributis majoribus et minoribus, sive taxationibus, quas nos Witteredden appellamus: sitque omnium rerum libera, pro remissione animarum et peccatorum meorum, ad serviendum soli Deo, sine expeditione, et pontis constructione, et arcis munitione, ut eo diligentius pro nobis preces ad Deum sine cessatione fundant, quo eorum servitutem in aliquo levigamus. Placuit autem episcopis ecclesiæ Scireburnensis Alstano, et Winton Switheno, cum suis abbatibus et Dei servis, viris scilicet et fœminis religiosis quibus supradicta collata sunt beneficia, consilia inire, ut omnes fratres et sorores omni hebdomada, die Mercurii, hoc est Wednesday, in unaquaque ecclesia cantent psalmos 50 et unusquisque presbyter duas missas, unam pro rege, et aliam pro ducibus ejus in hunc modum consentientibus, pro salute et refrigerio delictorum suorum. Postquam autem defuncti fuerimus, pro rege defuncto singulariter, et pro ducibus communiter. Et hoc sit firmiter constitutum omnibus diebus Christianitatis, sicut libertas constituta est, quamdiu fides crescit in gente Anglorum. Scripta est autem hæc donationis charta, anno gratiæ 855 indictione quarta quinto nonas Novemb. in urbe Wentana ante majus altare beati Petri apostoli.

Hereby it may appear, how and when the churches of England began first to be endowed with temporalities and lands, also with privileges and exemptions enlarged: moreover (and that which specially is to be considered and lamented), what pernicious doctrine this was, wherewith they were led thus to set remission of their sins and remedy of their souls, in this donation and such other deeds of

The blind ignorance of those days.

(1) Ex Flor. Hist. [Lond. 1570, p. 307; Francof. 1601, p. 158. The Latin in the text is according to the printed copies, from which Foxe a little varies.—Ed.]

Ethelwolf. their devotion, contrary to the information of God's word, and with no small derogation from the Cross of Christ.

A. D. 856. These things thus done within the realm, the said Ethelwolf, the king, taking his journey to Rome with Alfred, his youngest son, committed him to the bringing up of Pope Leo IV., where he also re-edified the English school at Rome; which, being founded by King Offa, or rather by Ine, king of Mercians, as in the 'Flowers of Histories' is affirmed, was lately, in the time of King Egbert his father, consumed with fire. Further and besides, this king gave and granted there unto Rome, of every fire-house a penny to be paid through his whole land, as King Ine in his dominion had done before. Also, he gave and granted, yearly to be paid to Rome, 300 marks, that is, to the maintaining of the lights of St. Peter, 100 marks; to the lights of St. Paul, 100 marks; to the use of the Pope also another hundred.[1] This done, he returning home through France, married there Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, the French king; whom he restored afterward (contrary to the laws of West Saxons) to the title and throne of a queen. For before, it was decreed among the West Saxons, by the occasion of wicked Ethelburga, who poisoned Brightric, her own husband, that after that, no king's wife there should have the name or place of a queen.

A.D. 855. *See Appendix.*

Peter pence through the realm granted to Rome.

Money bestowed to burn daylight.

Oct. 1st, A.D. 856.

And forsomuch as I have here entered into the mention of Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, the occasion thereof putteth me in memory here to insert by the way a matter done, although not in this realm, yet not impertinent to this ecclesiastical history. And first, to deduce the narration thereof from the first original. The father of this Charles the Bald, whose name was Louis, the first of that name, called "the Pious," king of France, had two wives; whereof by the first he had three sons, Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis: which three sons unnaturally and unkindly conspiring against their father and his second wife, with her son, their youngest brother, persecuted him so that through a certain council of lords spiritual and temporal, they deposed the same their natural and right godly father, dispossessing and discharging him of all rule and dominion. Moreover, they caused him to renounce his temporal habit, enclosing him in the monastery of St. Mark, for a monk, or rather a prisoner. All which done, they divided his empire and kingdom among themselves.

The whole some counsels and doings of the spiritual lords.

Thus was Louis the Pious of impious sons left desolate. But the power of God which worketh, when all earthly power ceaseth, of his divine mercy so aided and recovered him out of all his tribulation to this imperial dignity again, that it was to all his enemies confusion, and to all good men a miracle. But this by the way. By his second wife, whose name was Judith,[2] he had this Charles the Bald, here mentioned. Which Judith was thought, and so accused to the pope, to be within such degree of alliance, that by the pope's law she might not continue his wife without the pope's dispensation. It so fell out in the mean time, that this Louis, the emperor, had promoted a young man named Frederic, to be bishop of Utrecht, and to him had given sad and good exhortation, that he remembering

Frederic bishop of Utrecht.

(1) See the Latin conveyance, infrà, p 652.—Ed.
(2) There were two Judiths, one the mother of Charles the Bald, the other his daughter, whom King Ethelwolf married.

and following the constancy of his predecessors, would maintain right and truth without all exception of any person, and punish misdoers with excommunication, as well the rich as the poor; with such like words of godly counsel. Frederic, hearing the king thus say, sitting at dinner with him as the manner was, being newly invested, in these words answered the emperor again: "I thank your majesty," saith he, "who with your so wholesome exhortation put me in mind of my profession. But I beseech you, of your benign favour and patience, that I may freely disclose that which hath long encumbered and pierced my conscience." To whom leave being given, thus he began: "I pray you, lord emperor, to show me herein your mind" (pointing to the fish before him), "whether it is more according to propriety to attack this fish here present, beginning first at the head or at the tail?"[1] "What a tale is this?" quoth the emperor, "of the tail and of the head?" "At the head," quoth he. Then Frederic, taking thereof his occasion, proceedeth: "Even so let it be, lord emperor," saith he, "as you have said. Let christian faith and charity first begin with yourself, as with the head, admonishing you to cease from your fact and error, that your subjects by that example be not emboldened to follow your misdoing. Wherefore first forsake you your unlawful wedlock, which you have made with Judith your near kinswoman." These words of the new bishop, although they moved Louis the emperor not a little, yet he with a gentle modesty and modest silence was contented, suffering the bishop to go home in peace. But the word being uttered in such an audience could not be so concealed, but spread and burst out in much talk in the whole court, and especially among the bishops, consulting earnestly with themselves about the matter. Through whose counsel and labour so at length it fell, that the emperor was constrained to leave the company of his wife, till he had purchased a license of the bishop of Rome to retain her again, who then forgave the said bishop all that was past. But the woman hired two knights that slew him in his vestments, when he had ended his mass. Ranulphus and Malmsbury[2] give forth this story in his great commendation, that he died a martyr; whereof I have not to judge, nor here to pronounce, but that rather I think him to be commended in his dying, than the woman for her killing.

Ethelwolf. A. D. 856.

Openly admonisheth the emperor at the table.

Judged of some a martyr.

And forsomuch as mention hath been made of Louis the Pious, here is to be noted, that in France then were used by priests and churchmen precious and shining vestures, and golden and rich staring girdles, with rings and other ornaments of gold. Wherefore the said Louis purchased of the bishop of Rome a correction for all such as used such disordinate apparel, causing them to wear brown and sad colours, according to their sadness.[3]

Of this Louis the papists do feign, that because he converted certain of their church-goods and patrimony to the wages of his soldiers, "his body," say they, "was carried out of his tomb by devils, and was no more seen."

And thus a little having digressed out of our course, now let us return out of France into England again. King Ethelwolf, coming

(1) "Utrum piscem hunc mensæ appositum honestius est à capite an à caudâ aggredi?" Malmsb.—Ed.

(2) Gul. lib. de Pontif.

(3) Fabian.

Ethelwolf. now from Rome by the country of France, was now returned again into his own dominion, where he continued not long after, but departed, leaving behind him four sons, who reigned every one in his order, after the decease of their father; the names of whom were Ethelbald, Ethelbright, Ethelred, and Alfred or Alured.

A.D. 857.

King Ethelwolf deceaseth.

ETHELBALD, ETHELBRIGHT, AND ETHELRED I.

A.D. 857.

KING Ethelbald, the eldest son of Ethelwolf, succeeding his father in the province of West Sax, and Ethelbright in the province of Kent, reigned both together the term of five years, one with the other. Of the which two, Ethelbald, the first, left this infamy behind him in stories, for marrying and lying with his stepmother, wife to his own father, named Judith. After these two succeeded Ethelred, the third son, who in his time, was so encumbered with the Danes bursting in on every side, especially about York, which city they then spoiled and burnt up, that he in one year stood in nine battles against them, with the help of Alfred his brother. In the beginning of this king's reign, the Danes landed in East England, or Norfolk and Suffolk. But, as Fabian writeth, they were compelled to forsake that country, and so took again shipping, and sailed northward, and landed in Northumberland, where they were met by the kings then there reigning, called Osbright and Ella, who gave them a strong fight; but, notwithstanding, the Danes, with the help of such as inhabited the country, won the city of York, and held it a certain season, as is above foretouched.

See Appendix.

A.D. 866.

Ethelred.

York burned by the Danes.

In the reign of this Ethelred I., the Northumberlanders rebelling against the king, thought to recover the former state of their kingdom out of the West Saxons' hands; by reason of which discord, as happeneth in all lands where dissension is, the strength of the English nation was thereby not a little weakened, and the Danes the more thereby prevailed.

A.D. 870.

About the latter time of the reign of this King Ethelred I., which was about A.D. 870, certain of the aforesaid Danes being thus possessed of the north country, after their cruel persecution and murder done there, as partly is touched before, took shipping from thence, intending to sail toward the East Angles, who by the way upon the sea met with a fleet of Danes, whereof the captains or leaders were named Inguar and Hubba; who, joining all together in one council, made all one course, and lastly landed in East England, or Norfolk, and in process of time came to Thetford. Thereof hearing, Edmund, then under-king of that province, assembled a host that gave to them battle; but Edmund and his company were forced to forsake the field, and the king, with a few persons, fled unto the castle of Framlingham, whom the Danes pursued; but he in short while after yielded himself to the persecution of the Danes, answering in this manner to the messenger, who addressed him in the name of Inguar, prince of the Danes, "who most victoriously," saith he, "was come with innumerable legions, subduing both by sea and land many nations unto him; and so now arrived in those parts requireth him likewise to submit himself, yielding to him his hid treasures, and all other goods

St. Edmund, king of East Angles.

of his ancestors, and so to reign under him: which thing if he would not do, he should," said he, "be judged unworthy both of life and reign." Edmund, hearing of this proud message of the pagan, consulted with certain of his friends, and among others, with one of his bishops, who was then his secretary; who, seeing the present danger of the king, gave him counsel to yield to the conditions. Upon this the king pausing a little with himself, at length rendered this answer, bidding the messenger go tell his lord in these words, "that Edmund, a christian king, for the love of temporal life, will not submit himself to a pagan duke, unless he first would be a Christian." Immediately upon the same, the wicked and crafty Dane, approaching in most hasty speed upon the king, encountered with him in battle, as some say, at Thetford; where the king being put to the worse, and pitying the terrible slaughter of his men, thinking with himself rather to submit his own person to danger, than that his people should be slain, did fly, as Fabian saith, to the castle of Framlingham, or, as mine author writeth, to Halesdon, now called St. Edmundsbury, where this blessed man, being on every side compassed by his cruel enemies, yielded himself to their persecution. And, for that he would not renounce or deny Christ and his laws, they therefore most cruelly bound him unto a tree, and caused him to be shot to death; and, lastly, caused his head to be smitten from his body and cast into the thick bushes; which head and body at the same time by his friends were taken up, and solemnly buried at the said Halesdon, otherwise now named St. Edmundsbury: whose brother, named Edwold, notwithstanding of right the kingdom fell next unto him, setting apart the liking and pleasure of the world, became a hermit, of the abbey of Cerne, in the county of Dorset.

Ethelred. A.D. 870.

The persecution and martyrdom of St. Edmund, king of the East Angles, by the Danes.

After the martyrdom of this blessed Edmund, when the cruel Danes had sufficiently robbed and spoiled that country, they took again their ships, and landed in Southery, and continued their journey till they came to the town of Reading, and there won the town with the castle, where, as Cambrensis saith, within three days of their coming thither, the aforesaid Inguar and Hubba, captains of the Danes, as they went in pursuit of their prey or booty, were slain at a place called Englefield. These princes of the Danes thus slain, the rest of them kept whole together, in such wise that the West Saxons might take of them no advantage, but yet, within a few days after, the Danes were holden so short, that they were forced to issue out of the castle and to defend themselves in open battle; in the which, by the industry of King Ethelred and of Alfred his brother, the Danes were discomfited, and many of them slain, which discomfort made them fly again into the castle, and there keep them for a certain time. The king then committing the charge of them to Ethelwold, duke of Baroke, or Berkshire, departed. But when the Danes knew of the king's departure, they brake suddenly out of their hold, took the duke unprovided, and slew him and much of his people; and so, joining themselves with others that were scattered in the country, embattled them in such wise, that of them was gathered a strong host.

Reading taken by the Danes, and Inguar and Hubba slain. *See Appendix.*

Duke Ethelwold slain.

As the tidings hereof were brought to King Ethelred, which put

Ethelred. A.D. 872. him in great heaviness, word also was brought the same time of the landing of Osrick, king of Denmark, who, with the assistance of the other Danes, had gathered a great host, and were embattled upon Ashdon. To this battle King Ethelred, with his brother Alfred, forced by great need, hastened, to withstand the Danes, at which time the king a little staying behind, being yet at his service, Alfred, who was come in before, had entered already into the whole fight with the Danes, who struck together with huge violence.[1] The king being required to make speed, and being then at service and meditations, such was his devotion, that he would not stir out one foot before the service was fully complete. In the meanwhile, the Danes so fiercely invaded Alfred and his men, that they won the hill, and the christian men were in the valley, and in great danger to lose the field. Nevertheless, through the grace of God, and their godly manhood, the king coming from his service, with his fresh soldiers, recovered the hill of the infidels, and so discomfited the Danes that day, that in flying away not only they lost the victory, but most part of them their lives also, insomuch that their duke or king, Osrick or Osege, and five of their other dukes, with much of their people were slain, and the rest chased unto Reading town.

Osrick, king of Denmark, landeth in England.

Invocation and prayer profitable in time of battle.

The Danes overthrown at Ashdon.

After this the Danes yet re-assembled their people, and gathered a new host, so that within fifteen days they met at Basingstoke, and there gave battle to the king, and had the better. Then the king again gathered his men, which at that field were dispersed, and with fresh soldiers accompanying them, met the Danes, within two months after, at the town of Merton, where he gave them a sharp battle, so that much people were slain as well of the Christians as of the Danes; but, in the end, the Danes had the honour of the field, and King Ethelred was wounded, and therefore fain to save himself.

Another battle at Merton.

After these two fields thus won by the Danes, they obtained great circuit of ground, and destroyed man and child that would not yield to them; and churches and temples they turned to the use of stables, and other vile occupations.

Thus the king, being beset with enemies on every side, seeing the land so miserably oppressed of the Danes, his knights and soldiers consumed, his own land of West Saxons in such desolation, he being also wounded himself, but specially for that he, sending his commissions into Northumberland, Mercia, and East Anglia, could have of them but small or little comfort, because they, through wicked rebellion, were more willing to take the part of the Danes than of their king, was sore perplexed therewithal, as the other kings were both before him and after him at that time, so that (as Malmesbury witnesseth) "magis optarent honestum exitium, quam tam acerbum imperium:' that is, "they rather wished honestly to die, than with such trouble and sorrow to reign." And thus this king not long after deceased, when he had reigned, as Fabian saith, eight years, or, as Malmesbury writeth, but five years, during which time, notwithstanding his so great troubles and vexations in martial affairs (as is in some stories mentioned), he founded the house or college of canons

Death of Ethelred.

(1) Ex Guliel. Malmesburiensi. Ex Historia Jornalensi. Ex Fabiano et aliis.

at Exeter, and was buried at the abbey of Wimborne, in Dorsetshire, after whose decease, for lack of issue of his body, the rule of the land fell unto his brother Alfred. *Alfred.* A. D. 872. *See Appendix.*

ALFRED,[1] OTHERWISE CALLED ALURED.

Among the Saxon kings hitherto in this history mentioned, I find few or none to be preferred, or even to be compared, to this Alfred, or Alured, for the great and singular qualities in this king, worthy of high renown and commendation—whether we behold in him the valiant acts and manifold travails which he continually, from time to time, sustained against his enemies in war, during almost all the time of his reign, for the public preservation of his people; or whether we consider in him his godly and excellent virtues, joined with a public and tender care, and a zealous study for the common peace and tranquillity of the weal public, appearing as well in his prudent laws by him both carefully set forth, and with the like care executed, as also by his own private exercises touching the virtuous institution of his life; or, lastly, whether we respect that in him, which with equal praise matcheth with both the others before, that is, his notable knowledge of good letters, with a fervent love and princely desire to set forth the same through all his realm, before his time being both rude and barbarous. All these heroical properties, joined together in one prince, as it is a thing most rare, and seldom seen in princes now a-days, so I thought the same the more to be noted and exemplified in this good king, thereby either to move other rulers and princes in these our days to his imitation, or else, to show them what hath been in times past in their ancestors, which ought to be, and yet is not found in them. Wherefore, of these three parts to discourse either part in order, first we will begin to treat of his acts and painful travails sustained in defence of the realm public, against the raging tyranny of the Danes, as they are described in the Latin histories of Roger Hoveden and Huntingdon, whom Fabian also seemeth in this part somewhat to follow. King Alfred, therefore, the first of all the English kings, taking his crown and unction at Rome of Pope Leo[2] (as Malmesbury and Polychronicon do record), in the beginning of his reign, perceiving his lords and people much wasted and decayed by reason of the great wars which Ethelred had against the Danes, yet, as well as he could, gathered a strength of men unto him; and, in the second month that he was made king, he met with the Danes beside Wilton, where he gave them battle; but being far over-matched through the multitude of the contrary part, he was put there to the worse, though not without a great slaughter of the pagan army, which army of the Danes,

King Alfred's valour, piety, and learning.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 11. Ed. 1583, p. 141. Ed. 1596, p. 127. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 157.—Ed.

(2) Pope John VIII., the hundred and sixth bishop of Rome, was chosen A.D. 872, the year that Alfred obtained the government of his realm. The Leo to whom our author refers, was Leo IV. to whom Alfred was sent at the age of four years, to be educated. [A.D. 854.] Asserius, who wrote Alfred's life, informs us that Leo confirmed him, adopted him for his son, and anointed him king ("took his crown and unction at Rome," as Foxe observes), but of what kingdom neither that writer, nor any other has informed us. The kingdom of West Saxons was then held by his father, who had three sons older than Alfred.—Ed.

Alfred. after that victory, by compact made with King Alfred to depart out
A.D. 878. of his dominion of West Sax, removed from Reading to London, where it abode all that winter. Halden their king, making truce there with Burthred, king of Mercia, the following year left those parts, and drew his men to Lindsey, robbing and spoiling the towns and villages as they went, and holding the common people under servitude. From thence they proceeded to Repingdon, where, joining with the three other kings of the Danes, called Surdrim, Osketell, and Hamond, they grew thereby to mighty force and strength: then, dividing their army into two parts, the one half remained with Halden in the country of Northumberland; the residue were with the other three kings, wintering and sojourning all the next year at Grantbridge, which was the fourth year of King
A.D. 875. Alfred. In that year King Alfred's men had a conflict on the sea with six of the Danes' ships, of which they took one, the others fled away. In the next year went Rollo, the Dane, into Normandy, where he was duke thirty years, and afterward was baptized in the faith of Christ, and named Robert. The aforesaid army of the three Danish kings above-mentioned, from Grantbridge returned again to West Saxony, and entered the Castle of Wareham, where King Alfred, with a sufficient power of men, was ready to assault them; but the Danes seeing his strength durst not encounter with him, but sought delays till more aid might come. In the mean season they were constrained to entreat for a truce, leaving also sufficient pledges in the king's hand; promising, moreover, upon their oath, to leave the country of the West Saxons. The king, upon this surety, let them go; but they, falsely breaking their league, privily in the night brake out, taking their journey toward Exeter, during which journey they lost six score of their small ships by a tempest at Swanawic, as Henry Huntingdon in his story recordeth. Then King Alfred followed after the horsemen of the Danes, but could not overtake them before they came to Exeter, where he took of them pledges and fair promises of peace, and so returned. Notwithstanding, the number of the pagans did daily more and more increase, insomuch (as one of my authors saith) that if in one day thirty thousand of them were slain, shortly after they increased to double as many.
A.D. 877. After this truce taken with King Alfred, the Danes withdrew to the land of Mercia, part of which kingdom they kept themselves, and part they committed to one Ceolulphus, upon condition that he should be vassal to them, and at their commandment, with his people at all times.
A D. 878. The next year ensuing, which was the seventh year of the reign of Alfred, the Danes now having all the rule of the north part of England, from the river Thames, with Mercia, London, and Essex, disdained that Alfred should have any dominion on the other side of Thames southward. Whereupon the aforesaid three kings, with all the forces and strength they could gather, marched toward Chippenham, in West Sax, with such a multitude, that the king with his people was not able to resist them; insomuch that of the people which inhabited there, some fled over the sea, some remained with the king, and divers submitted themselves to the Danes. Thus King Alfred being overset with a multitude of enemies, and forsaken

Burthred expelled his kingdom, dies at Rome.

Rollo, a Dane, first duke of Normandy *See Appendix.*

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

of his people, having neither land to hold, nor hope to recover that which he had lost, withdrew himself with a few of his nobles about him, into a certain wood country in Somersetshire, called Etheling, where he had right scant to live upon, but such as he and his people might procure by hunting and fishing. This Edeling, or Etheling, or Ethelingsey, which is to say, the Isle of Nobles, standeth in a great marsh or moor, so that there is no access to it without ship or boat, and hath in it a great wood called Selwood, and in the middle a little plain, about two acres of ground: in this isle is venison, and other wild beasts, with fowl and fish in great plenty. In this wood King Alfred, at his first coming, espied a certain desert cottage of a poor swineherd, keeping swine in the wood, named Dunwolf; by whom the king, then unknown, was entertained and cherished with such poor fare as he and his wife could make him, for which King Alfred afterwards set the poor swineherd to learning, and made him bishop of Winchester.

Alfred. A.D. 878.

Alfred flieth into a wood.

A swineherd made bishop of Winchester.

In the mean time, while King Alfred, accompanied with a few, was thus in the desert wood, waiting the event of these miseries, according to certain stories a poor beggar there came and asked alms of the king; and the night following he appeared to the king in his sleep, saying, his name was Cuthbert, promising (as sent from God unto him for his good charity) great victories against the Danes. But let these dreaming fables pass, although they be testified by divers authors.[1] Notwithstanding, the king, in process of time, was more strengthened and comforted, through the providence of God, respecting the miserable ruin of the English. First, the brother of King Halden the Dane, before-mentioned, coming in with three and thirty ships, landed about Devonshire, where by chance being resisted by an ambushment of King Alfred's men, who for their safeguard there lay in garrison, they were slain to the number of 1300 men, and their ensign, called the Raven, was taken. Hoveden, in his book called 'Continuationes,' writeth, that in the same conflict both Inguar and Hubba were slain among the other Danes.[2] After this, King Alfred being better cheered, showed himself more at large; so that daily resorted to him men of Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and Hampshire, till he was strongly accompanied.

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

Then the king put himself in a bold and dangerous venture, as write Malmesbury, Polychronicon, and Fabian, who followeth them both. For he, apparelling himself in the habit of a minstrel, being very skilful in all Saxon poems, with his instrument of music, entered into the tents of the Danes, lying then at Eddington. There, while showing his interludes and songs, he espied all their sloth and idleness, and heard much of their counsel; and after, returning to his company, declared to them the whole manner of the Danes. Shortly upon this, the king suddenly in the night fell upon the aforesaid Danes, distressed and slew of them a great multitude, and chased them from that coast, insomuch that through his strong and valiant assaults upon his enemies out of his tower of Edeling newly fortified, he so incumbered them, that he clearly voided the country

Alfred ventures into the Danish tents.

A.D. 878.

(1) Guliel. Malmesb. lib. de Reg.; Polychronicon, Rog. Hoveden; Jornalensis; Henr. Hunting. lib. v. de Hist. Ang.

(2) See page 19.—Ed.

Alfred. A.D. 890.

of them, between that and Selwood. His subjects soon hearing of these his valiant victories and manful deeds, drew to him daily out of all coasts; so that through the help of God, and their assistance, he held the Danes so short, that he won from them Winchester and divers other good towns. Briefly, he at length forced them to seek for peace, which was concluded upon certain covenants, whereof one, and the principal was, that the beforenamed Gutrum, their king, should be christened; the other was, that such as would not be christened should depart, and leave the country.

Gutrum, prince of the Danes, christened, and named Athelstan. Norfolk and Suffolk given to him. *See Appendix.*

Upon these covenants, first the said Gutrum, the Danish prince, coming to Winchester, was there christened with twenty of his greatest dukes or nobles, which Gutrum King Alfred, being his godfather at his baptism, named Athelstan. Having, after a certain season, feasted the said Danes, Alfred, according to his promise before made, gave unto their king the country of East Anglia, containing Norfolk and Suffolk, and part of Cambridgeshire. Moreover, as saith Polychronicon, he granted to the Danes that were christened the country of Northumberland; so the residue that would not be christened departed the land, and sailed into France, where what vexation and harm they wrought, the chronicles of France do partly comprehend.

King Athelstan thus having the possession of these countries, had all East Anglia under his obedience; and, albeit that he held the said province as in fee of the king, and promised to dwell there as his liege man, yet, notwithstanding that, he continued more like a tyrant by the term of eleven years, and died in the twelfth year; during which space, King Alfred, having some more rest and peace, repaired certain towns and strong holds before by the Danes impaired; also he builded divers houses of religion, as the House of Nuns at Shaftesbury; another religious house at Etheling he founded; another in Winchester, named the New Monastery; and also endowed richly the Church of St. Cuthbert in Durham. He, likewise, sent to India to pay and perform his vows to St. Thomas of Ind, which he made during the time of his distress against the Danes.

The nunneries of Shaftesbury and Etheling, and the minster at Winchester built.

A.D. 886. *See Appendix.*

About the fifteenth year of the reign of Alfred, the Danes returning from France to England, landed in Kent, and so came to Rochester and besieged that city, and there lay so long that they builded a tower of timber against the gates of the city: but, by strength of the citizens, that tower was destroyed, and the city defended, till King Alfred came and rescued them; whereby the Danes were so distressed, and so near trapped, that for fear they left their horses behind them, and fled to their ships by night. But the king, when he was thereof aware, sent after them, and took sixteen of their ships, and slew many of the Danes. This done, the king returned to London, and repaired the same honourably (as saith Hoveden), and made it habitable, which before was sore decayed and enfeebled by the Danes.

A.D. 899. *See Appendix.*

The fourth year after this, which was the nineteenth year of the reign of King Alfred, the aforesaid Athelstan, the Danish king of Norfolk, who was before christened by Alfred, deceased. Not long after this, about the one and twentieth year of this king's reign, the Danes again landed in four places of this land; namely, in

East England, and in the north, and in two places in the west. Before the landing of these Danes it chanced that King Alfred, having heard of the death of King Athelstan, and of other complaints of the Danes, was in East Anglia when these tidings came to him. *Alfred.* A.D. 897.

When King Alfred was hereof assured that some of the Danes were landed on that coast, thinking with themselves the further they went in those parts the less resistance to have and the more speed, as they were wont to have before; Alfred, sending messengers in all haste to Ethelred, duke of Mercia, to assemble him a host to withstand the Danes, who landed in the west, made forth toward his enemies there, where he was in East Anglia, whom he pursued so sharply, that he drove them out from those parts. They then landed in Kent, whither the king with his people sped him; and in like manner drave the Danes from thence, without any great fight, so far as in our authors we can see. After this, the Danes took shipping again and sailed into North Wales, and there robbed and spoiled the Britons, and from thence returned by the sea into East Anglia, with a hundred ships, and there rested themselves, inasmuch as the king was then gone westward. The Danes driven from Norfolk. *See Appendix* Return to North Wales.

The fourth host of the Danes the same year came to Chester, which at length they won; but the country adjoining pressed so sorely upon them, and besieged them so long, keeping them within the city, that at last, wearied with the long siege, they were compelled to eat their own horses for hunger. But, by appointment, at last they gave up the town, and went about by North Wales to Northumberland, which was about the three and twentieth year of King Alfred. In the mean while Alfred with his host sped him thitherward. Then the Danes, leaving their strong holds and castles garnished with men and victual, took again shipping, and fet their course in such wise that they landed in Sussex, and so came to the port of Lewes, and from thence toward London, and builded a tower or castle near the river Ley, twenty miles from London. But the Londoners hearing thereof, manned out a certain number of men at arms, who, with the assistance of them of that country, put the Danes from that tower, and afterwards beat it to the ground. Soon after, the king came down thither, and, to prevent the dangers that might ensue, commanded the river Ley to be divided into three streams, so that where a ship might sail in times before, a little boat might then scarcely row. From thence the Danes, leaving their ships and wives, were forced to fly that country, and took their way again toward Wales, and came to Quadruge, near the river Severn; where, upon the borders thereof, they builded a castle, and rested themselves for a time, but the king with his army soon pursued them. In the mean time the Londoners at Ley, taking the Danish ships, brought some of them to London, and the rest they fired. During these three years, from the first coming of the Danes to Ley, England was afflicted with three kinds of sorrows; with the Danes, with pestilence of men, and with murrain of beasts; notwithstanding which troubles the king manfully resisted the malice of his enemies, and thanked God always, what trouble soever fell to him, or to his realm, sustaining it with great patience and humility. These three years overpast, the next following, which was the eight and twentieth Driven out of Chester, [*i. e.* Caerleon.] *See Appendix.* Driven from Lewes. The river Ley divided into three streams. Three plagues in England.

Alfred. A.D. 901. of the reign of Alfred, the Danes divided their host, of whom part went to Northumberland, part to Norfolk; others sailed over to France, and some came to West Sax, where they had divers conflicts with the Englishmen, both by land, and especially upon the sea; of whom some were slain, many perished by shipwreck, divers others were taken and hanged, and thirty of their ships were captured.

The Danes' ships taken. A.D. 897.

Not long after this, King Alfred, when he had reigned twenty-nine years and six months, exchanged this mortal life. And thus much, and more, peradventure, than will seem to this our ecclesiastical history appertaining, touching the painful labours and travails of this good king; which he no less valiantly achieved than patiently sustained, for the necessary defence of his realm and subjects.

A.D. 901.

Character of King Alfred.

Now, if there be any prince who listeth to see and follow the virtuous and godly disposition of this king, both touching the institution of his own life, and also concerning his careful government of the common-weal, thus the histories of him do record: that at what time he, being young, perceiving himself somewhat disposed to carnal indulgences, and thereby hindered from many virtuous purposes, did not, as many young princes and kings' sons in the world be now wont to do, that is, resolve themselves into all kind of carnal license and dissolute sensuality, running and following without bridle, whithersoever their license given doth lead them; as therefore, not without cause, the common proverb reporteth of them, that "kings' sons learn nothing else well but only to ride:" meaning thereby, that while princes and kings' sons have about them flatterers, who bolster them in their faults, their horses yield to them no more than to any other, but if they sit not fast, they will cast them. But this young king, seeing in himself the inclination of his fleshly nature, and minding not to give himself so much as he might take, but rather by resistance to avoid the temptation thereof, besought God that he would send him some continual sickness to quench that vice, whereby he might be more profitable to the public business of the commonwealth, and more apt to serve God in his calling.[1]

His godly prayer.

Then, at God's ordinance, he had the evil called Ficus till he came to the age of twenty years, whereof at length he was cured (as is said in some histories) by a virgin called Modwen, an Irish woman. After this sickness being taken away, to him fell another, which continued with him from the twentieth to the forty-fifth year of his age (according to his own petition and request, made unto God), whereby he was the more reclaimed and attempered from the other greater inconveniences, and less disposed to that which he did most abhor.

Moreover, to behold the bountiful goodness, joined with like prudence, in this man, in the ordering and disposing his riches and rents, it is not unworthy to be recited, how he divided his goods into two equal parts,[2] the one appertaining to uses secular, the other to uses spiritual or ecclesiastical; of the which two principal parts, the first he divided into three portions, namely, one to the

(1) Cestren. lib. v. cap. 1. Fab. cap. 17.
(2) Polychron. lib. v. cap. 1. Guliel. Malmesb. lib. de Regibus.

behoof of his house and family; one to the workmen and builders of his new works, wherein he had great delight and cunning; and one to strangers. Likewise the other second half upon spiritual uses, he did thus divide in four portions; one to the relieving of the poor, another to monasteries, the third portion to the schools of Oxford for the maintaining of good letters, the fourth he sent to foreign churches without the realm. This also is left in stories written in his commendation for his great tolerance and sufferance, that when he had builded the new monastery at Winchester, and afterward his son Edward had purchased of the bishop and the chapter a sufficient piece of ground for certain offices to be adjoined unto the same, and had given for every foot of ground, "marcam auri pleni ponderis" (which was, as I think, a mark of gold or more), yet Alfred therewithal was not greatly discontented to see his coffers so wasted.

Alfred. A.D. 901. His liberal heart.

Over and besides, how sparing and frugal he was of time, as of a thing in this earth most precious, and how far from all vain pastimes and idleness he was, this doth well declare, which in the story of Malmesbury and other writers is told of him; namely, that he so divided the day and night in three parts, if he were not let by wars or other great business, that eight hours he spent in study and learning, other eight hours he spent in prayer and almsdeeds, and other eight hours he spent in his natural rest, sustenance of his body, and the needs of the realm; which order he kept duly by the burning of waxen tapers kept in his closet by persons appointed for that purpose.[1]

How well and godly he spent his time.

How studious he was and careful of the commonwealth, and maintenance of public tranquillity, his laws, most godly set forth and devised by him, may declare; wherein especially by him was provided for the extirpation and abolishing of all theft and thieves out of the realm, whereby the realm, through his vigilant care, was brought into such tranquillity, or rather perfection, that in every cross or turning-way, he made to be set up a golden brooch, at least of silver gilded, throughout his dominions, and none so hardy, neither by day nor night, to take it down; for the more credit whereof, the words of the Latin story be these, "armillas aureas juberet suspendi, quæ viantium aviditatem irritarent, dum non essent qui eas abriperent."[2] And no great marvel therein, if the realm in those days was brought into such an order, and justice so well ministered, when the king himself was so vigilant in overseeing the doings of his judges and officers; whereof thus also we read in the said author testified: "judiciorum a suis hominibus factorum inquisitor perperam actorum asperrimus corrector," *i. e.* "he was," saith mine author, speaking of the king, "a vigilant inquisitor of the doings of his judges, and a strict punisher of their misdoings." Jornalensis also writing upon the same, saith, "he did diligently search out the doings of his officers, and especially of his judges, so that if he knew any of them to err, either through covetousness or unskilfulness, them he removed from their office."[3]

His godly laws.

(1) Guliel. Malmesb. lib. de regibus Angl. (2) Ibid.

(3) "Facta ministrorum suorum et potissime judicum diligenter investigavit, adeo ut quos ex avaritia aut imperitia errare cognosceret, ab officio removebat."—Ex Hist. Jornalensi.

Alfred. A.D. 901.

And thus much concerning the valiant acts and noble virtues of this worthy prince; whereunto, although there were no other ornaments adjoining besides, yet sufficient were they alone to set forth a prince worthy of excellent commendation. Now, besides these other qualities and gifts of God's grace in him above-mentioned, remaineth another part of his no little praise and commendation, which is his learning and knowledge of good letters, wherein he not only was excellently expert himself, but also a worthy maintainer of the same through all his dominions. Where, before his time, no use of grammar or other sciences was practised in this realm, especially about the west parts of the land, there, through the industry of this king, schools began to be erected and studies to flourish. Although among the Britons, in the town of Chester, in South Wales, long before that, in King Arthur's time, as Galfridus writeth,[1] both grammar and philosophy, with other tongues, were taught. After that, some writers record that in the time of Egbert, king of Kent, this island began to flourish with philosophy. About which time some also think that the university of Granchester, near to that which now is called Cambridge, began to be founded by Bede, following this conjecture therein, for that Alcuinus, before-mentioned, who after went to Rome, and from thence to France, in the time of Charlemagne, where he first began the university of Paris, was first trained up in the exercise of studies at the same school of Granchester. Bede[2] also, writing of Sigebert, king of East Anglia, declareth how that king, returning out of France into England, according to the examples which he did there see, ordered and disposed schools of learning, through the means of Felix, then bishop, and placed in them masters and teachers, after the use and manner of the Cantuarites. And yet before these times, moreover, it is thought that there were two schools or universities within the realm; the one for Greek, at the town of Greglade, which afterward was called Kirkelade; the other for Latin, at a place then called Latinlade, afterward Lethelade, near Oxford.

King Alfred commended for learning.

Learning first encouraged in England.

Chester [*i.e.* Caerleon], a place of learning.

University of Granchester by Cambridge.

University of Paris.

King Sigebert a founder of schools.

Two ancient schools in England, one for Greek, the other for Latin. *See Appendix.*

But, however it chanced that the knowledge and study of good letters, once planted in this realm, afterward went to decay, yet King Alfred deserveth no little praise for restoring, or rather increasing the same; after whose time they have ever since continued, albeit not continually through every age in like perfection. But this we may see, what it is to have a prince learned himself, who, feeling and tasting the price and value of science and knowledge, is thereby not only the more apt to rule, but also to instruct and frame his subjects from a rude barbarity, to a more civil congruity of life, and to a better understanding of things, as we see in this famous prince to happen. Concerning his first education and bringing up, although it was somewhat late before he entered on his letters, yet, such was the apt towardness and docility of his nature, that being a child he had the Saxon Poems, as they were used then in his own tongue, by heart and memory. Afterwards with years and time he grew up in such perfection of learning and knowledge that, as mine author saith, "nullus Anglorum fuerit vel intelligendo acutior, vel interpretando elegantior;" which

(1) Lib. ix. cap. 12. See Appendix. (2) Beda, lib. iii. cap. 18. See Appendix.

thing in him the more was to be marvelled at, for that he was twelve years of age before he knew any letter. Then his mother, careful and tender over him, having by chance a book in her hand, which he would fain have, promised to give him the same, so that he would learn it.[1] Whereupon he, for greediness of the book, soon learned the letters, having for his schoolmaster Pleimundus, afterwards bishop of Canterbury. And so daily grew he more and more in knowledge, that, at length, as mine author saith, "a great part of the Latin library he translated into English, converting to the uses of his citizens a notable prey of foreign ware and merchandize."[2] Of the books by him and through him translated, were Orosius, the Pastoral of Gregory, the History of Bede, Boëtius 'de Consolatione Philosophiæ;' also a book of his own making and in his own tongue, which in the English speech he called a Hand-book, in Greek called Enchiridion, in Latin a Manual. Besides the History of Bede, translated into the Saxon tongue, he also himself compiled a story in the same speech, called, 'The Story of Alfred,' both which books, in the Saxon tongue, I have seen, though the language I do not understand. As he was learned himself excellently well, so likewise did he inflame all his countrymen to the love of liberal letters, as the words of the story reporteth: "he exhorted and stirred his people to the study of learning, some with gifts, some by threats, suffering no man to aspire to any dignity in the court except he were learned."[3] Moreover, another story thus saith, speaking of his nobles: "also his nobles so much he did allure to the embracing of good letters, that they sent all their sons to school; or if they had no sons, yet their servants they caused to be learned;"[4] whereby the common proverb may be found, not so common as true, "such as is the prince, such be the subjects." He began, moreover, to translate the Psalter into English, and had almost finished the same, had not death prevented him.[5] In the prologue of the book,[6] thus he writeth, declaring the cause why he was so earnest and diligent in translating good books from Latin into English; showing the cause thereof why he so did, as followeth:[7] "the cause was, for that innumerable ancient libraries, which were kept in churches, were consumed with fire by the Danes; and that men had rather suffer peril of their life than follow the exercises of studies; and therefore he thought thereby to provide for the people of the English nation."[7]

Alfred. A.D. 901. *See Appendix.*

Pleimundus teacher to King Alfred, afterwards bishop of Canterbury.

Books translated out of Latin by Alfred.

None advanced to any dignity except he were learned.

The Psalter translated into English by King Alfred.

It is told of him, both by Polychronicon, Malmesbury, Jornalensis, and other historians, whereof I have no names, that he, seeing his country to the westward to be so desolate of schools and learning, partly to profit himself, partly to furnish his country and subjects with better knowledge, first sent for Grinbald, a learned *See Appendix.*

(1) Ex Hist. Guliel. Malmesb. de Regib. Ang.

(2) "Plurimam partem Romanæ Bibliothecæ Anglorum auribus dedit, opimam prædam peregrinarum mercium civium usibus convertens."

(3) "Illos præmiis, hos minis hortando, neminem illiteratum ad quamlibet curiæ dignitatem aspirare permittens."

(4) "Optimates suos ad discendam literaturam adeo provocavit, ut ipsi filios suos, vel, si filios non haberent, saltem servos suos, si ingenio pollerent, concessa libertate literis commendarent." —Polychron. lib. vi. cap. 1.

(5) Guliel. Malmesb. de Regib. Ang.

(6) Entitled, "Pastorale Gregorii."

(7) "Quod Ecclesiæ, in quibus innumeræ priscæ Bibliothecæ continebantur, cum libris a Danis incensæ sint: quodque in tota insula studium literarum ita abolitum esset, ut quisque minus timeret capitis periculum, quam studiorum exercitia adire. Quapropter se in hoc Anglis suis consulere," &c.

Alfred. A.D. 901. monk, out of France, to come into England: he also sent for another learned man out of Wales, whose name was Asserius, whom he made bishop of Sherborne; and out of Mercia he sent for Werefrith, bishop of Worcester, to whom he gave the Dialogues of Gregory to be translated. But chiefly he used the counsel of Neotus, who then was counted for a holy man, an abbot of a certain monastery, in Cornwall, by whose advisement he sent for the learned men above recited, and also first ordained certain schools of divers arts at Oxford, and enfranchised the same with many great liberties;[1] whereof perhaps the school now called New College first then begun by this Neotus, might take its name; which afterwards, peradventure, the bishops of Winchester, after a larger manner, did re-edify and enlarge with greater possessions.

Learned men sent for and placed about the king.

Neotus an abbot.

The schools and university of Oxford begun by King Alfred.

Moreover, among other learned men who were about King Alfred, histories make mention of Johannes Scotus, a godly divine and a learned philosopher; but not that Scotus whom now we call Duns, for this Johannes Scotus came before him many years. This Johannes is described to have been of a sharp wit and of great eloquence, and well expert in the Greek tongue, pleasant and merry of nature and conditions, as appeareth by divers of his doings and answers. First, he coming to France out of his own country of Scotland, by reason of the great tumults of war, was there worthily entertained, and for his learning had in great estimation of Charles the Bald, the French king; who commonly and familiarly used ever to have him about him, both at table and in chamber. Upon a time the king sitting at meat, and seeing something (belike in this John Scot) which seemed not very courtly, cast forth a merry word, asking him what difference there was betwixt a Scot and a sot? Whereunto the Scot, sitting over against the king somewhat lower, replied again suddenly rather than advisedly, yet merrily, saying, "mensa tantum," that is, "the table only;" importing thereby himself to be the Scot, and so calling the king a sot by craft; which word how other princes would have stomached I know not, but this Charles, for the great reverence he bare to his learning, turned it but to laughter among his nobles, and so let it pass.

Johannes Scotus.

See Appendix.

His answer to the French king.

Another time the same king being at dinner was served with a certain dish of fish, wherein were two great fishes and a little one. After the king had taken thereof his repast, he set down to John Scot the aforesaid fish, to distribute unto the other two clerks sitting there with him, who were two tall and mighty persons, he himself being but a little man. John taketh the fish, of the which the two great ones he taketh and carveth to himself, while the little fish he reacheth to the other two. The king, perceiving his division thus made, reprehended the same. Then John, whose manner was ever to find out some honest matter to delight the king, answered him again, proving his division to stand just and equal: "for here," saith he, "be two great ones and a little one," pointing to the two great fishes and himself, "and likewise here again is a little one and two great;" pointing to the little fish, and the two great persons: "I pray you," saith he, "what odds is there, or what

(1) Guliel. Malmesb.; Jornalensis; Fabian, c. 171.

distribution can be more equal?" Whereat the king with his nobles being much delighted, laughed merrily. *Alfred.* A.D. 901.

At the request of this Charles, surnamed Bald, the French king, this Scotus translated the book of Dionysius, entitled, "De Hierarchia," from Greek into Latin, word for word, "quo fit," as my author saith, "ut vix intelligatur Latina litera, quum nobilitate magis Græca, quam positione construitur Latina." He wrote also a book, 'De Corpore et Sanguine Domini,' which was afterward condemned by the Pope, in the council of Vercelli. The same John Scot, moreover, compiled a book of his own, giving it a Greek title, 'Περὶ φυσικῶν διαιρέσεων,' that is, 'De naturæ divisione;' in which book (as saith my aforesaid author) is contained the resolution of many profitable questions, but so that he is thought to follow the Greek church rather than the Latin, and for the same was counted of some to be a heretic; because in that book some things there be which in all points accord not with the Romish religion. Wherefore the pope, writing to the said King Charles of this Scotus, complaineth, as in his own words here followeth:—"relation hath been made unto our apostleship, that a certain man called Johannes, a Scottish man, hath translated the book of Dionysius the Areopagite, of the names of God and of the heavenly orders, from Greek into Latin; which book, according to the custom of the church, ought first to have been approved by our judgment; namely, seeing the said John, albeit he be said to be a man of great learning and science, in time past, hath been noted by common rumour, to have been a man not of upright or sound doctrine in certain points."[1] For this cause, the said Scotus being constrained to remove from France, came into England, allured, as some testify, by the letters of Alured, or Alfred, by whom he was with great favour entertained, and was conversant a great space about the king; till, at length (whether before or after the death of the king, it is uncertain), he went to Malmesbury, where he taught certain scholars a few years, by whom at last most impiously he was murdered and slain with their penknives, and so died, as stories say, a martyr, buried at the said monastery of Malmesbury with this epitaph.

Johannes Scotus translates Dionysius de Hierarchia into Latin. *See Appendix.*

Is accused by the Pope as a heretic

Slain by his own scholars.

> "Clauditur in tumulo sanctus sophista Johannes,
> Qui ditatus erat jam vivens dogmate miro.
> Martyrio tandem Christi conscendere regnum
> Qui meruit, regnans secli per secula cuncta."

King Alfred having these helps of learned men about him, and no less learned also himself, past his time not only to the great utility and profit of his subjects, but also to a rare and profitable example of other christian kings and princes for them to follow. This aforesaid Alfred had by his wife, called Ethelwitha, two sons, Edward and Ethelward; and three daughters, Elfleda, Ethelgora, and Ethelguida: "quas omnes liberalibus fecit artibus erudiri;" that is, "whom he set all to their books and study of liberal arts," as my story testifieth. First, Edward, his eldest son, succeeded him

The children of Alfred.

(1) "Relatum est apostolatui nostro, quod opus Dionysii Areopagitæ, quod de divinis nominibus et de cœlestibus ordinibus Græco descripsit eloquio, quidam vir Johannes (genere Scotus) nuper transtulit in Latinum. Quod, juxta morem Ecclesiæ, nobis mitti, et nostro judicio debuit approbari; præsertim quum idem Johannes (licet multæ scientiæ esse prædicetur) olim non sane sapere in quibusdam frequenti rumore dicatur," &c.

Alfred. A.D. 901.

in the kingdom; the second son, Ethelward, died before his father; Ethelgora, his middle daughter, was made a nun; the other two were married, the one in Merceland, the other to the earl of Flanders. Thus King Alfred, that valiant, virtuous, and learned prince, after he had thus christianly governed the realm for the term of twenty-nine years and six months, departed this life, 5 Cal. Novemb. A.D. 901, and lieth buried at Winchester. Of Alfred this I find, moreover, greatly noted and commended in history, and not here to be forgotten, for the rare example thereof, that, wheresoever he was, or whithersoever he went, he bare always about him in his bosom or pocket a little book containing the Psalms of David, and certain other orisons of his own collecting, whereupon he was continually reading or praying whensoever he was otherwise vacant, having leisure thereunto. Finally, what were the virtues of this famous king, this little table hereunder written, which is left in ancient writing in remembrance of his worthy and memorable life, doth sufficiently, in few lines, contain.[1]

Death of King Alfred. A.D. 901.

Archbishops of Canterbury.

In the story of this Alfred, a little above, mention was made of Pleimund, schoolmaster to the said Alfred, and also bishop of Canterbury, as succeeding Ethelred there bishop before him; which Pleimund governed that see thirty-four years. After Pleimund succeeded Athelm, who sat twelve years, and after him, Ulfelm, who sat thirteen years. Then followed Odo, a Dane, born in the said see of Canterbury, who governed the same twenty years, being in great favour with King Athelstan, King Edmund, and Edwin, as in process hereafter (Christ willing), as place and order doth require, shall more at large be expressed.

See Appendix

See Appendix.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

Nine popes in nine years

As touching the course and proceedings of the Romish bishops there, where I last made mention of them, I ended with Pope Stephen V.[2] After his time was much broil in the election of the bishops of Rome, one contending against another, insomuch that within the space of nine years were nine bishops, of whom the first was Formosus, who succeeded next unto the forenamed Stephen V.,

(1) "In Regis Alfredi, et virtutis illius claram memoriam:—Famosus, bellicosus, victoriosus; viduarum, pupillorum, et orphanorum, pauperumque, provisor studiosus; poetarum Saxonicorum peritissimus; suæ genti charissimus, affabilis omnibus, liberalissimus; prudentia, fortitudine, temperantia, justitia præditus; in infirmitate, qua continue laborabat, patientissimus; in exequendis judiciis indagator discretissimus, in servicio Dei vigilantissimus et devotissimus, Anglo-Saxonum Rex Alfredus, piissimi Ethelulfi filius, 29 annis sexque mensibus regni sui peractis mortem obiit. Indict. 4. quinto cal. Novemb. feria quarta, et Wintoniæ in novo monasterio sepultus, immortalitatis stolam et resurrectionis gloriam cum justis expectat," &c.

Moreover, in the history of Henry of Huntingdon, these verses I find written in commendation of the same Alfred, made, as I suppose and by his words appeareth, by the said author, whereof I thought not to defraud the reader. The words thereof here follow:

Epitaphium Regis Alfredi.

Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem,
Armipotens Alfrede, dedit, probitasque laborem,
Perpetuumque labor nomen: cui mixta dolori
Gaudia semper erant, spes semper mixta timori.
Si modo victor eras, ad crastina bella pavebas,
Si modo victus eras, ad crastina bella parabas.
Cui vestes sudore jugi, cui sica cruore
Tincta jugi, quantum sit onus regnare, probarunt.
Non fuit immensi quisquam per climata mundi,
Cui tot in adversis nil respirare liceret.
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,
Aut gladio potuit vitæ finisse dolores.
Jam post transactos vitæ regnique labores
Christus ei sit vera quies, sceptrumque perenne.

See Appendix.

(2) See page 12. Stephen V.—Ed.

being made pope against the mind of certain in Rome, that would rather Sergius, then deacon of the church of Rome, to have been pope: notwithstanding, Mars and money prevailed on Formosus' part. This Formosus, of whom partly also is mentioned in other places of this ecclesiastical history,[1] being before bishop of Porto, a sea-port near Rome, had, on a time, I know not upon what causes, offended Pope John VIII., by reason whereof, for fear of the pope, he voided away, and left his bishopric, and because he, being sent for again by the pope, would not return, therefore was excommunicated. At length, coming into France to make there his satisfaction unto the pope, he was degraded from a bishop into a secular man's habit, swearing to the pope that he would no more re-enter into the city of Rome, nor claim his bishopric again; subscribing, moreover, with his own hand, to continue from that time in the state of a secular person. But then Pope Martin, the next pope after John, released the said Formosus of his oath, and restored him again unto his bishopric; whereby Formosus not only entered Rome again, but also obtained shortly after the papacy. Thus he being placed in the popedom, there arose a great doubt or controversy among the divines about his consecration, whether it was lawful or not; some holding against him, that forsomuch as he was solemnly deposed, degraded, unpriested, and also sworn not to reiterate the state ecclesiastical, therefore he ought to be taken no otherwise than for a secular man. Others alleged again, that whatsoever Formosus was, yet for the dignity of that order, and for the credit of them whom he ordained, his consecration ought to stand in force, especially seeing the said Formosus was afterward received and absolved by Pope Martin from that his perjury and degradation. In the mean time, as witnesseth Sigebert, this Formosus sendeth for King Arnulph for aid against his adversaries; who then marching to Rome, was prevented from entering, and besieged the Leonine quarter. But in the siege the Romans within so played the lions, that a poor hare, or such a like thing, running toward the city (saith the author), the host of Arnulph followed after with such a main cry, that the valiant Romans upon the walls for very fear, and where there was no hurt, cast themselves desperately over the walls, so that Arnulph with little labour scaled the walls, and got the city. Thus Arnulph, obtaining the city of Rome, rescueth Pope Formosus, and beheadeth his adversaries; whom the pope to gratify with like recompence again, blesseth and crowneth him for emperor. Thus Formosus, sitting fast about the space of four or five years, followed his predecessors; after whose time, as I said, within the space of nine years, were nine bishops, as followeth. But in the mean time, concerning the story of this Formosus declared by Sigebert and many other chroniclers, this thing would I gladly ask, and more gladly learn, of some indifferent good Catholic person, who not of obstinacy, but of simple error being a papist, would answer it to his conscience, whether doth he think the holy order of priesthood, which he taketh for one of the seven sacraments, to be *character indelebilis* or not? If it be not *indelebilis*, that is, if it be such a thing as may be put off, why then

Ecclesiastical affairs.

See Appendix.

Schisms among the popes.

See Appendix.

See Appendix

(1) Ex Chronico Sigeberti.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

doth the pope's doctrine so call and so hold the contrary, pretending it to be *indelebilis*, unremovable? If it be indeed so as they teach and affirm, *indelebilis character*, why then did Pope John, or could Pope John, annihilate and evacuate one of his seven pope-holy sacraments, making of a priest a non-priest or layman, uncharactering his own order, which is (as he saith) a character, which in no wise may be blotted out or removed? Again, howsoever Pope John, is to be judged in this matter to do either well or not well, this would I know, if he did well in so dispriesting and discharactering Formosus for such private offences? If yea, how then standeth his doing with his own doctrine which teacheth the contrary? If he did not well, how then standeth his doctrine with his doings to be true, which teacheth that the pope with his synod of cardinals cannot err? Moreover, if this Pope John did not err in his disordering Formosus, how then did Martin, his successor, not err in repealing the said doing of his predecessor? or how did not Pope Formosus himself err, who being unpriested by Pope John, afterward, without reiterating the character or order of priesthood, took upon him to be Pope, and made acts and laws in the church? Again, if Formosus now pope did not err, how then did Pope Stephen his successor afterward not err, who did annihilate the consecration, and all other acts of the said Formosus, as erroneous? Or again, if we say that this Stephen with his synod of cardinals did right, then how could it be that Pope Theodore, and Pope John IX, who came after the aforesaid Stephen, did not plainly err, who, approving the consecration of Formosus, did condemn and burn the acts synodal of Stephen and his cardinals, which before had condemned Formosus, according as in story here consequently may appear?

Whether the pope with his cardinals may err.

After Formosus had governed the see of Rome five years, succeeded first Boniface VI., who continued but five and twenty days. Then came Stephen VI., who so envied the name of his predecessor Formosus, that he abrogated and dissolved his decrees, and, taking up his body after it was buried, cut two fingers off his right hand, and commanded them to be cast into the Tiber, and then buried the body in a private or layman's sepulchre.[1]

Thus, after Stephen had sat in the chair of pestilence one year, succeeded to the same chair Pope Romanus, and sat three months, repealing the acts decreed by Stephen his predecessor, against Formosus. Next to him came Theodore II., who likewise taking part with Formosus against the aforesaid Stephen, reigned but twenty days. Then sat Pope John IX., who did fight and repugn against the Romans, and, to confirm the cause of Formosus more surely, did hold a synod at Ravenna of seventy-four bishops, the French king Charles[2] and his archbishops being present at the same, at the which council were ratified all the decrees and doings of Formosus, and the contrary acts of the synod of Stephen VI. were burned. This pope lived not pope fully two years, after whom succeeded Benedict IV., who kept the chair three years. After whom Leo V. was next pope, who within forty days of his papacy, was, with strong

One council burneth another's decrees. A.D. 900.

(1) Ex Chron. Martini pœnitentiarii, Platinâ, Sigeberto, Polychronico, et aliis.
(2) See Appendix.

hand, taken and cast into prison by one Christopher, his own household chaplain, whom he had long nourished before in his house; which thing, saith Platina, could not be done without great conspiracy, and great slaughter of men. Which Christopher, being pope about the space of seven months, was likewise himself hoisted from his papal throne by Sergius, like as he had done to his master before; and thus within the space of nine years had been nine popes, one after another. Then Sergius, after he had thrust down Pope Christopher into a monastery, and shorn him monk, occupied the room seven years. This Sergius, a rude man and unlearned, very proud and cruel, had before been put back from the popedom by Formosus above-mentioned; by reason whereof, to revenge himself upon Formosus again, Sergius being now in his papacy, causing the body of Formosus, where it was buried, to be taken up and afterward set up in the papal chair, as in his pontificalibus, first degraded him, and then commanded his head to be smitten off, with the other three fingers that were left, as Sigebert writes;[1] which done, he made his body to be thrown into the Tiber, deposing likewise all such as by the said Formosus before had been consecrated and invested. This body of Formosus, thus thrown into the Tiber, was afterward, as our writers say, found and taken up by certain fishers, and so brought into St. Peter's temple; at the presence whereof, as they say, certain images there standing by, bowed down themselves, and reverenced the same—with lie and all. But such deceivable miracles of stocks and images, in monkish and friary temples, be to us no news, especially here in England, where we have been so inured to the like, and so many, that such wily practices cannot be to us invisible, though this crown-shorn generation think themselves to dance in a net. But the truth is, while they think to deceive the simple, these wily beguilers most of all deceive themselves, as they will find, except they repent. By this Pope Sergius first came up to bear about candles on Candlemas day, for the purifying of the blessed Virgin; as though the sacred conception of Jesus the Son of God, were to be purified as a thing impure, and that with candle-light!

Ecclesiastical affairs.

Pope Leo V. imprisoned and unpoped by his own chaplain.

A.D. 905.

Pope Formosus, after death, beheaded.

Feigned miracle upon the body of Formosus.

Bearing candles on Candlemas day, how it came up.

After Sergius entered Pope Anastatius III., in whose time the body of Formosus, aforenamed, is thought to be found of fishermen in the river Tiber, and so brought (as is said) into the temple to be saluted of the images; which thing may be quickly tainted as a lie; for how is it to be thought that the body of Formosus, so long dead before, and now lying seven years in the river, could remain whole all that while, that fishers might take it up, and discern it to be the same? After Anastatius had sat two years followed Pope Lando I., the father, as some stories think, of Pope John, which John is said to have been the paramour of Theodora, a famous harlot of Rome, and set up of the same harlot, either against Lando, or after Lando his father, to succeed in his room. There is a story writer, called Luithprandus,[2] who maketh mention of this Theodora and Pope John X., and saith, moreover, that this Theodora had a daughter, named Marozia, which Marozia had, by Pope Sergius above-mentioned a son, who was afterward Pope John XI. The same Marozia afterwards chanced

A.D. 911.

A.D. 913.

Harlots at this time ruled all at Rome.

(1) See infrà, vol. viii. p. 292, and Appendix.—Ed.
(2) Luithprandus, de Imperatoribus, lib. ii. cap. 13.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

to marry with Guido, marquis of Tuscany, through the means of which Guido and his friends at Rome, she brought to pass that this Pope John X. was smothered with a pillow laid to his mouth, after he had reigned thirteen years, and so that the aforesaid John XI., her son, might succeed next after him; but because the clergy and people of Rome did not agree to his election, Pope Leo VI. was in his place set up; thus, Pope John, the son of Sergius and Marozia, being dejected, Pope Leo reigned seven months. After him, Pope Stephen VII. or VIII. reigned two years, who, being poisoned, Pope John XI. above-rehearsed, the son of Sergius and Marozia, was set up again in the papacy, where he reigned nearly the space of five years. Of the wickedness of Marozia, how she married two brethren, one after the death of the other, and how she governed all Rome and the whole church at that time, I let it pass. Although the Latin verses wherewith Luithprandus doth inveigh against such women as marry two brethren, were not unworthy here to be recited, and perhaps might be further applied than to that Marozia of Rome, yet for shortness I let them also pass. After John XI. followed Pope Leo VII. three years and four months; Pope Stephen VIII. three years and four months; Pope Martin III. three years and six months; and, after him, Pope Agapetus II. eight years and six months;[1] about whose time, or a little before, began first the order of monks, called Ordo Cluniacensis. But now to leave off these monstrous matters of Rome,[2] and to return again to our country of England, where we last left off.

A.D. 929. *See Appendix.* Pope John XI. restored.

See Appendix.

A.D. 939.

Ordo Cluniacensis beginneth A.D. 946.

See Appendix.

EDWARD THE ELDER.[3]

A.D. 901.

After the reign of the famous King Alfred, his son Edward succeeded, sirnamed the Elder; where first is to be noted, that before the conquest of the Normans, there were in England three Edwards: first, this Edward the Elder; secondly, Edward the Martyr; thirdly, Edward the Confessor; whereof hereafter (by the grace of Christ) shall follow in order, as place shall give to be declared. This Edward began his reign A.D. 901, and governed the land right valiantly and nobly four and twenty years. In knowledge of good letters and learning he was not to be compared to his father; otherwise, in princely renown, in civil government, and in martial prowess, he was nothing inferior, but rather excelled him, through whose valiant acts the princedom of Wales and kingdom of Scotland, with Constantine king thereof, were first to him subdued. He adjoined, moreover, to his dominion, the country of East Anglia, that is, of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. All Merceland also he recovered, and Northumberland, out of the hands of the Danes. In all his wars he never lightly went without victory. The subjects of his provinces and dominions were so inured and hardened in continual practice and feats of war, that when they heard of any enemies coming (never tarrying for any

Three Edwards before the Conquest.

Alfred and his son Edward compared.

(1) On the authority of Mosheim, some obvious errors in the history of the popes of Rome have been here corrected.—Ed.

(2) Baronius calls the tenth century an "iron age, barren of all goodness; a leaden age, abounding with all wickedness; and a dark age, remarkable above all the rest for the scarcity of writers and men of learning."—Ed.

(3) Edition 1563, p. 10. Ed. 1583, p. 146. Ed. 1596, p. 132. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 163.—Ed.

bidding from the king or from his dukes), straightway they encountered with them; both in number and in knowledge of the order of war, excelling always their adversaries. Malmesbury saith, "So was the coming and assaulting of their enemies, to the people and common soldiers but a trifle, to the king but a ridicule."[1] Among other adversaries who were busy rather than wise, in assailing this king, was one called Clito Ethelwold, a young man, King Edward's uncle's son; who, first occupying the town of Wimborne, and taking thence a nun with him, whom he had already married, fled by night to Northumberland, to unite himself unto the Danes, and was made chief king and captain over them. Being chased from thence, Clito fled over into France, but shortly returning again into England, he landed in East England, where, with a company of Danes of that country gathering to him, he destroyed and pillaged much of the country about Crekinford and Crikeland; and so passing over the Thames, after he had spoiled the land there to Bradenstock, returned again to Norfolk and Suffolk; where, meeting with an ambushment of Kentish men, which dragged and tarried after the main host of Edward, contrary to his commandment, he inclosed them, and slew the most part of them. Soon after, the two hosts meeting together, between the two ditches of St. Edmund's land, after a long fight, Clito and many of the Danes were slain, and the remnant were constrained to seek for peace, which, upon certain conditions, and under a tribute, was to them granted.

Edward the Elder A.D. 913.

Clito Ethelwold rebels against King Edward. A.D. 904. *See Appendix.*

In process, about the twelfth year of his reign, the Danes repenting them of their covenants, and minding to break the same, assembled a host, and met with the king in Staffordshire, at a place called Tottenhall, and soon after at Wodenfield, at which two places the king slew two kings, two earls, and many thousands of Danes that occupied the country of Northumberland.

Thus the importunate rage of the Danes being assuaged, King Edward having now some leisure given from wars to other studies, gave his mind to the building or repairing of cities, towns, and castles, that by the Danes were rased, shattered, and broken; as first, of Chester, which city he enlarged to double that it was before, compassing the castle within the walls of the same, which before stood without. That done, the king builded a strong castle at Hereford, on the edge of Wales. Also, for the strengthening of the country, he made a castle at the mouth of the water of Avon, and another castle at Buckingham, and the third fast thereby upon the river Ouse. Moreover, he builded or re-edified the towns of Towcester and Wigmoor, and destroyed the castle that the Danes had made at Demesford. Likewise upon the river Trent, against the old town of Nottingham, he builded a new town on the south side, and made a bridge over the river between the said two towns. Also by the river Mersey he builded a city or town in the north end of Mercia, and named it Thilwall; and after repaired the city of Manchester, that was sore defaced with wars of the Danes.

A.D. 913. *See Appendix.*

The new town of Nottingham builded

In this renewing and building of towns and castles, for the more fortifying of his realm, his sister Elfleda, daughter of King Alfred, and married to the duke of Mercia, as is before-mentioned, was no small

(1) "Ita hostes militibus contemptui, regi risui erant."—Guliel Malmesb. de Regib.

Edward the Elder. A.D. 925.

helper. Of this Elfleda, it is firmly of writers affirmed, that she being, as is said, married to Ethelred, duke of Mercia, after she had once assayed the pains of travail, did so much abhor them, that it seemed to her, she said, not seemly for a noble woman to desire that whereof so great sorrow and travail should ensue. Yet notwithstanding, the same Elfleda, for all her delicate tenderness, was so hardy in warlike dangers, which nature giveth not to women, that, fighting against the Danes, four of her next knights, who were guardians of her body, were slain fast by her. This Elfleda, among her other noble acts, whereby she deserved praise, was a great helper and stirrer up of her brother Edward, who builded and newly repaired many castles and towns, as Tamworth beside Lichfield, Stafford, Warwick, Shrewsbury, Watrisbury, Eldsbury beside Chester in the forest, now destroyed; also, in the north end of Mercia, upon the river Mersey, a castle called Runcorn; as well as a bridge over the Severn, named Brimmisbury bridge.

Character of Elfleda.

See Appendix.

The laws of King Alfred and King Edward.

As touching the laws and statutes of this Edward, as also of his father Alfred, made before him, I omit here to record them for length of matter and waste of time; yet, notwithstanding, this admonition by the way I think good to note, that in the days of those ancient kings reigning in England, the authority both of conferring bishoprics and spiritual promotions, and also of prescribing laws as well to the churchmen as to the laity, and of ordering and intermeddling in matters merely spiritual, was then in the hands of kings ruling in the land, and not only in the hand of the pope, as appeareth by the laws of Alfred.[1]

Kings of England in times past had authority in spiritual causes.

By these and other such like constitutions it may appear, how the governance and direction of the church in those days depended not upon Monsieur le Pope of Rome, but upon the kings, who here, in their time (under the Lord), did govern the land. To this also the example of King Edward's time gives testimony; which Edward, with Pleimundus above-mentioned, archbishop of Canterbury, and with other bishops, in a synod assembled, assigned and elected seven bishops, in seven metropolitan churches of the realm; the first of whom was Fridelstan, the second Adelstan, the third Werstan, the fourth Adeleme, the fifth Edelfus, the sixth Dernegus, the seventh Kenulphus; in which election the king's authority seemed then alone to be sufficient.

A.D. 925. Children of King Edward the Elder.

This Edward, as in the beginning was said, reigned twenty-four years, who had three wives, Egwin, Elfled, and Etheiwid. Of Egwin he had his eldest son Athelstan, who next succeeded in the kingdom, and a daughter, married after to the duke of Northumberland. Of Elfled he received two sons, to wit, Ethelwald and Edwin, and six daughters. Ethelwald was excellently well seen in all knowledge of learning, much resembling, both in countenance and conditions, his grandfather Alfred; he died soon after his father. Of his six daughters, two of them, Elfled and Ethelhilda, were made nuns, the other

(1) "Si quis fornicetur cum uxore aliena, &c.
Si quis in quadragesima sanctum velum in publico vel in lecto, &c.
Ut Christiani Deum diligant et paganismo renuncient, &c.
Si quis Christianitatem mutet, &c.
Si quis ordinatus sacris furetur, &c.
Si Presbyter ad rectum terminum sanctum chrisma, &c.
Si duo fratres vel cognati cum una aliqua fornicentur, &c."

four were married; Edgiva to Charles, the French king, in her father's time; Ethilda, by king Athelstan, was married to Hugo, the son of Duke Robert; Edgitha and Algiva were both sent to Henry, prince of Almains. Of which two sisters, the former the said Henry married to his son Otho, who was the first emperor of the Almains; the other sister, who was Algiva, the aforesaid Henry married to a certain duke,[1] about the borders of the Alps, in France. Of his third wife, Ethelwid, he received two sons, Edmund and Edred, who both reigned after Athelstan; and two daughters, Edburga, whom he made a nun, and Eadguina, who was married to Ebles,[2] prince of Aquitaine, in France. These sons and daughters King Edward the Elder thus brought up; his daughters he set to spinning and to the needle; his sons he set to the study of learning, "to the end that they, being as first made philosophers, should be the more expert thereby to govern the commonwealth."[3]

Athelstan A.D. 925.

The bringing up of King Edward's children.

ATHELSTAN, OR ADELSTAN.[4]

ATHELSTAN, or Adelstan, after the death of Edward his father, began his reign in England, and was crowned at Kingston. He was a prince of worthy memory, valiant and wise in all his acts, nothing inferior to his father Edward, in like worldly renown of civil government, joined with much prosperous success in reducing this realm under the subjection of one monarchy; for he both expelled the Danes, subdued the Scots, and quieted the Welshmen, as well in North Wales as also in Cornwall. The first enemy against this Athelstan, was one Elfred, who, with a faction of seditious persons conspiring against the said Athelstan at Winchester, incontinently after the death of his father, went about to put out his eyes. Notwithstanding, the king escaping that danger, through the help of God, was at that time delivered. Elfred, upon the same being accused, fled to Rome, there before the pope to purge himself by his oath. When being brought to the church of St. Peter, and there swearing, or rather forswearing, himself to be clear, who indeed was guilty thereof, suddenly upon his oath fell down; and so brought to the English house in Rome, within three days after departed. The pope sending word to King Athelstan, whether he would have the said Elfred buried among Christians or not, at length, through the persuasions of his friends and kinsfolks, it was concluded that he should be buried in christian burial. This story although I find in no other writers mentioned, but only in the Chronicles of Malmesbury, yet, forasmuch as it beareth the witness and words of the king himself, as testified in an old deed of gift, given to the monastery of Malmesbury, I thought the same the more to be of credit. The words of the king proceed as follow in the note.[5]

A.D. 925.

Duke Elfred suddenly stricken by the hand of God for perjury.

(1) Louis l'Aveugle, king of Provence. L'Art de Ver. des Dates, Rois de Bourgogne et Provence. —Ed.

(2) Not Louis, as Foxe says; who, however, copies Malmesbury in this paragraph. Ibid.—Ed.

(3) "Ut quasi philosophi ad gubernandam rempublicam non jam rudes procederent."—Guliel. Malmesb. de Regib.

(4) Edition 1563, p. 10. Ed. 1583, p. 147. Ed. 1596, p. 133. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 164.—Ed.

(5) The copy of an old writing of King Athelstan, testifying of the miraculous death of Duke Elfred, suddenly stricken by the hand of God for perjury:—"Sciant sapientes regionis nostræ, non has præfatas terras me injuste rapuisse, rapinamque Deo dedisse. Sed sic eas accepi, quemadmodum judicaverunt omnes optimates regni Anglorum, insuper et apostolicus papa Romanæ

Athelstan. In the second year of the reign of King Athelstan, for an unity and a peace to be had between the king and the Danes of Northumberland, he married to Sitheric[1] their king his sister, whereof mention is made before; but shortly after, within one year, this Sitheric died, after whose death King Athelstan seized that province into his own hand, putting out the son of the aforesaid Sitheric, called Anlaff, who, with his brother Godfrey, fled, the one into Ireland, the other to Constantine, king of the Scots; and, when he had thus accorded with the Danes of Northumberland, he shortly made subject unto him Constantine, king of Scots. But the said Constantine meeked himself so lowly to the king, that he restored him to his former dignity, saying, that it was more honour to make a king than to be a king.

A. D. 933.

Northumberland and the Scots subdued to the king of England.

Not long after, the said Constantine, king of Scots, did break covenant with King Athelstan; wherefore he assembled his knights, and made towards Scotland, where he subduing his enemies, and bringing them again unto due subjection, returned into England with victory. Here, by the way, in some story writers, who, forgetting the office of historians, seem to play the poets, is written and recorded for a marvel, that the said Athelstan, returning out of Scotland into England, came to York, and so into the church of St. John of Beverly, to redeem his knife, which before he had left there for a pledge at his going forth: in the which place he praying to God and to St. John of Beverly, that he might leave there some remembrance whereby they that came after might know that the Scots by right should be subdued to the English men, smote with sword, they say, upon a great hard stone standing near about the castle of Dunbar, that with the stroke thereof the stone was cut a large ell deep, with a lie no less deep also than was the stroke in the stone. But of this poetical or fabulous story, albeit Polychronicon, Fabian, Jornalensis, and others more, constantly accord in the same, yet in Malmesbury and Huntington no mention is made at all. But peradventure, he that was the inventor first of this tale of the stone, was disposed to lie for the whetstone; wherefore in my mind he is worthy to have it. Of like truth and credit seemeth also to be this that followeth about the same year and time under the reign of King Athelstan, being the eighth year of his reign, of one Bristan, bishop of Winchester, who succeeded Frithstan, in the same see, and governed that bishopric four years. This Bristan, being a devout bishop in prayer and contemplation, used much, among his solitary walks, to frequent late the church-yard, praying

Fabulous miracles.

See Appendix

A.D. 933.

ecclesiæ Johannes, Elfredo defuncto, qui nostræ felicitati et vitæ æmulus extitit, nequitiæ inimicorum nostrorum consentiens, qui me voluerunt (patre meo defuncto) cæcare in urbe Wintonia, si non me Deus sua pietate eripuisset. Sed denudatis eorum machinamentis, remissus est ad Romanam ecclesiam, ut ibi se coram Apostolico Johanne jurejurando defenderet. Et hoc fecit coram altare sancti Petri. Sed facto juramento, cecidit coram altare, et manibus famulorum suorum portatus est ad scholam Anglorum, et ibi tertia nocte vitam finivit. Et tunc apostolicus ad nos remisit, et quid de eo ageretur a nobis consuluit, an cum cæteris Christianis corpus illius poneretur. His peractis et nobis renunciatis, optimates regionis nostræ cum propinquorum illius turma efflagitabant omni humilitate, ut corpus illius per nostram licentiam cum corporibus poneretur Christianorum. Nosque flagitationi illorum consentientes Romam remisimus; et papa consentiente, positus est ad cæteros Christianos, quamvis indignus. Et sic judicata est mihi tota possessio ejus in magnis et in modicis. Sed et hæc apicibus literarum prænotavimus, ne quando aboleatur, unde mihi præfata possessio, quam Deo et sancto Petro dedi, donatur. Nec justius novi, quam Deo et sancto Petro hanc possessionem dare, qui æmulum meum in conspectu omnium cadere fecerunt, et mihi prosperitatem regni largiti sunt." &c.—Guliel. Malmesb. lib. de Reg. in Vita Ethelstani. [Edit. Francof. p. 52.—Ed.]

(1) See pp. 38, 43.—Ed.

for the souls there, and all christian souls departed. Upon a time the said Bristan, after his wonted manner proceeding in his devotions, when he had done, came to "Requiescant in pace," whereunto suddenly a great multitude of souls answering together with one voice, said, "Amen." Of this miracle albeit I have not much to say, hasting to other matters, yet this question would I ask of some indifferent papist, who were not wilful, but of ignorance deceived, if this multitude which here answered "Amen," were the souls of them buried in the church-yard or not? If yea, then how were they in purgatory, what time they were heard in that place answering "Amen," except we should think purgatory to be in the church-yard at Winchester, where the souls were heard then so many answering and praying "Amen?" And yet this story is testified by the accord of writers of that time, Malmesbury, Polychronicon, Hoveden, Jornalensis, and others more. Much like miracles and prophecies also we read of Elphege who succeeded him; but because we haste to other things, let these fables pass. *Athelstan.* A.D. 938.

Ye heard a little before, how King Athelstan, after the death of Sitheric, king of Northumberland, seized that land or province into his own hand, and put out his son Anlaff, who, after flying into Scotland, married the daughter of Constantine, king of Scots, by whose stirring and exhortation he gathered a company of Danes, Scots, and others, and entered the mouth of Humber with a strong navy of six hundred and fifteen ships. Whereof king Athelstan, with his brother Edmund, having knowledge, prepared his army, and at length joined in fight with him and his people at a place called Brimanbruch, or Brimford, where he fighting with them from morning to even, after a terrible slaughter on both sides, as the like hath not been seen lightly in England, had the victory. In which battle were slain five small and under-kings, with Constantine, king of Scots, and twelve dukes, with the more part of all the strangers which at that time they gathered to them. Here, also, our writers put in another miracle in this battle, how King Athelstan's sword miraculously fell into his sheath, through the prayer of Odo, then archbishop of Canterbury.

Battle fought at Brumanbruch, A.D. 938.

Another unlikely miracle of king Athelstan's sword.

Concerning this battle, I find in a certain written Chronicle the underwritten verses, which, because they should not be lost, I thought not unworthy here of rehearsal.[1]

Odo archbishop of Canterbury.

(1) "Transierat quinos et tres et quatuor annos,
Jure regens cives, subigens virtute tyrannos,
Cum redit illa lues Europæ noxia labes.
Jam cubat in terris fera barbaries aquilonis,
Et jacet in campis pelago pirata relicto.
Illicitas torvasque minas Analavus anhelat.
Bacchanti furiæ, Scotorum rege volente,
Commodat assensum borealis terra serenum.
Et jam grande tument, jam terrent aëra verbis.
Cedunt indigenæ, cedit plaga tota superbis.
Nam—quia rex noster, fidens alacrisque juventâ,
Emeritus pridem detriverat otia lenta—
Illi continuis fædabant omnia prædis,
Urgentes miseros injectis ignibus agros.
Marcuerant totis viridantia gramina campis,
Ægra seges votum deluserat agricolarum.
Tanta fuit peditum, tam barbara vis equitantum,
Innumerabilium concursus quadrupedantum!
Excivit tandem famæ querimonia regem,
Ne se cauterio tali pateretur inuri,
Quòd sua barbaricæ cessissent arma securi.
Nec mora, victricis ducentia signa cohortes

Athelstan. A. D. 938. After this victory thus obtained of the Danes and Scots, King Athelstan also subdued, or at least quieted, the North Britons, whom he conventing together at Hereford, or thereabouts, forced them to grant unto him as a yearly tribute twenty pounds of gold, three hundred pounds of silver, and of heads of neat five and twenty hundred, with hawks and dogs to a certain number. This done, he went to Exeter, and there likewise subduing the South Britons about Exeter and Cornwall, repaired the walls of Exeter with sufficient strength, and so returned.

The North and South Britons brought to tribute, and subdued.

Among these victorious and noble acts of this king, one blot there is of him written and noted, wherein he is as much worthy to be reprehended as in the other before to be commended; that is, the innocent death and murder of his brother Edwin, the occasion whereof was this:—King Edward aforenamed, their father, in the time of his youth, coming by a certain village or grange where he had been nursed and brought up of a child, thought of courtesy to go see how his nurse did, where he, entering into the house, espied a certain young damsel, beautiful, and right seemly attired, Egwina by name. This Egwina, before being a poor man's daughter, had a vision by night, that of her body sprang such a bright light of the moon, that the brightness thereof gave light to the realm of England, by reason whereof she was taken into the aforesaid house, and daintily brought up instead of their own daughter for hope of some commodity to ensue thereby, as afterward it came to pass; for King Edward, as it is declared, coming into the house, and ravished with the beauty of the maiden, had of her this Athelstan. Wherefore the said Athelstan being thus basely born of Egwina, the first wife to Edward, as is said, before he was married to her, and fearing his next brother Edwin, who was rightly born, especially being stirred thereunto through the sinister suggestion of his butler, did cast such displeasure to the aforesaid Edwin his brother, being yet but young, that, notwithstanding his innocent submission and purgation made against his accusers, he caused him to be set in an old rotten boat in the broad sea, only with one esquire with him, without any tackling or other provision to the same; where the young and tender prince being dismayed with the rage of winds and of the floods, and now weary of his life, cast himself overboard into the sea, and so was drowned. The esquire, however, shifting for himself as he could, and recovering the body of his master, brought it to Sandwich, where it was buried: which done, the king, afterwards coming to the remembrance of himself, was stricken with great repentance the space of seven years together, and at length was revenged of him that was the accuser of his brother. This accuser, as is said, was the king's cup-bearer, who, as God the righteous Judge of all things would have it, upon a certain solemn feast, bearing the cup unto the king, chanced in the middle of the floor to stumble

King Athelstan seeks the death of his own brother

Explicat in ventum vexilla ferocia centum.
Juncta virum virtus, decies bis millia quina,
Ad stadium belli comitantur prævia signa.
Hic strepitus movit prædatorum legiones,
Terruit insignis venientum fama latrones,
Ut positâ proprias prædâ peterent regiones.
At vulgus reliquum miseranda strage peremptum
Infecit bibulas tetris nidoribus auras.
Fugit Analavus de tot modo millibus unus," &c.

with one foot, helping and recovering himself with the other, saying in these words, "Thus one brother, as you see, helpeth another." These words being thus spoken in the hearing of the king, so moved his mind, that forthwith he commanded the false-accuser of his brother to be had out to execution; whose just recompense I would wish to be a warning to all men, what it is to sow discord between brother and brother. *Athelstan* A.D. 941.

King Athelstan, besides his seven years' lamentation for this act, builded the two monasteries of Middleton and of Michelenes for his brother's sake, or, as the stories say, for his soul: whereby it may appear what was the cause most special in those days of building monasteries, to wit, for releasing the sins both of them departed, and them alive; which cause, how it standeth with the grace and verity of Christ's gospel, and of his passion, let the christian reader try and examine with himself. This cruel fact of the king towards Edwin, caused him afterward to be more tender and careful towards his other brethren and sisters left in his hands unmarried; which sisters, as is partly in the chapter before declared, he richly bestowed in great marriages, as one to the king of Northumberland, Sitheric; another he gave to Louis, king of Provence; the third to Henry, duke of Almain, for his son Otho, who was the first emperor of the Germans; whereby it is to be understood, that the empire at this time began first to be translated from France (where it remained about one hundred years and a half) unto Germany, where it hath ever since continued. The cause of building abbeys. *See Appendix.* Otho, the first emperor of the Germans.

The fourth of his sisters, being a virgin of singular beauty, Hugo, duke of France,[1] required to be given to him; sending to King Athelstan precious and sumptuous presents, such as were not before seen in England: among the which presents and gifts, besides sundry favours of rare odours and fine spices; and besides precious and costly gems, namely, emeralds of most refulgent green; besides also many fine coursers and palfries richly trapped; especially of one jewel do writers make mention, which was a certain vase, finely and subtilely made of the precious stone onyx, so wrought and polished, that in it corn and vines appeared to be really growing, and men's images walking. Over and besides was sent also the sword of Constantine the Great, with his name written in golden letters, and in the haft of the same, inlaid in gold, was one of the iron nails wherewith our Saviour on the cross was nailed. Of the verity whereof I am not disposed at this present much to say what I suspect, but from the ecclesiastical story of Eusebius it is evident, that two of the aforesaid nails of Christ were spent on the bridle of Constantine, the third he cast into the sea in a raging tempest; wherefore if Christ were nailed with four nails, perhaps this nail might be one; if he were nailed but with three, I see not how this story can stand with other stories, neither how this fourth nail can stand with the truth. Among the rest, moreover, was the spear of Charlemagne, the same (as is reported) wherewith the side of our Saviour was opened, which also the said Charlemagne was wont to carry in the field against his enemies: with a portion likewise of the holy cross enclosed in crystal; also a part of the crown of thorns in like manner enclosed.[2] Of the which relics, Jewels sent to Athelstan from the French king. One of the nails wherewith our Saviour was crucified.

(1) Alias, Earl of Paris. L'Art de V. des D. Foxe, misled by Malmesbury, calls him "the French king." One or two errors are corrected in the preceding paragraph. See suprâ, p. 39.—Ed.

(2) The above account of Hugo's presents is corrected from the original in Malmesbury.—Ed.

Athelstan. A.D. 941. part was given to Winchester, part to the church of Malmesbury, where King Athelstan was buried. As this king was endued and enlarged by the gift of God (the setter-up and disposer of all kings) with great victories of worldly renown, having under his subjection both the Scots and Britons, and the whole monarchy of the land; so he devised divers good and wholesome laws for the government of the same, as well concerning the state of the orders ecclesiastical, as also of the secular or lay people.[1] Whereby it is to be understood, that the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome did not then extend itself so largely, nor so proudly derogate from the authority of kings and princes, but that every one in his own dominion had, under God, and not under the pope, the doing of all matters within the same his dominion contained, whether they were causes temporal or spiritual, as by the decrees and constitutions of this king, and also of others as well before him as after him, may evidently be testified; as where he, amongst other laws, thus ordaineth touching the bishop, in the words that follow underwritten.[2]

Kings of England governors as well in causes ecclesiastical as temporal.

A law concerning tithes.

The said Athelstan besides prescribed other constitutions also, as touching tithes-giving, where he saith, and proclaimeth: "I Athelstan, king, charge and command all my officers through my whole realm, to give tithes unto God of my proper goods, as well in living cattle as in the corn and fruits of the ground; and that my bishops likewise, of their proper goods, and mine aldermen, and my officers and headmen, shall do the same.[3] Item, this I will, that my bishops and other headmen do declare the same to such as be under their subjection, and that to be accomplished at the term of St. John the Baptist. Let us remember what Jacob said unto the Lord, 'Of all things that thou givest to me I will offer tithes unto the Lord;'

(1) See the Acts of the Council of Gratley, A.D. 928, given in Wilkins's Concilia, tom. i. p. 205. —ED.

(2) "Episcopo jure pertinet, omnem rectitudinem promovere, Dei videlicet ac seculi. In primis, debet omnem ordinatum instruere, quid ei sit agendum jure, et quid hominibus secularibus judicare debeant.

"Debet etiam sedulo pacem et concordiam operari cum seculi judicibus, qui rectum velle diligunt, et in compellationum allegationem edocere, ne quis alii perperam agat in jurejurando vel in ordalio.

"Nec pati debet aliquam circumventionem injustæ mensuræ, vel injusti ponderis. Sed convenit ut per consilium et testimonium ejus omne legis rectum, et burgi mensura, et omne pondus, sit secundum ditionem [alias dictionem] ejus institutum valde rectum; ne quis proximum suum seducat, pro quo decidat in peccatum.

"Et semper debet Christianis providere contra omnia quæ predicta sunt, et ideo debet se de pluribus intromittere, ut sciat quomodo grex agat, quem ad Dei manum custodire suscepit, ne diabolus eum dilaniet, nec malum aliquod superseminet. Nunquam enim erit populo bene consultum, nec digne Deo conversabitur, ubi lucrum impium et magis falsum diligitur. Ideo debent omnes amici Dei quod iniquum est enervare, et quod justum est elevare, nec pati ut propter falsum et pecuniæ quæstum homines se forisfaciant erga vere sapientem Deum, cui displicet omnis injustitia.

"Christianis autem omnibus necessarium est, ut rectum diligant, et iniqua condemnent, et saltem sacris ordinibus evecti justum semper erigant, et prava deponant.

"Hinc debent episcopi cum seculi judicibus judicia dictitare, et interesse judiciis, ne permittant (si possint) ut illinc aliqua pravitatum gramina pullulent. Et sacerdotibus pertinet in sua diœcesi, ut ad rectum sedulo quemcumque juvent, nec patiantur (si possint) ut Christianus aliquis alii noceat, non potens impotenti, non summus infimo, non prælatus subditis [minoribus]. non dominus hominibus suis, servis aut liberis. Et secundum ditionem [alias dictionem] et per mensuram suam convenit per rectum, ut necessaria servi [servi testamentales] operentur super omnem schyram cui præest.

"Et rectum est ut non sit aliqua mensurabilis virga longior quam alia, sed per Episcopi mensuram omnes institutæ sint, et exequatæ per suam diœcesin [in sua scriftscyra], et omne pondus constet secundum dictionem ejus, et si aliquid controversiarum intersit, discernat Episcopus.

"Uniuscujusque Domini proprium est et necesse, ut servis suis condescendat et compatiatur, sicut indulgentius poterit: quia Domino Deo viventi sunt æque chari servus et liber. Et omnes uno et eodem pretio redemit, et omnes sumus Deo necessario servi, et sic judicabit nos, sicut ante judicavimus eos, in quos potestatem judicii in terris habuimus. Et ideo opus est ut eis parcamus qui nobis parere debent, et tunc manutenebimur, in Dei Omnipotentis proprio judicio. Amen."— Extractum ex legib. Regis Ethelstani. [The above is found, slightly varied, in Brompton.—ED.]

See Appendix.

(3) "Ego Ethelstanus Rex, consilio Ulfelmi archieniscopi mei et aliorum episcoporum, mando præpositis omnibus in regno meo, in nomine Domini et sanctorum omnium, ut imprimis reddant de meo proprio decimas Deo, tam in vivente capitali, quam in mortuis frugibus terræ: et episcopi mei similiter faciant de suo proprio, et aldermanni mei et præpositi mei," &c.

also, what the Lord saith in the Gospel of St. Matthew, 'To him that hath it shall be given, and he shall abound.' We must also consider how terribly it is written in books, that 'if we will not offer our tenths, from us nine parts shall be taken away, and only the tenth part shall be left us.'" And, in the same place, after that he hath assigned the church rights to be paid in the place whereto they belong, it followeth, "that the king would usurp no man's goods wrongfully."[1] *Edmund.* A.D. 941.

Among his other laws and ordinances, to the number of thirty-five, divers things are comprehended, pertaining as well to the spiritual, as also to the temporal jurisdiction.

Out of the laws of this king first sprang up the attachment of thieves, that such as stole above twelve pence, and were above twelve years old, should not be spared. Thus much, briefly, concerning the history of King Athelstan, and things in his time done, who reigned about the space of sixteen years:[2] as he died without issue, after him succeeded his brother Edmund, A.D. 941, who reigned four years and a half. *See Appendix.* *See Appendix.*

EDMUND.[3]

EDMUND, the son of Edward the Elder by his third wife (as is declared) and brother of Athelstan, being of the age of twenty years, entered upon his reign, who had by his queen Elgina two sons, Edwin, and Edgar, surnamed Pacificus, who both reigned after him as followeth. This Edmund continued his reign four years and a half. By him were expelled the Danes, Scots, Normans, and all foreign enemies out of the land. Such cities and towns as before were in the possession of strangers, as Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Stafford, and Leicester, he recovered out of their hands. Thus the realm being cleared of foreign power for a time, the king set his mind upon redressing and maintaining the state of the church; which all stood then in building of monasteries, and furnishing of churches, either with new possessions, or in restoring the old, which were taken away before. In the time of this Edmund, this I find in an old written story borrowed of William Carey, a citizen of London, a worthy treasurer of most worthy monuments of antiquity. The name of the author I cannot allege, because the book beareth no title, lacking both the beginning and the latter end, but the words thereof faithfully recited be these, "In the time of this king, there was a scattering or dispersion made of the monks out of the monastery of Evesham, and canons substituted in their place, through the doing of Athelmus and Ulricus, laymen, and of Osulfus, bishop," &c.[4] A.D. 941. A.D. 941 to 946.

Here, as concerning this matter between monks and others of the clergy, first it is to be understood, that in the realm of England heretofore, before the time of Dunstan, the bishops' sees and cathedral *The difference between monks and priests.*

(1) "Facite etiam ut mihi mea propria capiatis, quæ mihi poteritis recte acquirere. Nolo ut aliquid mihi injuste conquiratis. Sed omnia vestra concedo vobis eo tenore, quo mihi mea similiter exoptetis. Cavete simul et vobis, et eis quos admonere debetis, ab ira Dei, et transgressione mea."

(2) Epitaph. in Ethelst. "Sol illustravit bisseno scorpion ortu: cum regem cauda percutit ille sua."

(3) Edition 1563, p. 11. Ed. 1583, p. 150. Ed. 1597, p. 135. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 167.—Ed.

(4) "Hujus regis tempore facta est dispersio monachorum Eushmensis cœnobii, cum substitutione canonicorum per Athelmum et Ulricum laicos, et Osulphum episcopum," &c.

Edmund. A.D. 941 to 946.

churches were replenished with no monks, but with priests and canons, called then clerks, or men of the clergy. After this, beginneth to rise a difference or a sect between these two parties in strictness of life, and in habit; so that they who lived after a stricter rule of holiness were called monks, and professed chastity; that was, to live without wives, for so was chastity then defined in those blind days; as though holy matrimony were not chastity, according as Paphnutius did well define it in the Council of Nice. The other sort, who were not monks, but priests, or men of the clergy so called, lived more free from those monkish rules and observances, and were then commonly, or at least lawfully, married, and in their life and habit came nearer to the secular state of other Christians, by reason whereof great disdain and emulation were among them, insomuch that in many cathedral churches, where priests were before, there monks were put in; and on the contrary, where monks had intruded, there priests and canons again were placed, and monks thrust out; whereof more shall appear hereafter (by the grace of Christ), when we come to the life of Dunstan. In the mean time something to satisfy the cogitation of the reader, who peradventure either is ignorant, or else would know of the first coming in of monks into this realm and church of England in the Saxons' time, this is to be noted, according as I find in old chronicles, namely, in the Latin history of Malmesbury, recorded touching the same.[1]

About this time of King Edmund, or shortly after, hardness and strictness of life, joined with superstition, was had in veneration, and counted for great holiness: men, therefore, either to win public fame with men, or merits with God, gave themselves to lead a strict life, thinking thereby, the stranger their conversation was, and the further from the common trade of vulgar people, the more perfect to be towards God and man. There was at that time, and before that, a monastery in France named Fleury,[2] after the order and rule of Benedict; from which monastery did spring a great part of our English monks, who being there professed, and afterward returning into England, did congregate men daily to their profession; and so, partly for strangeness of their rule, partly for outward holiness of their strict life, partly for the opinion of holiness that many had of them, were in great admiration, not only with the rude sort, but with kings and princes, who founded their houses, maintained their rules, and enlarged them with possessions. Among this order of monks coming from Fleury especially was one Oswald, first a monk of Fleury, then bishop of Worcester and York, a great patron and setter up of monkery. Touching this Oswald, Malmesbury, writing of his history, hath these words: "It was a common custom at that time among Englishmen, that if any good men were well-affected or minded toward religion, they went to the monastery of the blessed St. Benedict in France, and there received the habit of a monk, whereupon the first origin of this religion began," &c. But of this Oswald, bishop of York, and Dunstan, bishop of Canterbury, and Ethelwald, bishop of Winchester, how they replenished divers

The monastery of Fleury.

Oswald, Bishop of York, a great patron of monkery

Its origin.

(1) Guliel. Malmesb. de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum, lib. ii.
(2) Founded by Pepin, A.D. 695.—Ed.

monasteries and cathedral churches with monks, and how they discharged married priests and canons out of their houses, to plant in monks in their cells, more shall be spoken, by the grace of Christ, hereafter. *Edmund.* A.D. 941 to 946.

Let us now return to the matter where we left off, of King Edmund, who, besides his noble victories against his enemies, and recovering the cities above expressed into his own hands, did also subdue the province of Cumberland; and, after he had put out the eyes of the two sons of Dunmail, king of Cumberland, he committed the governance thereof to Malcolm, king of Scots, upon promise of his trusty service and obedience, when the king should stand in any need of him. In the time of this king, Dunstan was not yet archbishop of Canterbury, but only abbot of Glastonbury, of whom many fabulous narrations pass among writers, importing more vanity than verity, whereof this is one of the first. What time Edgar, called Pacificus, was born, Dunstan, being at the same time abbot of Glastonbury, heard, as the monkish fables dream, a voice in the air of certain angels singing after this tenor, "Now peace cometh to the church of England in the time of this child, and of our Dunstan," &c. This I thought to recite, that the christian reader might the better ponder with himself the impudent and abominable fictions of this Romish generation. But of the same mint also they have forged, how the said Dunstan heard the angels sing the Kyrieleson, usually sung at even-song in the church.[1] Which is as true as that the harp, hanging in a woman's house played by itself the tune of the anthem, called, "Gaudent in cœlis," &c. What would not these deceivers feign in matters something likely, who, in things so absurd and so inconvenient, shame not to lie and to forge so impudently, and also so manifestly? Through the motion of this Dunstan, King Edmund builded and furnished the monastery of Glastonbury, and made the said Dunstan abbot thereof.

Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury.

The son. of King Edmund.

The impudent vanity of the Popes' church in forging false miracles.

This abbey of Glastonbury was first builded by King Ive. *See Appendix.*

Concerning the end and death of this king, sundry opinions there be. Alfridus and Marianus say, that while this King Edmund endeavoured himself to save his sewer from the danger of his enemies, who would have slain him at Pulcher church, the king, in parting the fray, was wounded, and died shortly after. But Malmesbury saith,[2] "that the king being at a feast at Pulcher church upon the day of St. Augustine, spied a felon sitting in the hall named Leof, whom he for his felony had exiled; and leaping over the table did fly upon him, and plucked the thief by the hair of the head to the ground; in which doing, the felon with a knife wounded the king to the death, and also with the same knife wounded many other of the king's servants, and at length was hewn down and died forthwith.

By the laws of King Edmund (ordained and set forth, as well for the redress of church matters, as also of civil regiment) it would appear, that the state of causes both temporal and spiritual appertained then to the king's right (the false pretended usurpation of the bishop of Rome notwithstanding), as by these laws is to be seen: where he, by the advice of his lords and bishops did enact and determine concerning the chastity and pure life of ecclesiastical

The laws of King Edmund touching as well the state spiritual as temporal.

(1) Guliel. Malmesb. de Pontif. lib. i. (2) Idem, de Regib. lib. ii.

Edmund. A.D. 941 to 946.

ministers, and such as were in the orders of the church, with the penalties also for those who transgressed the same.

Item, For tithes to be paid for every christian man, and for the church fees, and alms fees, &c.

Item, For defiling of women professed, whom we call nuns, &c.

Item, For every bishop to see his churches repaired of his own proper charge; and boldly to admonish the king, whether the houses of God were well maintained, &c.

Item, For flying into the church for sanctuary, &c.

Item, Concerning cases and determinations sponsal or matrimonial, &c.

All which constitutions declare what interest kings had in those days in matters as well ecclesiastical as others, within their dominion; and that, not only in disposing the ordinances and rites that appertained to the institution of the church, but also in placing and setting bishops in their sees, &c.

See Appendix.

In the time of this Edmund, Ulstan was archbishop of York, and Odo archbishop of Canterbury, which Odo, being a Dane born, as is before said, was promoted to that see by King Athelstan, for that, as they say, he being first bishop of Wilton, and present with King Athelstan in the field against Analavus before-mentioned, what time the said Athelstan had lost his sword, he, through his intercession up to heaven, did see a sword from heaven come down into the sheath of the king. Whereof relation being made unto the king by the aforesaid bishop,[1] Athelstan upon the same was so affected towards Odo, that not only he accounted him a patron of his life, but also made him primate of Canterbury after the decease of Ulfelm. This Odo was the first from the coming in of the Saxons, who was archbishop of Canterbury, being no monk; for all the others before him were of the profession of monks, of whom a great part had been Italians unto Berctualdus.[2] Notwithstanding this Odo, being also a stranger born, after he was elected to the bishopric, to answer to the old custom of others before him, sailed over into France, and there, at Fleury, after the usual manner above-mentioned of Englishmen, received the profession and habit of monkish religion, as saith Malmesbury.[3] And, like as the said Odo first being no monk, was made archbishop of Canterbury, so also Ulstan, being at the same time bishop of York and of Worcester, differed from divers of his predecessors before him in profession and habit; of whom the beforenamed author thus writeth in his third book, speaking of Ulstan, "Qui sanctitate discrepabat et habitu;" that is, "He differed in sanctimony and in habit." Whereby it is to be collected, that in those days there was a difference in habit and garment, not only between monks and bishops, but also between one bishop and another; albeit what difference it was, I do not find. But to return again to Odo, who, by the description of his manners, might seem not to be the worst who occupied that place, were it not that our lying histories, feigning false miracles about him, as they do of others, make him indeed to seem worse

Odo made monk at Fleury, after he was archbishop of Canterbury.

The difference of habit and garment among men of the church.

(1) Guliel. Malmesb. de Pontif. lib. i. Polychron. lib. vi. cap 6.
(2) Idem, de Pontif. lib. i.
(3) Idem, lib. iii. de Pontif. Ebor.

than he was, as where they imagine that he should see from heaven a sword fall into the scabbard of King Athelstan; also, where he should cover and defend the church of Canterbury with his prayers from rain; and where he should turn the bread of the altar (as the writer termeth it) into lively flesh, and from flesh into bread again, to confirm the people who before doubted about it. Where note again, good reader! that albeit this miracle were true, as no doubt it is untrue, yet is it to be noted, that in those days was a great doubt amongst Englishmen about the popish sacrament, and that transubstantiation was not received into the christian creed. The like judgment is to be given also of that, where our English writers, testifying of the same Odo, say that he prophesied long before that Dunstan would be his successor in the church of Canterbury. But to let these phantasies and idle stories pass, this which we find of his own writing is certain, that the said Odo, in the reign of King Edmund, had a synod commenced of the chief prelates and men of the clergy in his time, to whom he directed this letter here following: the copy whereof I thought to give, for the reader to see what zealous care then reigned in archbishops toward the church of the Lord. The words of his epistle proceed in this tenor :—

Edmund. A.D. 941 to 946.

Lying miracles of Odo.

Transubstantiation not yet received.

The letter or epistle of Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, sent to the other bishops and men of the clergy.[1]

By the divine grace of God, I Odo, of the church of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ archbishop, and metropolitan of the city of Dover, to my fellow-bishops and fellow-planters of the Catholic faith, and my fellow-brethren in the spiritual bond of charity, with greeting, wish prosperity in this world present, and in the world to come felicity. If it were so, or by any means could be, that all the riches of this world were laid before mine eyes, so that I being emperor had all things universally under my subjection, all those things gladly would I give, yea and myself also I would offer willingly for the health of your souls, as who also do desire, and trust likewise myself to be strengthened with the fervency of your holiness, as appertaining to those things wherein the Lord our God hath set us to be workmen, &c.

And after a few other words to the like effect, wherein he doth declare the heavy burden of his office, it followeth after this manner :—

Wherefore most humbly, and as one unworthy, but yet a devout fellow-brother of yours, I beseech and exhort your holiness, that you will not show yourselves cold and negligent in the cure and regiment of souls, so that in the time of the fearful judgment, the Lord do not complain of you, saying, "My shepherds did not feed my flock, but they fed themselves;" and again, "They were princes of my flock, and I knew not of it." But rather let us take heed and be diligent over the household of the Lord, over which he hath set us to be the leaders, to give them meat and true measure of corn in time convenient; that is to say, wholesome doctrine. And, although upon mine own merits or worthiness, I do not presume to comfort or exhort any man, but as one being unworthy and faulty in transgressions innumerable, I am glad, and stand in need rather, to be strengthened by your brotherly admonitions; yet, for the ancient authority of my predecessors, as of Augustine of happy memory, and also of all other saints, by whose industry the rule of Christianity did first flourish and spring from this metropolitan see unto all quarters of England, therefore I have thought good to direct unto

(1) "Mirabili cuncti-potentis polorum præsulis clementia opitulante, ego Odo, ecclesiæ salvatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi archiepiscopus, Doverniensis civitatis metropolitanus, coepiscopis fidei Catholicæ compagatoribus, spirituali charitatis vigore meis confratribus, præsentium prosperitatem æthereique decoris beatitudinem," &c.

Edmund. you these my letters to the profit of you all; especially, for that our renowned and princely king Edmund, with all his people, doth joy to follow that which A. D. 946 to 955. he heareth in you and of you; and also forasmuch as all his subjects, who be under his imperial dominion, do love and delight to follow most joyfully the same, and report of your sincere conversation, &c.

See Appendix. This Odo continued bishop the space of eighteen years. After him Elsinus was elected and ordained by the king to succeed through favour and money; but, in going to Rome for the pope's pall, in his journey through the Alps, he decayed and died for cold. Hereupon succeeded Dunstan, as in time and place (by the leave of Christ) followeth to be declared.

King Edmund gave to St. Edmund the Martyr before-mentioned, the town of Bredrichworth, which is now called St. Edmundsbury, with great revenues and lands appertaining to the same. But concerning the frivolous miracles which our monkish story-writers here feign of this good Edmund by the way, or rather out of the way, I let them pass. And thus much concerning King Edmund, who, after he had reigned four years and a-half, was slain, as it is said, at Pulcher-church, and buried at Glastonbury by Dunstan, leaving behind him two children, Edwin and Edgar, by his wife Elgina. But because the two aforesaid children were yet young, and under age, therefore Edred, brother to King Edmund, and uncle to the children, governed as protector about the space of nine years and a half, till Edwin the eldest son came of age. This Edred, with great moderation and fidelity to the young children behaved himself, during the time of his government. In his time Dunstan was promoted, through the means of Odo the archbishop, from abbot of Glastonbury to be bishop of Worcester. By the counsel of this Dunstan Edred was much ruled, and too much thereto addicted; insomuch that he is reported in stories to have submitted himself to much fond penance and castigation, inflicted on him by the said Dunstan. Such zealous devotion was then in princes, and more blind superstition in bishops. And here again is another miracle as fantastical as the other before, forged by Dunstan, that when that Edred being sick sent for Dunstan to be his confessor, by the way Dunstan should hear a voice declaring to him beforehand, that Edred was already departed; at the declaring whereof, Dunstan's horse fell immediately dead under him—with lie and all!

Children of King Edmund. *See Appendix.*

Edred, governor of the realm. A. D. 946 to 955.

See Appendix. Dunstan made bishop of Worcester.

EDWIN, OR EDWY.

A.D. 955 to 959. EDWIN, the eldest son of King Edmund before-mentioned, after his uncle Edred, began his reign about A.D. 955, being crowned at Kingston by Odo, the archbishop of Canterbury. Of this Edwin it is reported by divers writers, that the first day of his coronation, sitting with his lords, he brake suddenly from them, and entered a secret chamber, to the company of a certain woman whom he inordinately retained, being, as some say, another man's wife, whose husband he had before slain; as others say, being of his alliance, to the great misliking of his lords, and especially of the clergy. Dunstan was as yet but abbot of Glastonbury; who, following the king into the chamber,

brought him out by the hand, and accused him to Odo, the archbishop, causing him to be separate from the company of the aforesaid party, by the which Odo the king was for his fact suspended out of the church: by reason whereof the king, being with Dunstan displeased, banished him his land, and forced him for a season to flee to Flanders, where he was in the monastery of St. Amand. About the same season the monastical order of Benedict monks, or black monks, (as they were called,) began to multiply and increase here in England; insomuch that where, beforetime, other priests and canons had been placed, there monks were in their rooms set in, and the secular priests (as they then were called) or canons, put out. But King Edwin, for the displeasure he bare to Dunstan, did so vex all the order of the said monks, that in Malmesbury, Glastonbury, and other places more, he thrust out the monks, and set secular priests in their stead. Notwithstanding, it was not long but these priests and canons were again removed, and the said monks in their stead restored, both in the aforesaid houses, and in divers other cathedral churches besides, as in the next story of King Edgar (Christ willing) shall more at large appear.

Edwin. A. D. 955 to 959.

The king suspended by the archbishop.

Edwin an enemy to monks.

In fine, King Edwin being hated, by reason of certain his demeanours, of all his subjects, especially the Northumbrians and Mercians, was by them removed from his kingly honour, and his brother Edgar in his stead received, so that the river of Thames divided both their kingdoms. Which Edwin, after he had reigned about the term of four years, departed, leaving no heir of his body, wherefore the rule of the land fell unto Edgar, his younger brother.

His death.

EDGAR, SURNAMED PACIFICUS.[1]

Edgar, the second son of Edmund, and brother to Edwin, being of the age of sixteen years, began his reign over the realm of England, A.D. 959, but was not crowned till fourteen years after,[2] the causes whereof hereunder follow (Christ willing) to be declared. In the beginning of his reign he called home Dunstan, whom King Edwin had exiled. Then was Dunstan, who before was abbot of Glastonbury, made bishop of Worcester, and then of London. Not long after this, Odo, the archbishop of Canterbury, deceaseth, after he had governed that church twenty-four years. After whom, Elsinus,[3] bishop of Winchester, [first was elected; but shortly after died, as above related. After him, Brithilinus, bishop of Wells,] was elected; but because he was thought not sufficient to furnish that room, Dunstan was ordained archbishop, and the other sent home again to his old church.[4] Where note by the way, how in those days the donation and assigning of ecclesiastical dignities remained in the king's hand; only they fetched their pall from Rome as a token of the pope's confirmation. So Dunstan, being by the king made archbishop, took his journey to Rome for his pall of Pope John XII., which was about the beginning of the king's reign. Thus Dunstan, obtaining his pall, shortly after his return again from Rome entreateth King Edgar that Oswald (who, as is said, was made monk at Fleury, and was nephew to Odo, late archbishop of Canterbury) might be promoted to the bishopric of Worcester, which thing to him was granted; and,

A. D. 959.

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

Dunstan made bishop of London, and presently archbishop of Canterbury

See Appendix.

Livings given by the king, and not by the pope.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 10. Ed. 1583, p 152. Ed. 1596, p. 137. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 169.—Ed.
(2) See Appendix. (3) Foxe says, erroneously, "Brithilinus:" see pp. 50, 103.—Ed.
(4) Ex. Hist. Ro. Hoveden, [whence the above correction of the text is made.—Ed.]

Edgar. A. D. 959.

not long after, through the means of the said Dunstan, Ethelwold, whom stories do feign to be the great patron of monkery, first monk at Glastonbury, then abbot of Abingdon, was also made bishop of Winchester. Of this Ethelwold, Malmesbury[1] recordeth, that what time he was a monk in the house of Glastonbury, the abbot had a vision of him, which was this: how that there appeared to him in his sleep a certain great tree, the branches whereof extended throughout all the four quarters of the realm, which branches were all covered with many little monks' cowls; where in the top of the tree was one great master-cowl, which, in spreading itself over the other cowls, enclosed all the rest; which master-cowl in the tree-top mine author, in the interpretation, applieth to the life of this Ethelwold. Of such prodigious fantasies our monkish histories be full; and not only our histories of England, but also the heathen stories of the Gentiles, be stuffed with such kind of dreams of much like effect.

Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, a great maintainer of monkery, A. D. 963.

Monkish dreams.

Of such a like dream we read of the mother of Athelstan; how the moon did spring out of her womb, and gave light to all England! Also of King Charles the emperor, how he was led by a thread to see the torments of hell. Likewise of Furceus, the hermit, mentioned in the third Book of Bede, who saw the joys of heaven, and the four fires that should destroy the world; the one of lying, for breaking our promise made at baptism; the second fire was of covetousness; the third of dissension; the fourth was the fire of impiety and wrongful dealing. Item, in like sort of the dream of Dunstan, and of the same Ethelwold, to whom appeared the three bishops, Bristan, Birin, and Swithin, &c. Item of the dream of the mother of this Ethelwold, who being great with him, did see a golden eagle fly out of her mouth, &c.; of the dream likewise, or the vision of King Edgar, concerning the falling of the two apples; and of the pots, one being full, the other empty, of water, &c.; also of King Edward the Confessor, touching the ruin of the land by the conquest of the Normans. We read also in the History of Astyages, how he dreamed of Cyrus; and likewise of many other dreams in the books of the monks and of the ethnic writers; for what cannot either the idle vanity of man's head or the deception of the lying spirit work by man, in foreshowing such earthly events as happen commonly in this present world? But here is a difference to be understood between these earthly dreams, speaking of earthly things and matters of human superstition; and between other spiritual revelations sent by God touching spiritual matters of the church, pertaining to man's salvation. But, to our purpose; by this dream, and by the event which followed after, it may appear how, and by what means, the multitude of monks began first to swarm in the churches of England, that is, in the days of this Edgar, by the means of these three bishops, Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald. Albeit Dunstan was the chiefest ringleader of this race, yet Ethelwold, being now bishop of Winchester, and Oswald bishop of Worcester, were not much behind for their parts. By the instigation and counsel of these three aforesaid, King Edgar is recorded in histories to build either new out of the ground, or to re-edify monasteries decayed by the Danes, more than forty: as the house of Ely, Glastonbury, Abingdon, Burga by Stamford,[2] Thorney, Ramsey,[3] Wilton, Winton,

How and when monks began to swarm in England.

Three setters up of a monkish religion.

(1) Ex. Guliel. Malmesb. lib. de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum. (2) Peterborough.—Ed.
(3) Rumsey in Hants was founded by Edgar, Ramsey in Hunts re-founded. See Tanner's Notitia Monastica for confirmation of our author.

Winchcomb, Tavistock in Devonshire, with divers other more, in the setting up and building of the which the aforesaid Ethelwold was a great doer, and a founder under the king. Moreover, through the motion of this Dunstan and his fellows, king Edgar, in divers great houses and cathedral churches where prebendaries and priests were before, displaced the priests, and set in monks. Whereof we read in the Chronicle of Roger Hoveden, in words and form as followeth :— " Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, who was then one of the king's council, did urge the king chiefly to expel clerks out of monasteries, and in their rooms to bestow monks and nuns."[1] Thus the secular priests being put to their choice, whether to change their habit, or to leave their rooms, departed out of their houses, giving place for other better men to come in. Then the houses and monasteries of religious men through all the realm went up apace. *Edgar.* A. D. 964.

After the king's mind was thus persuaded and incited by these bishops to advance monkery, then Oswald, bishop of Worcester, and also made archbishop of York after the decease of Oskitel, " Sui voti compos effectus," as Hoveden writeth, having his see in the cathedral church there of St. Peter, began first with fair persuasions to assay the minds of the canons and priests, whether they could be content to change their profession, and to be made monks or no ; and when he saw it would not take effect, he practised this policy with them :—near to the said church of St. Peter, within the church-yard, he erected another church of our Lady,[2] which when he had replenished with monks, he continually frequented ; there he kept, there he sat, and was ever there conversant, by reason whereof the other church was left naked and desolate, and all the people gathered there, where the bishop was. The priests seeing themselves so to be left and neglected both by the bishop and by the people, to whom nothing remained but shame and contempt, were driven by shame either to relinquish the house (such as would not enter the monkish profession), or else to become monks (such as had nothing else to depend upon). After the like superstition, although not after the same subtilty, did Ethelwold also drive out the canons and priests from the new monastery in Winchester, afterward called Hyde, and place therein his monks. So in Oxford and in Mildune,[3] with divers other places, the secular priests, with their wives, were expelled, to give place to monks. The cause thereof is thus pretended in certain story-writers, whom I see also Fabian to follow; for that the priests and clerks were thought slack and negligent in their church service, and set in vicars in their stead, while they lived in pleasure and mispent the patrimony of the church after their own lust. Then King Edgar gave to the vicars the same land which before belonged to the prebendaries ; who also not long after showed themselves as negligent as the others. Wherefore King Edgar, as mine authors write, by the consent of Pope John XIII., voided clearly the priests, The policy of Oswald in driving out priests to place in monks. A.D. 969

(1) " Hic namque Ethelwoldus regem, cujus eximius erat consiliarius, ad hoc maxime provocavit, ut clericos a monasteriis expelleret, et monachos sanctimonialesque in eis collocaret," &c. Ro. Hoveden, lib. Continuationum post Bedam. Chro. Jornalens. Gulielm. Malmesb. de Gestis Pontif. lib. i. Whereunto accordeth likewise Jornalensis : " Hoc anno Ethelwoldus Wint. et Oswaldus Wigorniensis, episcopi, jussu Regis Edgari (Clericis de quibusdam majoribus ecclesiis expulsis) monachos instituerunt, aut de eisdem clericis et aliis monachos in eisdem fecerunt." Malmesbury also, writing of the time of Dunstan, maketh the matter somewhat more plain, where he saith, " Itaque clerici multarum ecclesiarum data optione, ut aut amictum mutarent, aut locis valedicerent, melioribus habitacula vacuefacientes : surgebant itaque in tota insula religiosorum monasteria, cumulabantur mole pretiosi metalli sanctorum altaria," &c.

(2) Gulielm. Malmesb. lib. iii. de Gest. Pont. ; Chron. Jornalen. in Vita Edgari.

(3) Malmesbury.—Ed.

Edgar. A. D. 966. and ordained there monks; though certain of the nobles and some of the prelates were therewith not well contented, as in the chapter following may partly appear.

Ecclesiastical affairs. But forasmuch as we have entered upon the mention of monks and nuns, and of their profession, which I see so greatly in our monkish stories commended; lest perhaps the simple reader may be deceived thereby, in hearing the name of monks in all histories of times to be such an ancient thing in christian life, even from the primitive church after the apostles' time, both commonly recited and well received: therefore, to help the judgment of the ignorant, and to prevent all error herein, it shall not be unprofitable, in following the present occasion here given, by way of a little digression, to intermeddle somewhat concerning the original institution of monks, what they were in the old time who were called Monachi; wherein the monks of the primitive time did differ from the monks of the middle time, and from these our monks now of this latter age; moreover, wherein all these three do differ from priests, as we call them, and from men of the clergy. Wherefore, to answer to the superstitious scruple of those who allege the old antiquity of the name and title of monks, first, I grant the name and order of monks to be of old continuance, nearly from the time of three hundred years after Christ; of whom divers old authors do discourse, as Augustine, Hieronymus, Basilius Magnus (who was also himself one of the first institutors and commenders of that superstition), Chrysostom, Nazianzen, Evagrius, Sozomen, Dionysius, and divers others. In the number of these monks, who then were divided into hermits or anchorites, and into Cœnobites, were Antonius, Paulus, and Johannes, with divers other recluses, among whom were Hierome, Basil, Macharius, Isidore, Pambus, Nilammon, Simeon, with infinite others, both in Palestine, Syria, Thebes, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Africa, and Scythia; insomuch that Cassianus[1] maketh mention of a certain monastery at Thebes, wherein were above 5,000 monks, under the government of one abbot. And here also in England mention is made before of Bangor, wherein were 2,200 monks under one man's ruling [A.D. 596]; whereby it appeareth that there were monks then, and two hundred years before, in the primitive time of the church. But what monks these were, is to be considered: such as by tyranny of persecution were driven into solitary and desert places, or else such as not constrained by any, but of their own voluntary devotion, joined with some superstition, for the love they had unto spiritual contemplation, and for hatred of the wicked world, withdrew themselves from all company, either having nothing to themselves proper, or else all things common with others. Now all these were then nothing else but laymen: of which laymen there were two sundry sorts, one of the vulgar and common people, who only were partakers of the sacraments; the others, through following a monastical kind of life, were called monks, being nothing but laymen leading a more severe and stricter trade of life than others.

The difference, order, and institution of monks.

Two sorts in the primitive church.

See Appendix.

Monks in the old time were only laymen, leading a strict life.

By the authors quoted in the note,[2] it is evident that monks

(1) Cassian. lib. ii. cap. 4. [Instit. Cœnob. lib. iv. cap. 1, de institutis renuntiantium.—Ed.]

(2) August. lib. de moribus ecclesiæ, cap. 13. Item, lib. de operibus Monachorum. Item, Epistola ad Aurelium. Also by Hierome ad Heliodorum, writing these words: "Alia monachorum

Edgar.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

in the former age of the church, albeit they lived a solitary life, yet were they no other but laymen, differing from priests and also from the other monks who succeeded them afterwards in the middle age of the church, and that in three points: First, they were tied and bound to no prescribed form, either of diet or apparel, or any thing else, as we may see testified by the words of St. Augustine.[1] And Sozomen, speaking of the monks of the same time, who in cities had several mansions separate from others, saith, "Some live in cities, so behaving themselves, as seeming nothing worth, and they differed nothing from the multitude,"[2] &c. The second point wherein they were discrepant from the later monks was, that they remained in no other order but that of laymen, only being of a stricter life than the rest, and had nothing to do in matters and charges ecclesiastical; which was afterward broken by Pope Boniface IV., as followeth (the Lord willing) to be seen and said. Thirdly, the aforesaid monks of that age, albeit the most part of them lived sole and single from wives, yet some of them were married: certes, none of them were forbidden or restrained from marriage. Of such as were married speaketh Athanasius, who says, "he knew both monks and bishops, as married men, and fathers of children."[3]

Monks in the primitive time differing from monks in the second age of the church.

Some were married, and none restrained from marriage.

The said monks of the old time, though they were better than the others who followed them, yet, all that notwithstanding, superstition with them, and among them, began then to creep into the church through the crafty subtilty of Satan, and all for the ignorance of our free justification by faith in Jesus Christ. Examples do declare the vain and prodigious superstition of these monastical sorts of men; which examples do not lack, if leisure rather did not lack to bring them in. But two or three shall suffice for many, which I purpose (the Lord willing) here to insert, to the intent the mind of the godly reader may the better consider and understand, how shortly after the time of Christ and his apostles, the doctrine of christian justification began to be forgotten, true religion turned to superstition, and the price of Christ's passion to be obscured through the vain opinion of men's merits, &c. A certain abbot, named Moses, thus testifieth of himself in the Collations of Cassianus, that he so afflicted himself with much fasting and watching, that sometimes, for two or three days together, not only he felt no appetite to eat, but also had no remembrance of any meat at all, and by reason thereof was driven also from sleep; insomuch that he was caused to pray to God but for some portion of the night to be given him, for a little refreshing of sleep.[4] In the same author mention is made of

Superstition crept in with monkery.

Ignorance of free justification by Christ, the cause of all superstition.

est causa, alia clericorum; clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor," &c. that is, "One thing pertaineth to monks, another thing unto them of the clergy; they of the clergy feed their flock. I am fed," &c. Et ex Dionysio. The same appeareth likewise by the fourth canon of the Council of Chalcedon, where it is provided, "Ne monachi se ecclesiasticis negotiis immisceant;" that is, "That monks should not intermeddle with matters of the church," &c. Et Leo, Epistola 62. vetat Monachos et Laicos, "etsi scientiæ nomine glorientur, admitti ad officium docendi et concionandi."

(1) "Neque inter hæc nemo urgetur in aspera, quæ ferre non potest: nulli quod recusat imponitur; nec ideo contemnitur a cæteris, quòd in eis imitandis se fatetur invalidum. Memincrunt enim quantopere commendata sit in scripturis charitas. Meminerunt omnia munda mundis, &c. 'Non quod intrat in os coinquinat hominem, sed quod exit.' Itaque non rejiciendis generibus ciborum quasi pollutis, sed concupiscentiæ perdomandæ, et dilectioni fratrum retinendæ invigilat omnis industria."—August. de Institutis Monachorum.

(2) "Alii in turba civitatum conversabantur, sic seipsos gerentes, ut nullius momenti viderentur et a multis nihil differrent," &c.—Lib. iii. cap. 16.

(3) "Se novisse et monachos et episcopos conjuges et liberorum patres," &c.—In Epistola ad Dracontium.

(4) Cassian. Collat. 2 cap. 17.

Edgar. *Ecclesiastical affairs.* a certain old man, a hermit, who, because he had conceived in himself such a purpose as never to eat meat without he had some guest or stranger with him, sometimes was constrained to abstain five days together until Sunday, when he went to the church, and thence brought some stranger or other home with him.

Two other examples more will I add out of the said Cassianus, to declare how the subtilty of Satan, through superstition and false colour of holiness, blindeth the miserable eyes of those who rather attend men's traditions than the word of God. The said author relates that a certain abbot named Johannes, in the desert of Scythia, sent two of his novices with figs unto one that was sick in the wilderness, eighteen miles off from the church. It chanced that these two young novices, missing the way, wandered so long in the wild forest or wilderness, unable to find the cell, that for emptiness and weariness they waxed faint and tired; and yet rather would they die than taste the figs committed to them to carry, and so they did, for shortly after they were found dead, their figs lying whole by them.[1]

Blind monkish superstition.

Another story also Cassianus reciteth, of two monastical brethren, who making their progress in the desert of Thebes, purposed with themselves to take no sustenance but such as the Lord himself should minister unto them. It happened, as they were wandering desolate in the desert, and fainting almost for penury, that certain Mazises,[2] a kind of people by nature fierce and cruel, notwithstanding being suddenly altered into a new nature of humanity, came forth, and of their own accord, offered bread unto them; which bread, the one thankfully received as sent of God; the other, accounting it sent of man, and not of God, refused it, and so for lack perished.[3]

Another instance.

See Appendix.

Hereunto might I also annex the story of Mucius, who, to declare his obedience, did not stick, at the commandment of his abbot, to cast his son into the water, not knowing whether any were appointed there ready to rescue him from drowning; so far were the monks in those days drowned in superstition. What is this, but for man's traditions and commandments to transgress the commandments of God, who saith, "Thou shalt do no murder;" "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God?" What man is so blind, that seeth not by these, and infinite examples more, what pernicious superstition had begun by reason of this monkery, almost from the beginning, to creep into the church? whereat I cannot marvel enough, seeing that age of the church had in it so many learned and famous doctors, who not only did approve and allow these monastical sects of life, but also certain were themselves the authors and institutors of the same, yea, and of men's traditions made the service of God; in the number of whom may be reckoned Basilius Magnus, and Nazianzen, who, with immoderate austerity, did so pluck down themselves, that when they were called to the office of bishops, they were not able to sustain the labour thereof.

Another.

Monkery the mother of superstition and hypocrisy.

Monks of the middle and latter ages of the church.

After these aforesaid monks of that time, above-recited, followed other monks of the middle age of the church, who, as in multitude, so also in superstition increasing, began, by little and little, from their desolate dens in the vast wilderness, to approach more near to

(1) Cassian. [Instit. Cœnob. lib. v.] cap. 40, de Spiritu Gastrimarg.—Ed
(2) See Appendix. (3) Cassian. Collat. ii. cap. 6.—Ed.

great towns, where they had solemn monasteries founded by kings and queens, and kings' daughters, and other rich consuls, as is partly before touched, and the causes also touched withal for the which they were first founded.[1] For all these impious and erroneous titles and causes we find alleged in stories, as in Malmesbury, Jornalensis, Henricus,[2] and other moe. In which histories I also note, that the most part of these foresaid monasteries were erected first upon some great murder, either by war in the field, or privately committed at home, as shall well appear to them which read their books whom I have alleged.

Edgar.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

Causes of the founding of monasteries and nunneries, tending to the derogation of Christ's passion and christian faith. [See vol. i. p. 380.]

But, to return to our monks again, who, as is said, first began to creep from the cold fields into warm towns and cloisters, from towns then into cities, and at length from their close cells and cities, into cathedral churches (as here appeareth by this story of King Edgar), where, not only did they abound in wealth and riches (especially these monks of our later time), but much more did they swim in superstition and pharisaical hypocrisy, being yoked and tied in all their doings to certain prescribed rules and formal observances; in watching, in sleeping, in eating, in rising, in praying, in walking, in talking, in looking, in tasting, in touching, in handling, in their gestures, in their vestures, every man apparelled not as the proper condition of others would require, nor as the season of the year did serve, but as the compulsory rules and order of every sect did enforce.

The number of monkish sects was infinitely divers: some, after St. Basil's rule, went in white; some, after Benet's rule, in black; some, Cluniacenses, first set up by Otho in the time of this King Edgar, wore after the rule of Benet's order; some, after Hierome's rule, were leather-girdled, and coped above their white coat; some Gregorians were copper-coloured; some, 'De valle umbrosa,' were grey monks; some, Grandimontenses, wore a coat of mail upon their bare bodies, with a black cloak thereupon: some, Cistercians, had white rochets on a black coat; some, Celestines, all in blue, both cloak, cowl and cap; some, Charter monks, wearing haircloth next their bodies; some, Flagellants, going barefoot in long white linen shirts, with an open place in the back, where they beat themselves with scourges on the bare skin every day before the people's eyes, till the blood ran down, saying, that it was revealed to them by an angel, that in so scourging themselves, within thirty days and twelve hours they should be made as pure from sin as they were when they first received baptism; some, Starred monks; some, Jesuats, with a white girdle and a russet cowl. Briefly, who can reckon up the innumerable sects and disguised orders of their fraternities? some holding of St. Benet, some of St. Hierome, some of St. Basil, some of St. Bernard, some of St. Bridget, some of St. Bruno, some of St. Lewis; as though it were not enough for Christians to hold of Christ only. So subject were they to servile rules, that no part of christian liberty remained among them; so drowned and sunk in superstition, that not only they had lost Christ's religion, but also almost the sense and nature of men. For where men naturally are and ought to be ruled

Various orders of monks. *See Appendix.*

See Appendix.

(1) "Pro remedio animæ meæ," "pro remissione peccatorum meorum," "pro redemptione peccatorum meorum, et pro salute regnorum, quique meo subjacent regimini populorum," "in honorem gloriosæ Virginis." (2) *i. e.* Henry of Huntingdon.—Ed.

Edgar. by the discreet government of reason in all outward doings wherein no
Ecclesiastical affairs. one rule can serve for all men, the circumstance of time, place, person and business being so sundry and divers; on the contrary, among these, not reason, but only the knock of a bell ruled all their doings: their rising, their sleeping, their praying, their eating, their coming in, their going out, their talking, their silence; and altogether, like insensible people, either not having reason to rule themselves, or else as persons ungrateful to God, neither enjoying the benefit of reason created in them, nor yet using the grace of Christ's liberty, whereunto he redeemed them.

Monks ruled by the knock of a bell.

Thus thou seest, gentle reader! sufficiently declared, what the monks were in the primitive time of the church, and what were the monks of the middle age, and of these our latter days of the church; whereunto join this withal, that whereas the monks of elder time, as is said, were mere laymen, and not spiritual ministers, afterwards A.D. 606. Boniface IV. made a decree, that monks might use the offices of preaching, christening, and hearing confessions; and also, that of absolving them from their sins: so that monks, who, in the beginning, were but laymen, and not spiritual ministers, forbidden by the general council of Chalcedon, as is above related, to intermeddle with matters ecclesiastical, afterwards, in process of time, did so much encroach upon the office of spiritual ministers, that at length the priests were discharged out of their cathedral churches, and monks put in their places; because that monks in those days, leading a stricter life, and professing chastity, had a greater countenance of holiness among the people than had the priests, who then, in the days of King Edgar, had wives (at least so many as would), no law forbidding them till the time of Hildebrand, now called Gregory VII., whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in the book next following.

Made spiritual ministers contrary to the decrees and custom of the church.

Priests had wives

A.D. 967. And thus much, by the way, as touching the order and profession of monks. Now, to turn in again from whence we digressed, that is, to the matter of King Edgar, who, following the counsel and leading of Dunstan, and the aforesaid Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, was somewhat thereby inclined to superstition; but, otherwise, of his own nature, well given to all virtues and princely acts worthy of much commendation and famous memory. So excellent was he in justice, and sharp in correction of vices, as well in his magistrates as other subjects, that never before his days was less felony by robbers, nor less extortion or bribery by false officers. Such provinces and lordships as were not yet come under the king's subjection, he united and adjoined to his dominion; and so made one perfect monarchy of the whole realm of England, with all the islands and borders about the same. Such as were wicked he kept under; he repressed those that were rebels; the godly he maintained; he loved the modest; he was devout to God, and beloved of his subjects, whom he governed in much peace and quietness. And as he was a great seeker of peace, so God did bless him with much abundance of peace and rest from all wars, so that, as the history recordeth of him, "he neither tasted of any privy treason among his subjects, nor of any invasion of foreign enemies," for which he was called Pacificus. So studious he was of the public profit of his realm, and fruitful in his government,

The worthy laws of King Edgar.

England reduced to one perfect monarchy.

Edgar. A.D. 970.

that, as the said story saith of him, "no year passed in all the time of his reign, wherein he did not some singular and necessary commodity for the commonwealth."[1] A great maintainer he was of religion and learning, not forgetting herein the foresteps of King Alfred his predecessor. Among his other princely virtues this chiefly is to be regarded, that whereas other princes in much peace and quietness are commonly wont to grow into a dissolute negligence of life, or oblivion of their charge committed unto them; this king, in continuance of peace (that notwithstanding), kept ever with him such a watch, and a vigilant severity joined with a seemly clemency, that I cannot but recite here what our historians witness, testifying of his diligent and great care over the commonwealth, "that he would suffer no man, of what degree of nobility soever he were, to evade his laws without condign punishment."[2] And the same author adds, "in all his time there was neither any privy picker, nor open thief, but he that in stealing other men's goods would venture, and suffer, as he was sure to do, the loss of his own life."[3]

Edgar and Alfred compared.

Moreover, as the studious industry of this prince was forward in all other points, so his prudent provision did not lack in this also, in driving out the devouring and ravening wolves throughout all his land, wherein he used this policy, in causing Llewellyn, prince or king of Wales, to yield him yearly, by way of tribute, 300 wolves; by means whereof, within the space of four years after, in England and Wales, might scarcely be found one wolf alive.

Wolves first driven out of England.

This Edgar, among other of his politic deeds, had in readiness 3600 ships of war to scour the seas in the summer-time, whereof 1200 kept the east seas; as many defended the west side; and again, as many were in the south seas to repulse the invasion of foreign enemies. Moreover, in the winter season, the use and manner of this virtuous king was this: during all the time of his life, to ride over the land in progress, searching and inquiring diligently (to use the words of mine author), "how the laws and statutes by him ordained were kept, and that the poor should suffer no prejudice, or be oppressed in any manner of way by the mightier,"[4] &c. Briefly, as I see many things in this worthy prince to be commended, so this one thing in him I cannot but lament, to see him, like a phenix, to fly alone; that of all his posterity so few there be that seek to keep him company. And although I have showed more already of this king than I think will well be followed, yet this more is to be added to the worthiness of his other acts, that whereas, by the multitude of the Danes dwelling in divers places of England, much excessive drinking was used, whereupon ensued drunkenness and many other vices, to the evil example and hurt of his subjects; he, therefore, to prevent that evil, ordained certain cups, with pins or nails set in them, adding thereunto a law, that what person drank past the mark at one draught should forfeit a certain penny, whereof

The provision of King Edgar for keeping the seas.

A notable example for all good princes to follow.

The device of King Edgar to prevent drunkenness. *See Appendix.*

(1) "Nullus fere annus in chronicis præteriit, quo non magnum et necessarium patriæ aliquid fecerit."

(2) "Ut nullum cujuscunque dignitatis hominem leges eludere impune permitteret."

(3) "Nemo ejus tempore privatus latro, nemo popularis prædo, nisi qui mallet in fortunas alienas grassari propriæ vitæ dispendio," &c. Guliel. Malmesb. de Reg.

(4) "Quomodo legum jura, et suorum statuta decretorum observarentur; et ne pauperes a potentibus præjudicium passi opprimerentur."

Edgar. A.D. 971.

one half should fall to the accuser, and the other half to the ruler of the borough or town where the offence was done.

It is reported of this Edgar, by divers authors, that about the thirteenth year of his reign, he being at Chester, eight kings, called in histories Subreguli, to wit, petty-kings, or under-kings, came and did homage to him; of whom the first was the king of Scots, called Kenneth, Malcolm of Cumberland, Mackus, or Mascusinus, king of Monia,[1] and of divers other islands; and all the kings of Wales, the names of whom were Dufual or Dunewald, Sifresh, Huwall, Jacob, and Vikyll or Juchel. All these kings, after they had given their fidelity to Edgar, the day following, for a pomp or royalty, he entered with these aforesaid kings the river Dee; where he, sitting in a boat, took the rule of the helm, and caused these eight kings, every person taking an oar in his hand, to row him up and down the river, to and from the church of St. John, unto his palace again, in token that he was master and lord of so many provinces, whereupon he is reported to have said in this manner: "Tune demum posse successores suos gloriari, se Reges Angliæ esse, cum tanta prærogativa honorum fruerentur." But in my mind this king had done much better, if he had rather said with St. Paul, "Absit mihi gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi."

Eight kings do homage to King Edgar.

And thus ye have heard hitherto, touching the commendation of King Edgar, such reports as the old monkish writers thought to bestow upon him, as upon the great patron of their monkish religion, who had builded as many monasteries for them as there were Sundays in the year, as some say, or, but forty-eight, as Edmer reporteth.

Edgar a superstitious upholder of monkery.

Now, on the other side, what vices in him were reigning, let us likewise consider, according as we find in the said authors described, who most wrote to his advancement. The first vice is noted to be cruelty as well towards others, as especially towards a certain earl, being of his secret council, called Ethelwold. The story is this: Ordgar, duke of Devonshire, had a certain daughter, named Elfrida, whose beauty being highly commended to the king, and he being inflamed therewith, he sent this aforesaid Ethelwold (whom he especially trusted) to the party, to see and to bring him word again, and if her beauty were such as was reported, willing him also to make the match between them. Ethelwold well viewing the party, and seeing her beauty nothing inferior to her fame, and thinking first to serve his own turn, told all things contrary unto the king. Whereupon the king, withdrawing his mind otherwise, in the end it came to pass that Ethelwold himself did marry her.

Vices noted in Edgar.

Not long after, the king, understanding further by the complaints and rumours of certain, how he was prevented and beguiled, set a fair face upon the matter before Ethelwold, and merrily jesting with him, told him how he would come and see his wife; and indeed appointed the day when he would be there. Ethelwold, the husband, perceiving this matter to go hardly with him, made haste to his wife, declaring to her the coming of the king, and also opening the whole order of the matter how he had done; desiring her of all love, as she would save his life, to disgrace and deform herself with garments and such attire as the king might take no delight in her.

(1) That is, "the Isle of Man." See Hoffman vv. Mannia, and Monia.—Ed.

Elfrida hearing this, what did she, but, contrary to the request of her husband and promise of a wife, against the king's coming trim herself at the glass, and deck her in her best array; whom, when the king beheld, he was not so much enamoured with her as in hatred with her husband, who had so deceived him. Whereupon the king shortly after, making as though he would go to hunt in the forest of Harewood, sent for Ethelwold to come to him under the pretence of hunting, and there ran him through and slew him. After this the bastard son of Ethelwold coming to him, the king asked him how he liked that hunting? who answered, "That which pleaseth the king ought not to displease me." For the death of this Ethelwold, Elfrida afterwards builded a monastery of nuns, for remission of sins.

Edgar. A.D. 975.

His cruelty.

Another fault which Malmesbury noteth in him, was the coming in of strangers into this land, as Saxons, Flemings, and Danes, whom he with great familiarity retained, to the great detriment of the land, as the aforesaid story of Malmesbury recordeth, whose words be these: "whereby it happened that divers strangers, out of foreign countries, allured by his fame, came into the land, as Saxons, Flemings, and Danes also, all whom he retained with great familiarity; the coming of which strangers wrought great damage to the realm, and therefore is Edgar justly blamed in stories,"[1] &c. With this reprehension all the Saxon stories also do agree.

Great detriment to this realm by King Edgar.

The third vice to him objected was his incontinency and his lasciviousness of life. He degraded a duke's daughter, being a nun, and a virgin named Wilfrida, or Wilstrud, of which Wilfrida was born Editha, a bastard daughter of Edgar. Also a certain other virgin in the town of Andover, who was privily conveyed into his chamber by this means: the lascivious king, coming to Andover, not far from Winchester, and thinking to have his desire of a certain other duke's daughter, of whose beauty he heard much speaking, commanded the maid to be brought unto him. The mother of the virgin, grieving to have her daughter so wronged, secretly, by night, conveyed to the king's chamber, instead of her daughter, another maiden of beauty and favour not uncomely, who, in the morning rising to her work, and so being known by the king who she was, had granted unto her by the king such liberty and freedom, that of a servant she was made mistress both to her master, and also to her mistress.[2]

His incontinent life.

Among other concubines Edgar had Egelfleda, or Elfleda, called Candida, the fair daughter of Duke Ordmer,[3] she being also a professed nun, of whom he had Edward; for which he was enjoined by Dunstan seven years' penance, which being complete, he took to him as his lawful wife,[4] Elfrida, the mother of Edmund and Ethelred, otherwise called Egelred, whereof more shall be said (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Edward born in bastardy of Elfled, King Edgar's concubine.

Over and besides all these vices, noted and objected to King Edgar, in our monkish story-writers, I also observe another no less, or rather a greater vice than the other before-recited, which was blind

(1) "Unde factum est, ut fama ejus per ora omnium volitante, alienigenæ, Saxones, Flandritæ, ipsi etiam Dani huc frequenter annavigarent, Edgaro familiares effecti. Quorum adventus magnum provincialibus detrimentum peperit. Inde merito jureque reprehendunt eum literæ," &c
(2) Ex Matth. Paris. lib. de Regib. (3) Gulielm. Malmesb. (4) Idem.

Edgar. A.D. 975.

superstition, which brought idolatrous monkery into the church of Christ, with the wrongful expelling of lawful married priests out of their houses. Whereupon, what inconveniences ensued in this realm, especially in the house of the Lord, I leave to the consideration of those who have heard of the detestable enormities of those religious votaries: the occasion whereof, first and chiefly, began in this Edgar, through the instigation of Dunstan and his fellows; who, after they had inveigled the king, and had brought him over to their purpose, caused him to call a council of the clergy, where it was enacted and decreed that the canons of divers cathedral churches, collegiates, parsons, vicars, priests and deacons, with their wives and children, either should give over that kind of life, or else give room to monks, &c. For execution of which decree, two principal visitors were appointed; Athelwold, or Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, bishop of Worcester, as is before mentioned.[1]

King Edgar seduced by Dunstan, and Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester.

And thus much concerning the history of King Edgar, and of such things as in his time happened in the church, which Edgar, after he had entered into the parts of Britany, to subdue the rebellion of the Welshmen, and there had spoiled the country of Glamorgan, and wasted that of Odo, within ten days after, when he had reigned the space of sixteen years, died, and was buried at Glastonbury, leaving after him two bastards, to wit, Editha and Edward, and one son lawfully begotten, named Ethelred, or otherwise by corruption called Egelred: for Edmund, the elder son, died before his father.

His death.

Ye heard before how King Edgar is noted in all stories to be an incontinent liver. In consequence of his connexion with Elfled, mother of Edward, he was stayed and kept back from his coronation by Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, the space of seven years: and so the said king, beginning his reign in the sixteenth year of his age, being A.D. 959, was crowned in the thirty-first year of his age, A.D. 973, as is by the Saxon Chronicle of Worcester Church to be proved.[2] For the more evident declaration of which matter, concerning the coronation of the king restrained, and the presumptuous behaviour of Dunstan against the king, and his penance by the said Dunstan enjoined, ye shall hear both Osberne, Malmesbury, and other authors speak in their own words, as followeth: "Perpetrato itaque in virginem velatam peccato," &c.[3] After Dunstan had understanding of the king's offence perpetrated with the professed nun, and that the same was blazed amongst the people, with great ire and passion of mind he came to the king, who, seeing the archbishop coming, eftsoons of gentleness arose from his regal seat towards him, to take him by the hand, and to give him place. But Dunstan refusing to take him by the hand, and with stern countenance bending his brows, spake after this effect of words, as stories import, unto the king: "You that have not feared to corrupt a virgin made handfast to Christ, presume you to touch the consecrated hands of a bishop? You have defiled the spouse of your Maker, and think you by flattering service to pacify the friend of the bridegroom? No, Sir, his friend will not I be, who hath Christ to his enemy." The king, terrified with these thundering words of Dunstan, and compunected with inward re-

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

Dunstan refused to take the king by the hand.

(1) Ex Osberno in Vita Dunstani, fol. 27; Malmesbur. de Vit. Pontif.; Rog. Hoved. et aliis.
(2) Ex Chronico Saxonico Ecclesiæ Wigorniensis. (3) Ex Osberno in Vita Dunstani.

pentance of his crime perpetrated, fell down with weeping at the feet of Dunstan, who, after he had raised him up from the ground again, began to utter to him the horribleness of his fact; and finding the king ready to receive whatsoever satisfaction he would lay upon him, enjoined him this penance for seven years' space, as followeth :— *Edgar.* A. D. 975.

" That he should wear no crown all that space; that he should fast twice in the week; that he should distribute his treasure, left to him of his ancestors, liberally unto the poor; that he should build a monastery of nuns, in order that as he had robbed God of one virgin through his transgression, so he should restore to him many again in times to come. Moreover, he should expel clerks of evil life out of churches, and place covents of monks in their room: that he should enact just and godly laws; and that he should write out portions of the holy Scriptures, to be distributed among the people of his realm." Penance enjoined to Edgar. *See Appendix.* Meaning such priests as had wives and children.

It followeth, then, in the story of Osberne, that when the seven years of the king's penance were expired, Dunstan, calling together all the peers of the realm, with bishops, abbots, and other ecclesiastical degrees of the clergy, in the public sight of all the multitude, set the crown upon the king's head, at Bath, which was the one and thirtieth year of his age, and fourteenth of his reign; so that he reigned only three years crowned king. All the other years besides, Dunstan, it is likely, ruled the land as he listed. Furthermore, as touching the son of the said Elfleda, Osberne writeth to this effect, " The child also which was born of Elfleda, he baptized in the holy fountain of regeneration, and so giving him the name of Edward, he did adopt him to be his son."[1] By this narration, agreeing also with the story of the Saxon book abovementioned, there is evinced a double untruth or error, either negligently overseen, or of purpose dissembled, in our later monkish story-writers, as in Malmesbury, Matthew Paris, Matthew of Westminster, and others; who, to conceal the fault of King Edgar, or to square with Dunstan's fact in setting up Edward for the maintenance of their monkish order, first do falsely affirm that Editha, the daughter of Wilfrida, was born after Edward, and that for her this penance was enjoined on King Edgar. This neither is, nor can be so, as in process hereafter (the Lord willing) shall appear. Edgar reigned but three years crowned king. *See Appendix.* Errors in Malmesbury and others.

Secondly, they are deceived in this, that they affirm King Edgar to have two wives; and that Elfleda, the mother of Edward, was not a professed nun indeed, but dissembled so to be, to avoid the violence of the king; whereas, indeed, the truth of the story both giveth her to be a nun, and her son to be base, and she herself never to be married unto the king.

Now, forasmuch as we have hitherto entered mention of Wilfrida and Editha, and also of Elfleda and Dunstan,[2] here should not be let pass to speak something of their lying miracles, falsely forged, to the great seduction of christian people, by superstitious monks, who cared not what fables and lies they brought into the church, so that they might have the advantage of poor men's purses and oblations. And first, here come in the fabulous miracles wrought at the tomb of Elfleda, the king's concubine, which William of Malmesbury in certain verses expresseth;[3] the English of

(1) " Puerum quoque ex peccatrice quondam progenitum, sacro fonte regeneratum lavavit, et aptato illi nomine Edwardo in filium sibi adoptavit." (2) See Appendix.—Ed.

(3) " Nam nonnullis passa annis morborum molestiam,
Defæcatam et excoctam Deo dedit animam.
Functas ergo vitæ fato beatas exuvias
Infinitis clemens signis illustravit Deitas: Inopes

Edgar. A.D. 975.

which it is needless here to recite. Briefly, the effect is this:—That both the blind, deaf, halt, and such as be mad, receive their health again, if they worship the tomb of this Elfleda. The like feignings and monstrous miracles we read also in chronicles of the doting Dunstan, drowned in all superstition, if he were not also a wicked sorcerer. First, how he, being yet a boy, chased away the devil, set about with a great company of dogs, and how the angels did open the church door for him to enter; then, how the lute or harp, hanging upon the wall, did sing or play without any finger these words: "The souls of the saints, who have followed the footsteps of Christ, and who have shed their blood for his love's sake, are rejoicing in heaven; therefore they shall reign with Christ for ever."[1] Item, where a certain great beam or master-post was loosed out of its place, he, by making the sign of a cross, set it in right frame again. Moreover, how the said Dunstan, being tempted upon a time by the devil, with impure cogitations, caught the devil by the nose with a hot pair of tongs, and held him fast. Item, how heavenly spirits often appeared to him, and used to talk with him familiarly. Item, how he prophesied of the birth of King Edgar, of the death of King Egelred, of the death of Editha, and of Ethelwald, bishop of Winchester. Also, how our Lady, with her fellows, appeared visibly to him, singing this song:

The idle fantasies and forged miracles of Dunstan.

Dunstan a post-setter. Catches the devil by the nose with a hot pair of tongs.

> "Cantemus Domino, sociæ, cantemus honorem;
> Dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio."[2]

Again, how the angels appeared to him, singing the hymn called "Kyrie Rex splendens," and yet these prodigious fantasies, with others, are written of him in chronicles, and have been believed in churches.

A foul monkish miracle in the story of Editha.

Among many other false and lying miracles, forged in this corrupt time of monkery, the fabulous, or rather filthy legend of Editha, were not to be overpassed, if for shame and honesty it might well be recited. But to cast the dirt of these pope-holy monks in their own face, who so impudently have abused the church of Christ, and the simplicity of the people, with their ungracious vanities, let us see what this miracle is, and how honestly it is told.

Another dream of Dunstan.

Certain years after the death of Editha, saith William of Malmesbury, which years Capgrave in his new legend reckoneth to be thirteen, the said Editha, and also St. Dennis, holding her by the hand, appeared to Dunstan in a vision, willing and requiring him that the body of Editha, in the church of Wilton, should be taken up and shrined, to the intent it might be honoured here on earth by her servants, according as it is worshipped by her spouse in heaven. Dunstan, upon this, coming from Salisbury to Wilton, where Editha was interred, commanded her body to be taken up with much honour and solemnity; who, there, on opening her tomb (as both Malmesbury and Capgrave with shame enough record), found the whole body of this Editha consumed to earth, save only her thumb, and a few other

> Inopes visus et auditus si adorant tumulum,
> Sanitati restituti probant sanctæ meritum:
> Rectum gressum refert domum, qui accessit loripes:
> Mente captus redit sanus, boni sensus locuples."

(1) "Gaudent in cœlis animæ sanctorum, qui Christi vestigia sunt sequuti, et qui pro ejus amore sanguinem suum fuderunt: ideo cum Christo regnabunt in æternum."

(2) What marvel, if certain books and epistles be falsely ascribed to the doctors, when the papists shame not to ascribe other men's verses also to the Virgin Mary herself?

parts. Whereof the said Editha expounding the meaning declared that her thumb remained sound for the much crossing she used with the same, and that the other parts were uncorrupted for a testimony of her abstinence and integrity.[1] *Edward the Martyr.* A.D. 975.

What Satan hath so envied the true sincerity of christian faith and doctrine, so to contaminate the same with such impudent tales, such filthy vanities, and such idolatrous fantasies as these? Such monks, with their detestable houses, where Christ's people were so abominably abused, and seduced to worship dead carcases of men and women, whether they deserved not to be rased and plucked down to the ground, let all chaste readers judge. But of these matters enough and too much.

Here followeth the Epitaph written by Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, upon the praise and commendation of King Edgar:— *See Appendix.*

An epitaph commendatory of King Edgar.

"Autor opum, vindex scelerum, largitor honorum,
Sceptiger Edgarus regna superna petit.
Hic alter Salomon, legum pater, orbita pacis,:
Quòd caruit bellis, claruit inde magis.
Templa Deo, templis monachos, monachis dedit agros,
Nequitiæ lapsum, justitiæque locum.
Novit enim regno verum perquirere falso,
Immensum modico, perpetuumque brevi."

Among his other laws, this king ordained that the Sunday should be solemnized from Saturday at nine o'clock till Monday morning. *See Appendix.*

EDWARD II., CALLED THE MARTYR.[2]

After the death of King Edgar no small trouble arose among the lords and bishops about the succession of the crown; the principal cause whereof arose on this occasion, as by the story of Simon of Durham, and Roger Hoveden, is declared. Immediately after the decease of the king, Alferus duke of Mercia, and many other nobles who held with Egelred, or Ethelred, the only right heir and lawful son of Edgar, disliking the placing and intruding of monks into churches, and the thrusting of the secular priests, with their wives and children, out of their ancient possessions, expelled the abbots and monks, and brought in again the aforesaid priests, with their wives; against whom, certain others there were on the contrary part that made resistance, as Ethelwin, duke of East Angles, Elfwold his brother, and the Earl Brithnoth, saying, in a council together assembled, "That they would never suffer the religious monks to be expelled and driven out of the realm, who held up all religion in the land;" and, thereupon, immediately levied an army, wherewith to defend by force such monasteries as were within the precincts of East Anglia. A.D. 975. Contention amongst the lords about the putting in of monks.

In this hurly-burly amongst the lords, about the placing of monks, and putting out of priests, rose also the contention about the crown, who should be their king; the bishops and such lords as favoured the monks, seeking to advance such a king as they knew would incline Also for choosing the king.

(1) Ex Guliel. Malmesb., et Capgravo, in legenda nova.
(2) Edition 1563, p. 11. Ed. 1583, p. 157. Ed. 1596, p. 142 Ed 1681, vol. i. p. 175. Ed.

Edward the Martyr. A.D. 975.

to their side; so that the lords thus divided, some of them would have Edward, and some agreed upon Egelred, the lawful son. Then Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, and Oswald, archbishop of York, with other their fellow-bishops, abbots, and divers other lords and dukes, assembled together in a council; into which council Dunstan coming with his cross in his hand, and bringing Edward before the lords, so persuaded them, that, in the end, Edward, by Dunstan's means, was elected, consecrated, and anointed for their king.

Edward the Bastard made king, and the right heir put back.

And thus hast thou, good reader, the very truth of this story, according to the writing of authors of most antiquity who lived nearest to that age, as Osberne and others;[1] which Osberne, living in the days of William the Conqueror, wrote this story of Dunstan on the motion of Lanfranc, and allegeth, or rather translateth the same out of such Saxon stories as were written before his time. Besides this Osberne, we have also for witness hereof, Nicholas Trivet, in his English History, written in French, and also Johannes Paris, in his French History, written in the Latin tongue, where he plainly calleth Edward, "non legitimum filium," that is, "no lawful son." Whereunto add, moreover, the testimony of Vincentius and Antoninus, who in plain terms likewise report the same.

Editha not the child for whom Edgar was enjoined penance.

Now, having laid the foundation for the truth and ground of this matter, let us come to examine how truly our later writers do say, who write that Editha, and not Edward, was the child for whom Dunstan enjoined the king seven years' penance; and, also, how truly they report Edward to be the lawful heir, and Elfleda to be the lawful wife, to King Edgar. For first touching Editha, this is confessed by the said writers themselves, that she was of good years at the time Edgar, her father, was enjoined his penance; after which seven years of his penance were expired, he lived, at the most, but three years and a half; which seven years, and three years and a half, do make in all but ten years and a half. But now the said authors themselves do grant, that she was made abbess by her father, he being then alive. And how then can this stand with her legend, which saith, that she was not less than fifteen years of age? By which account it must needs fall out, that she could not be so little as five years old before the birth of that child for whom the king did penance. And thus much touching Editha.

The years of Editha and Edward.

Now, in like manner, to consider of the time of Edward. First, this by all writers is granted, that he was slain in the fifteenth year of his age, which age doth well agree to that bastard child which King Edgar had, and for which he did penance; for the more evidence whereof, let us come to the computation of the years in this sort: first, the penance of the king after the birth of this child lasted seven years; then, the king, after the same, lived three years and a half; after whose death Edward reigned other three years and a half, which in all make the full sum of fourteen years, about the count of which age, by their own reckoning, the said Edward, going on in his fifteenth year, was slain.

Thus have ye, by manifest demonstration, proved by the right casting up of the years, after their own grant and reckoning, that Editha, daughter of Wilfrida, in no case can be the child that was

See Appendix

(1) Ex Osbern., Nic. Trivet., Johan. Paris., Vincentio, Antonino.

born after Edward, and for whom the king was enjoined penance; but that Edward rather was born after Editha, and was the child for whom the penance was enjoined, contrary to the opinion commonly received in the church, which, for ignorance of the story, hath hitherto holden Edward to be a holy martyr, and right heir to the crown. How this error and opinion first sprang up, and by whom, albeit it pertain not to my story to discuss, yet were it no hard matter to conjecture.

Edward the Martyr.

A. D. 975.

First, after that Dunstan and Oswald, with other bishops, abbots, and certain lords and dukes of that faction, for the maintenance of monkery, had advanced Edward to be king, against Queen Elfrida, mother of Ethelred, and Alferus, duke of Mercia, and certain other nobles who held with the contrary side of the priests against the monks; in process of time, the monks that came to write stories, perceiving Dunstan to be reputed in the church of Rome for a holy saint, and the said King Edward for a holy martyr, and partly also to bolster up their own religion of monkery so much as they could, to the intent that they might save the credit both of Dunstan and the king, and especially bearing favour to their own religion, and partly that the reputation of the church of Rome should not be distained by opening the truth of this matter, either did not see, or would not confess herein what they knew, but rather thought best to blanch the story, and colourably to hide the simple truth thereof; making the people falsely believe that Elfleda, the mother of Edward, was wife to King Edgar, and that Edward was lawfully born, and also that Editha was born after Edward, and was the child for which the king was enjoined penance. All which is false, and contrary both to the order of time above declared, and also to the plain words of Malmesbury, who, speaking of King Edgar's last concubine, saith in plain words, "Dilexit unice, integram lecto uni deferens fidem, quoad legitimam uxorem accepit Elfthridem, filiam Ordgari:"[1] that is, "He had a concubine whom he loved entirely, keeping true faith to her alone, until the time he married for his lawful wife Elfrida, the daughter of Duke Ordgar:" whereby we have to understand, that whatsoever woman this was of whom Malmesbury speaketh, certain it is, that Edgar lived incontinently till the time he married his lawful wife. Furthermore, and to conclude: beside these arguments and allegations above-recited, let this also be appended, how the said Dunstan, with his accomplices, after the killing of King Edward, leaving the right heir of the crown, namely, Ethelred, went about (as Capgrave[2] in their own legend confesseth) to set up Editha, the other bastard, to possess the crown; but that she, more wise than her brother Edward, refused the same. Whereby what is to be thought of the doings of Dunstan, and what could be the cause why he preferred both Edward and Editha to the crown, rather than the lawful heir, I leave to all indifferent readers thereof to judge.

The cause why this story of Edward is so falsely corrupted in monkish histories.

Dunstan suborneth Editha to take the crown from the right heir.

After Dunstan and his fellows had thus set up Edward for their king, they were now where they would be, supposing all to be sure on their side, and that they had established the kingdom of monkery for ever, through the help of the young king, and the duke of East

(1) Guliel. Malmesb. in lib. de Regib.
(2) Capgrav. in Vita Sanctæ Edithæ.

Edward the Martyr. A. D. 976.

Angles, and certain other nobles whom they had drawn to their part. Howbeit, this matter passed not so well with them as they hoped; for, shortly after the coronation of this young king, Alferus, duke of Mercia, who followed much the deeds of the queen, with other great men, stoutly standing on the contrary side, drove out the monks from the cathedral churches, whom King Edgar before had set in, and restored the priests, as Ranulphus saith, with their *concubines*; but, in the history of the library of Jornalensis, I find it plainly expressed, with their *wives*. The very words of the author be these:—"Alferus, duke of Mercia, with other great men, drove out the monks from the great monasteries, whom King Edgar had there set in before, and restored again the priests with their wives."[1] Whereby it doth evidently appear that priests in those days were married, and had their lawful wives. The like before that, in King Ina's time, is plain, that bishops then had wives and children, as appeareth by the words of the law then set forth, and extant in the history of Jornalensis.[2] And thus much, by the way, for priests' wives and their children.

Priests with their wives restored.

Bishops and priests in those days married.

Now to our purpose again, which is to declare how the duke and nobles of England expelled the monks out of the monasteries after the death of King Edgar; whereof let us hear what the monkish story of the abbey of Crowland recordeth:—"The monks being expelled out of certain monasteries, the clerks again were brought in, who distributed the manors or farms of the said monasteries to the dukes and lords of the land, that they being obliged to them, should defend them against the monks. And so were the monks of Evesham thrust out, and the secular clerks placed therein, and the lands of the church given to the lords; with whom the queen, the king's stepmother, holding at the same time, took part also with the said clerks against the king. On the contrary side stood the king and the holy bishops, taking part with the monks. Howbeit the lords and peers of the realm, staying upon the favour and power of the queen, triumphed over the monks."[3]

Great stir in the land about placing in monks, and displacing priests.

Thus, as there was much ado through all quarters of the realm about the matter among the lords, so arose no less contention between the priests and monks of England. The priests complaining to the king and Dunstan, said for themselves that it was uncomely, uncharitable, yea, and unnatural, to put out an old known dweller, for a new unknown; and that God was not pleased, that that should be taken from the ancient possessor, which by God was given him; neither that it could be of any good man accepted, to suffer any such injury to be done, lest peradventure the same thing, wherein he was prejudicial to another, might afterwards revert and redound upon himself at last.[4] The monks on the other side said for their

Priests' marriage noted for an old custom in England.

(1) "Alferus princeps Merciorum, cæterique plures, ejectis monachis de magnis monasteriis, quos Rex Edgarus nuper instituerat, Clericos cum uxoribus reduxerunt."—Historia Jornalensis, in Vita Edgari.—Idem.

(2) "Si quis filiolum alterius occidat vel patrinum, sit simile cognationi, et crescat emendatio secundum Weram ejus regi, sicut cognationi. Si de parentela sit qui occidit eum, tunc excedat emendatio patrini, sicut mandata Domini. Si episcopi filiolus sit, sit dimidium hoc," &c.—Idem.

(3) "Monachis de quibusdam monasteriis ejectis, clerici sunt introducti, qui statim monasteriorum maneria ducibus terræ distribuebant, ut sic in suas partes obligati, eos contra monachos defensarent. Tunc de Monasterio Eveshamensi monachis expulsis, clerici fuerunt introducti. Terræque tyranni de terris ecclesiæ præmiati sunt, quibus regina novercali nequitia, stans cum clericis in regis opprobrium, favebat. Cum monachis autem rex et sancti episcopi persistebant. Sed tyranni, fulti reginæ favore et potentia, super monachos triumphabant. Multus inde tumultus in omni angulo Angliæ factus est."—Ex Chronico Ingulphi Abbatis de Crowland.

(4) Guliel. de Regib. lib ii

part, that Christ allowed neither the old dweller, nor the new comer, nor yet looked upon the person, but whoso would take the cross of penance upon him, and follow Christ in virtuous living, should be his disciple. *Edward the Martyr.* A.D. 978.

These and such other were the allegations of the monks; but whether a monk's cowl, or a wifeless life, make a sufficient title to enter into other men's possessions or no, I refer it to the judgment of the godly. The troublous cares in marriage, the necessary provision for housekeeping, the virtuous bringing up of children, the daily helping of poverty, and bearing of public charges, with other manifold perturbations and cumbrances daily incident to the state of matrimony, might rather appear, to godly wise men, to come nearer to the right cross of penance, than the easy and loitering idleness of monkery. In the end, upon this controversy, was holden a council of bishops and others of the clergy. First, at Reading, or at Winchester, as Malmesbury saith, where the greater part, both of the nobles and commons, judged the priests to be greatly wronged, and sought by all means possible to bring them again to their old possessions and dignities. Jornalensis here maketh rehearsal of an image of the crucifix, or a rood, standing upon the frater-wall, where the council was holden. To this rood Dunstan required them all to pray, being belike not ignorant of some spiritual provision beforehand. In the midst of their prayer the rood (or else some blind monk behind it in a trunk, through the wall) is reported to speak these words, "Absit hoc ut fiat; absit hoc ut fiat: judicastis bene, mutaretis non bene." In remembrance whereof these verses were written under the rood's feet:

Married men's lives compared with those of monks.

See Appendix.

A.D. 978. *See Appendix.*

A vain miracle of Dunstan's rood that spake. Here lacked a Thomas Cromwell to try out false juggling.

> "Humano more crux præsens edidit ore,
> Cœlitus affata, quæ perspicis hic subarata;
> Absit ut hoc fiat, et cætera tunc memorata."

Of this Dunstanical, or rather Satanical oracle, Henry maketh no mention, nor Ranulph, nor yet Hoveden, nor Fabian, in their histories. Malmesbury, in his book De Regibus, reporteth it, but by hearsay, in these words, saying, "Aliæ literæ docent," &c.; wherefore of the less credit it seemeth to be. Albeit if it were of credible truth, yet it proveth in this matter nothing else but Dunstan to be a sorcerer, as Polydore Virgil also himself seemeth to smell something in this matter.

Notwithstanding all this the strife ceased not; insomuch that a new assembly of the clergy and others was appointed afterwards at a place called the Street of Calne, where the council was kept in an upper loft. In this council many grievous complaints were made, as Malmesbury saith, against Dunstan; but yet he kept his opinion, and would not remove from that which he had begun to maintain. And while they were in great contention and argument which way should be admitted and allowed (if that be true which in the stories is written), suddenly the joists of the loft failed, and the people with the nobles fell down, so that certain were slain, and many hurt.[1] But Dunstan (they say) only, standing upon a post of the soler which remained unbroken, escaped without danger. Which

A council at Calne.

A sudden fall of the people at the council.

(1) Henricus, lib. v.; Malmesb., Ranulph, Jornalensis, Fabian.

Edward the Martyr. A.D. 978.

thing, whether it so happened to portend the ruin of the realm and of the nobles, as Henry Huntingdon doth expound it, which after ensued by the Danes, or whether it was so wrought by Dunstan's sorcery, as was not impossible, or whether it were a thing but feigned of the monkish writers, and not true; all this I leave to the readers to think therein what they like. The stories say further, that upon this, the matter ceased, and Dunstan had all his will.

These things thus done at Calne, it happened not long after, that King Edward, whom writers describe to be a virtuous and a meek prince, very pitiful and beneficial to the poor, about the fourth year of his reign came upon a time from hunting in the forest alone, without a company of his servants, to the place in the west country, where Queen Elfrida his mother, with her son Egelred, did live.

The horrible wickedness of a queen-mother.

When she was warned of his coming by her men, anon she calleth a servant of hers, who was of her special trust, opening to him all her conceived counsel, and showing him all points, how, and what to do, for the accomplishing of her wicked purpose. Which thing done, she made towards the king, and received him with all courtesy, desiring him to tarry that night; but he, in like courtesy, excused himself, and for speed desired to see his brother, and to take some drink upon his horse sitting, which was shortly brought. While the cup was at his mouth, the servant of the queen, being instigated,

King Edward traiterously murdered. Mar. 18th A. D. 978.

struck him in the body with a long two-edged dagger; after which stroke, the king took the horse with the spurs, and ran toward the way where he expected to meet with his company; but he bled so sore, that with faintness he fell from his horse, one foot remaining in the stirrup, by reason whereof he was drawn by his horse over fields and lands, till he came to a place named Corfegate, where he was found dead; and because neither the manner of his death, nor yet he himself, to be the king, was known, he was buried unhonourably at the town of Warcham, where the body remained the space of three years; after which it was taken up by Duke Alferus beforementioned, and with pomp and honour accordingly, was removed to the minster of Shaftesbury, and there bestowed in the place called Edwardstow.

Edward buried, not known to be king; reinterred at Shaftesbury.

Many tales run, more perchance than be true, concerning the finding and taking up of his body, which our most common histories ascribe to miracles and great wonders wrought about the place where the king was buried. As first, how a poor woman, born blind, received her sight by the means of St. Edward, there where he did lie. Also, how a pillar of fire from heaven descended over the place of his burial. Then, how the aforesaid Queen Elfrida, taking her horse to go to the place, was stopped by the way, so that neither her horse could be driven by any means, nor she herself on foot was able to approach near to the place where the corpse of St. Edward was.

Two nunneries founded upon murder.

Furthermore, how the said queen, in repentance of her deed, afterward builded two nunneries, one at Amesbury by Salisbury, the other at Werewell, where she kept herself in continual repentance all the days of her life. And thus, as ye have heard, was this virtuous young King Edward murdered, when he had reigned almost four years, leaving no issue behind him, whereby the rule of the land fell to Egelred, his brother.

But here by the way is to be noted, upon the name of this Edward, that there were three Edwards before the conquest. The first was King Edward the Elder; the second, King Edward the Martyr, who was this king; the third was King Edward, called the Confessor, whereof hereafter shall follow, Christ willing, to be declared.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

Edwards before the conquest.

In the order and course of the Roman bishops, mention was made last of Agapetus II., after whom next succeeded Pope John XII., of whom Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, received his pall, as in the story of King Edgar is before minded. This pope is noted to be very wicked and infamous, replete, from his first bringing up, with abominable vices; a whoremaster, an adulterer, incestuous, libidinous, a gamester, an extortioner, perjured, a fighter, a murderer, cruel and tyrannous. Of his cardinals, some he put out their eyes, from some he cut off their tongues, some their fingers, some their noses. In a general council before the Emperor Otho, the first of that name (who was the first emperor of the Germans), after the empire was translated out of France to Germany by Pope Agapetus, as is before historied, these objections were articulate against him:[1]—"That he never said his service; that in saying his mass he did not communicate; that he ordained deacons in a stable; that he committed incest with two of his sisters; that playing at dice he called for the devil to help; that for money he made boys bishops; that he turned the palace of the Lateran to the vilest of uses; that he put out the eyes of Bishop Benedict; that he caused houses to be set on fire; that he brake open houses; that he drank to the devil; that he never crossed himself," &c. For these causes, and worthily, he was deposed by the consent of the emperor with the prelates, and Pope Leo was substituted in his place; but after his departing, through the harlots of Rome and their great promises the said Pope John was restored again to his place, and Leo, who had been set up by the emperor, was deposed. At length, about the tenth year of the popedom of this John, he being found without the city with another man's wife, was so wounded of her husband, that within eight days after he died.

Continuation of the Romish bishops, or popes. A.D. 956. *See Appendix.*

A.D. 963. Pope John XII. deposed, and afterwards restored.

After him the Romans elected Pope Benedict V., without the consent of the Emperor Otho; whereupon the said emperor, being not a little displeased for displacing of Leo, whom he had before promoted, and for the choosing also of Benedict, came with his army and laid siege to Rome, and so set up Pope Leo again, the eighth of that name; which Leo, to gratify his benefactor again, crowned Otho for emperor, and entitled him to be called Augustus. Also the power which Charlemagne had given before to the clergy and people of Rome, this Leo, by a synodal decree, granted to the emperor and his successors; that is, touching the election of the bishop of Rome. The emperor again restored to the see of Rome all such donations and possessions which either Constantine (as they falsely pretend), or which Charlemagne took from the Lombards, and gave to them.

A.D. 961.

The election of the bishop of Rome given to the emperor

After Pope Leo had reigned a year and three months, succeeded Pope John XIII., against whom, for holding with the emperor, Petrus the head captain of the city, with two consuls, twelve aldermen, and divers other nobles, gathering their power together, laid hands

Pope John XIII.

(1) Luithprandus, lib. vi.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

upon him in the church of Lateran, and clapped the pope in prison eleven months. The emperor hearing this, with all speed returned with his army again to Rome; who, after execution done upon the authors and chief doers of that fact, among other committed the aforesaid Petrus to the pope's arbitrement, whom he caused first to be stripped naked; then, his beard being shaven, to be hanged by the hair a whole day together; after that to be set upon an ass with his face turned backward, and his hands bound under the ass's tail, and so to be led through the city, that all men might see him; that done, to be scourged with rods, and so banished the city. Thus ye see how the holy father followeth the injunction of the gospel, "Diligite inimicos vestros," "Love your enemies." [Luke vi. 35.] From this pope proceeded first the christening of bells, A.D. 971.

The cruel revenge of the pope.

Christening of bells begun.

Pope Benedict VI. slain in prison. A.D. 973.

After him, followed Pope Benedict VI., who in like manner was apprehended by Cinthius,[1] a captain of Rome, and cast into prison, where he was strangled, or, as some say, famished to death.

Two popes together.

Then came Pope Donus II.; after whom Boniface VII. was pope, who likewise seeing the citizens of Rome to conspire against him, was constrained to hide himself, and seeing no place there for him to tarry, took the treasure of St. Peter's church, and so privily stole to Constantinople, in whose stead the Romans set up Pope John XIV. Not long after, Boniface, returning again from Constantinople, by his money and treasure procured a garrison or company to take his part, by whose means Pope John was taken, his eyes being put out, and so thrown in prison, where he was, as some say, famished; some say he was slain by Ferrucius; neither did Boniface reign many days after, but suddenly died, A.D. 974, whose carcass, after his death, was drawn by the feet through the streets of Rome after the most despightful manner, the people shrieking and exclaiming against him.

See Appendix.

Pope John XIV. slain. A.D. 976.

Pope Boniface drawn through the streets of Rome. A.D. 975.

Next pope after him was Benedict VII., by the consent of the Emperor Otho II., and reigned nine years. After Benedict, succeeded in the see of Rome Pope John XV., and died the eighth month of his papacy; next to whom came John XVI.

A.D. 985.

In[2] the time of this pope, Hugh Capet, the French king, took Charles, the right heir to the crown, by the treason of the bishop of Laon; and when he had imprisoned him, he also committed to prison Arnulph, archbishop of Rheims, and placed in his room Gilbert, a monk of Fleury, a necromancer, who was schoolmaster to Duke Robert, the king's son. But this Pope John XVI., calling a council at Rheims, restored the said Arnulph again, and displaced Gilbert, who after, by the help of Otho, was made archbishop of Ravenna, and at length was pope, as in process hereafter (Christ granting) shall be declared.

A.D. 988.

Gilbert, a necromancer made archbishop.

See Appendix.

After John XVI. came Gregory V., A.D. 996. This Gregory, called before Bruno, was a German born, and therefore the more maliced of the clergy and people of Rome. Whereupon Crescentius, with the people and clergy, conventing against the said Gregory, set up John XVII.; Gregory upon the same sped himself in all convenient haste to the Emperor Otho III. in Germany, who, hearing the complaint of Gregory, and understanding his wrongs, set forward with his army

Two popes again in Rome.

(1) Alias Crescentius.—Ed.

(2) This paragraph in Foxe stands erroneously after Benedict VII. Henault "Abregé Chron."—Ed.

well-appointed to Italy, gat the city, and there took both Crescentius the consul, and John the pope; which John first having his eyes put out, was deprived after of his life. Crescentius, the consul, was set upon a vile horse, having his nose and ears cut off, and so was led through the city, his face being turned to the horse's tail, and afterward, having his members cut off, was hanged upon a gibbet. *Egelred.* A. D. 978. Pope John had his eyes put out, and was put to death.

Pope Gregory, thus being restored to his former state, reigned four years in his papacy (although Marianus Scotus, and Martinus, say, that he sat but two years), during which time he assembled a council in Rome, where he, to establish the empire in his own country, by the consent and counsel of Otho, ordained seven princes of Germany to be electors of the emperor, which order yet to this day remaineth.[1] What be the names of these seven electors and what is their office, thus I find in the verses expressed below.[2] Seven electors of the empire ordained in Germany.

These seven he ordained to be electors: three bishops, three princes, to wit, the Palatine, the duke of Saxony, and the Marquis Brandenburgh; to whom was added also the king of Bohemia, to give the odd voice, if the even voices could not agree. This constitution being first begun A.D. 997, was after established in Germany by Otho the emperor, A.D. 1002; and thus much by the way, or rather by digression, concerning the rages and tumults of the Romish church. Now to our matter again.

EGELRED, OR ETHELRED II.

SURNAMED THE UNREADY.[3]

KING EDWARD thus being murdered, as is aforesaid, the crown fell next to Egelred, his younger brother, and son to King Edgar by the aforesaid queen Elfrida, as we have declared. This Egelred had a long reign given by God, which endured thirty and eight years, but was very unfortunate and full of great miseries; and he himself, by the histories, seemeth to have been a prince not of the greatest courage to govern a commonwealth. Our English historians, writing of him, report of his reign, that it was ungracious in the beginning, wretched in the middle, and hateful in the latter end. Of this Egelred we read, that when Dunstan the archbishop should christen him, as he did hold him over the font, something there happened that pleased not Dunstan, whereupon he sware, "By the mother of Christ, he will be a prince untoward and cowardly."[4] I find in William of Malmesbury,[5] that this Egelred being of the age of ten years, when he heard that his brother Edward was slain, made such sorrow and weeping for him, that his mother, falling therewith in a rage, took wax candles, having nothing else at hand, wherewith she scourged him so sorely (well nigh till he swooned), A.D. 978. *See Appendix.*

(1) Ex Chronico Martini. (2) Moguntinensis, Treverensis, Coloniensis,
Quilibet imperii fit cancellarius horum.
Est Palatinus dapifex, dux portitor ensis,
Marchio præpositus cameræ, pincerna Bohemus.—Ibid.
[Appendix to Marianus Scotus, Ed. Bas. 1559, col. 147.—ED.]
(3) Edition 1563, p. 10. Ed. 1583, p. 163. Ed. 1596, p. 141. Ed. 1681, vol. i. p. 179.—ED.
(4) "Per sanctam Mariam, iste ignavus homo erit."—Chron. de Crowland. (5) Lib. ii. de Regib. *See Appendix.*

Egelred. A. D. 981.

that afterwards he could never abide any wax candles to burn before him. After this, about A.D. 978, the day of his coronation having been appointed by the queen-mother and the nobles, Dunstan archbishop of Canterbury (who first refused so to do), and Oswald archbishop of York, were enforced to crown the king, which they did at Kingston. In doing whereof, the report of stories goeth that Dunstan said thus, prophesying unto the king,—"That forasmuch as he came to the kingdom by the death of his brother, and through the conspiracy of the wicked conspirators, and other Englishmen, they should not be without blood-shedding and sword, till there came a people of an unknown tongue, which should bring them into thraldom; neither should that trespass be cleansed, without long vengeance."[1]

The coronation of Egelred, Sunday, April 14.

The prophecy of Dunstan, as monkish stories give it.

Not long after the coronation of this king, a cloud was seen throughout the land, which appeared the one half like blood, and the other half like fire, and changed afterwards into sundry colours, and vanished at last in the morning. Shortly after the appearance of this cloud, in the third year of his reign, the Danes arriving in sundry places of the land, first spoiled Southampton, either slaying the inhabitants, or leading them away captive. From thence they went to the Isle of Thanet; then they invaded Chester,[2] from whence they proceeded to Cornwall and Devonshire, and so to Sussex, where in those coasts they did much harm, and then withdrew to their ships. Roger Hoveden writing hereof,[3] saith that London at the same time, or, as Fabian saith, a great part of London, was consumed with fire. About this time happened a variance between the aforesaid Egelred and the bishop of Rochester, insomuch that he made war against him, and besieged the city; and, notwithstanding Dunstan required the king, sending him admonishment, to give over for the sake of St. Andrew, yet continued he his siege, till the bishop offered him an hundred pounds of gold, which he received, and so departed. The Danes, seeing the discord that then was in the realm, and especially the hatred of the subjects against the king, rose again, and did great harm in divers places of England; insomuch that the king was glad to grant them great sums of money, for peace to be had. For the assurance of this peace, Analaffe, captain of the Danes, became a christian man, and so returned home to his country, and did no more harm. Besides these miseries before-recited, a sore sickness of the bloody-flux and hot fevers fell among the people, whereof many died, with a like murrain, also, among the beasts. Moreover, for lack of justice, many thieves, rioters, and bribers, were in the land, with much misery and mischief.

The Danes return to England.

London consumed with fire. The king wars against the bishop of Rochester.

A.D. 990.

About the eleventh year (some say the ninth) of this king's reign died Dunstan; after whom succeeded Ethelgar, or, as Jornalensis writeth, Stilgar. After him Elfric, as affirmeth Malmesbury;[4] but as Polydore saith, Siric. After him Elfric came, but Siric according to Malmesbury, while Polydore saith, Aluric; then Elphege.

Death of Dunstan. May 19th, A. D. 988.

See Appendix.

About the same time, A.D. 995, Aldunus, a bishop, translated the

(1) In the Chronicles of Crowland I find these words:—"Quoniam ascendisti ad thronum tuum, per mortem fratris tui, quem occidit mater tua, propterea audi verbum Domini: hoc dicit Dominus, non deficiet gladius de domo tua, sæviens in te omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ, et interficiens de semine tuo, et de gente tua, usque dum regnum tuum transferatur in regnum alienum: cujus ritum et linguam gens tua non novit, nec expiabitur nisi longa vindicta, et multa sanguinis effusione peccatum matris tuæ, et peccatum virorum pessimorum, qui consenserunt consilio ejus nequam, ut mitterent manum in Christum Domini, ad effundendum sanguinem innocentem."

(2) "Caerleon," see p. 5. note (5).—ED.

(3) Hoveden, hb. Continuationum.

(4) Lib. i. de Pontif.

body of St. Cuthbert, which first had been in a northern island, and then at Chester-le-street, from Chester to Dunhelm, or Durham; whereupon the bishop's see of Durham first began.[1] *Eglwrd.* A. D. 991.

The see of Durham begins. *See Appendix.*

Not long after the death of Dunstan, the Danes again entered England, in many and sundry places of the land, in such sort, that the king had to seek to which coast he should go first, to withstand his enemies; and, in conclusion, for the avoiding of more harm, he was compelled to appease them with great sums of money. But when that money was spent, they fell anew to robbing of the people, and to assailing the land in divers places, not only about the country of Northumberland, but they at last besieged the city of London. Being repulsed, however, by the manhood of the Londoners, they strayed to other countries adjoining, as to Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, burning and killing wheresoever they went, so that for lack of a good head or governor, many things in the land perished; for the king gave himself up to gross vices, and also to the polling of his subjects, and, disinheriting men of their possessions, caused them to redeem the same again with great sums of money; for he paid great tribute to the Danes yearly, which was called Danegilt, which tribute so increased, that from the first tribute of 10,000*l.*, it was brought at last, in five or six years, to 40,000*l.*, which yearly, till the coming of St. Edward, and after, was levied of the subjects of this land.

London besieged by the Danes.

Great tribute levied, Danegilt. A.D. 991. *See Appendix*

To this sorrow, moreover, were joined hunger and penury among the commons, insomuch that every one of them was constrained to pluck and steal from others, so that, what through the pillage of the Danes, and what by inward thieves and bribers, this land was brought into great affliction. Albeit the greatest cause of this affliction, as to me appeareth, is not so much to be imputed to the king, as to the dissention among the lords themselves, who then did not agree one with another; but when they assembled in consultation together, either they drew divers ways, or if any thing was agreed, upon any matter of peace between the parties, it was soon broken; or else, if any good thing were devised for the prejudice of the enemy, anon the Danes were warned thereof by some of the same counsel. Of these the chief doers were Edric, duke of Mercia, and Alfrike, the admiral or captain of the ships, who betrayed the king's navy to the Danes; wherefore the king apprehended Alfagar, son of the said Alfrike, and put out his eyes, as did he afterwards to the two sons of duke Edric.

The sorrowful affliction of the nation.

What discord doth among the nobles.

The Danes thus prevailing more and more over the English, grew to such pride and presumption, that when they, by strength, caused the husbandmen to ear and sow the land, and to do all other vile labour belonging to the house, they would sit at home holding the wife at their pleasure, with daughter and servant: and when the husbandman came home, he could scarcely have of his own, as his servants had; so that the Dane had all at his will and fill, faring of the best, when the owner scantly had his fill of the worst. Thus the common people being of them oppressed, were in such fear and dread, that not only they were constrained to suffer them in their doings, but also glad to please them, and called every one of them in the house where they had rule, Lord-Dane, which word, afterwards, in process of time, when

The pride of the Danes towards the English.

Lord-Dane.

(1) On the 27th May, 1827, the tomb of St. Cuthbert, in Durham Cathedral, was opened, and the coffin and skeleton found within. See Account of St. Cuthbert, p. 180. By James Raine, M.A. Durham. 1828.—Ed.

Egelred. A. D. 1004. the Danes were voided, was, for despite of the Danes, turned by the Englishmen to a name of opprobrium, so that when one Englishman would rebuke another, he would for the more part call him "Lurdane."

The first joining between the Normans and English.

And thus hitherto, through the assistance of Christ, we have brought this history down to the year of our Lord 1000.[1] During the continuance of these great miseries upon this English nation, the land was brought into great ruin by the grievous tributes of the Danes, and also by sustaining manifold villanies and injuries, as well as other oppressions within the realm. In this year Egelred, through the counsel of certain his familiars about him, in the one and twentieth year of his reign, began a matter, which was the occasion, either given by the one, or taken by the other, of a new plague to ensue upon the Saxons, who had formerly driven out the Britons; which was, by joining with the Normans in marriage. For the king, this year, for the more strength, as he thought, both of him and the realm, married Emma, the daughter of Richard, duke of Normandy, which Richard was the third duke of the Normans, and the first of that name. By reason of this marriage, King Egelred was not a little elated; and, by presumption thereof, sent secret and strict commissions to the rulers of every town in England, that upon St. Brice's day, at an hour appointed, the Danes should be suddenly slain; and so it was performed, which turned after to more trouble.

King Egelred married Emma, daughter of the duke of Normandy.

The Danes slain in every town of England, Nov. 13th, A.D. 1002.

As soon as tidings came into Denmark of the murder of those Danes, Swanus, king of Denmark, with a great host and navy, landed in Cornwall; where, by treason of a Norman, named Hugh, who, by favour of Queen Emma, was made earl of Devonshire, the said Swanus took Exeter, and beat down the walls. From thence proceeding further into the land, they came to Wilton and Sherborne, where they cruelly spoiled the country, and slew the people. But, anon, Swanus hearing that the king was coming to him with the power of his land, took his ships and fetched his course about to Norfolk; where, after much wasting of that country, and spoiling the city of Norwich, and burning the town of Thetford, and destroying the country thereabout, at length duke Uskatel met him and beat him, and slew many of the Danes. Wherefore Swanus for that year returned to Denmark, and there made great provision to re-enter the land again the next year following; and so he did, landing at Sandwich about the five and twentieth year of the reign of King Egelred, and spoiled that country. And as soon as he heard of any host of Englishmen coming toward him, he took shipping again, so that when the king's army sought to meet him on one coast, he would suddenly land on another, and when the king provided to meet with him upon the sea, either they would feign to flee, or else they would with gifts blind the admiral of the king's navy. And thus wearied they the Englishmen, and in conclusion brought them into extreme and unspeakable misery, insomuch that the king was fain to make peace with them, and to give to King Swanus 30,000*l.*, after which peace thus made Swanus returned again to Denmark.

A.D. 1003.

Tribute paid to the Danes of 30,000*l.*

This peace continued not long, for the year next following, King Egelred made Edric, above mentioned, duke of Mercia, who was subtle

Edric, or Laric, duke of Mercia.

(1) Henry of Huntingdon, lib. vi.

of wit, glosing and eloquent of speech, untrusty, and false to the king and the realm; and soon after this, one Turkil, a prince of the Danes, landing in Kent with much people, did such harm there that the Kentishmen were fain to make peace with great gifts, on which they departed. But this persecution from the Danes, in one country or other in England, never ceased, nor did the king ever give them any notable battle; for when he was disposed to give them battle, this Edric would always counsel him to the contrary, so that the Danes ever spoiled and robbed, and waxed rich, and the Englishmen ever poor and bare.

Egelred. A. D. 1013.

The persecution of Turkil.

Evil counsel about a king, what hurt it doth.

After this, Swanus being in Denmark, and hearing of the increase of his people in England, brake his covenants before made, and with a great army and navy, in most defensible manner appointed, landing in Northumberland, proclaimed himself to be king of this land; where, when after much vexation he had subdued the people, and caused the earl with the rulers of the country to swear to him fealty, he passed over the river Trent to Gainsborough and to Northwatling-street, and, subduing the people there, forced them to give him hostages; these he committed with his navy unto Canute, his son, to keep, while he went further inland, and so, with a great host, came to Mercia, killing and slaying. He then took by strength Winchester and Oxford, and did there what he liked. This done, he came toward London, and hearing the king was there, passed by the river Thames, and came into Kent, and there besieged Canterbury, where he was resisted, the space of twenty days. At length, by the treason of a deacon, called Almaric, whom the bishop had preserved from death before, he won it, took the goods of the people, fired the city, and tithed the monks of St. Augustine's abbey; that is to say, they slew nine by cruel torment, and the tenth they kept alive as for their slave. They slew there of religious men to the number of 900 persons; of other men, with women and children, they slew above 8,000. And, finally, when they had kept the bishop Elphege in strait prison the space of seven months, because he would not condescend to give them 3,000*l.*, after many villanies done unto him, they brought him to Greenwich, and there stoned him to death.

The return of Swanus into England.

Canterbury, being besieged, is taken and burnt.

A cruel murder by the Danes.

King Egelred, in the mean time, fearing the end of this persecution, sent his wife Emma, with his two sons, Alfred and Edward, to the duke of Normandy, with whom also he sent the bishop of London. The Danes proceeded still in their fury and rage, and when they had won a great part of West Saxony, they returned again to London, whereof the Londoners hearing, sent unto them certain great gifts and pledges. At last the king, about the five and thirtieth year of his reign, was chased unto the Isle of Wight, and, with a secret company, spent there a great part of the winter; and finally, without cattle or comfort, sailed into Normandy, to his wife. Swanus being informed thereof, inflamed with pride, reared exceeding impositions upon the people, and, among others, required a great sum of money of St. Edmund's lands, which the people there, claiming to be free from king's tributes, refused to pay. For this, Swanus entered the territory of St. Edmund, and wasted and spoiled the country, despising the holy martyr, and menacing also the place of his sepulture. Wherefore the men of that country, fearing his tyranny, fell to prayer and fasting, so that shortly after Swanus died suddenly, crying and

A.D. 1013.

Egelred driven to the Isle of Wight, from thence to Normandy.

The virtue of christian men's prayers.

Egelred. A.D. 1016.

yelling among his knights. Some say that he was stricken with the sword of St. Edmund, whereof he died the third day after; in fear whereof Canute, his son, who ruled as king after his father, granted them the freedom of all their liberties, and, moreover, ditched the land of the said martyr with a deep ditch, and granted to the inhabitants thereof great freedoms, quitting them from all tax or tribute. He afterwards builded a church over the place of his sepulture, and ordained there a house of monks, and endowed them with rich possessions. And after that time it was the usage of the kings of England, when they were crowned, to send their crowns for an offering to St. Edmund's shrine, and to redeem the same again, afterwards, with a suitable price.

Death of Swanus. Feb. 3d, A.D.1014.

The abbey of St. Edmundsbury builded.

Egelred returneth to England. Canute cutteth off the noses and hands of his pledges. *See Appendix.*

When King Egelred heard of the death of Swanus, he made provision and returned to England, for whose sudden coming Canute, being unprovided, fled to Sandwich, and there, cutting off the noses and hands of the hostages whom his father had left with him, sailed into Denmark, who the next year returned again with a great navy, and landed in the south country; wherefore the eldest son of King Egelred, called Edmund Ironside, made provision with the aid of Edric, duke of Mercia, to meet him. But Edric, feigning himself sick, came not, but deceived him; for, as it was after proved, Edric had promised his allegiance to Canute. By reason of this, Canute entered the country of the West Saxons, and forced the people to be sworn unto him, and to give him pledges. During this season, King Egelred being in London, was taken with great sickness, and there died and was buried in the north side of Paul's church, behind the quire, after he had reigned unprosperously thirty-eight years; leaving after him his said eldest son, Edmund Ironside, and Alfred and Edward, who were in Normandy, sent thither before, as is above-rehearsed. This Egelred, although he was miserably assailed and vexed of his enemies, yet he with his council gave forth wholesome laws, containing good rules and lessons for all judges and justices to learn and follow.[2]

Taketh Wessex.

A.D.1016.

Apl. 23d, A.D.1016. *See Appendix.*

A wicked judge deposed by the king.

Of this King Egelred I find noted in the book of Roger Hoveden, that he deposed and deprived of his possessions, a certain judge or justice named Walgeatus, the son of one Leonet, for false judgment and other proud doings, whom, notwithstanding, he loved above all others.

(1) *Laws of King Egelred.*—"Omnis judex justus misericordiam et judicium liberet in omnibus, ut inprimis per rectam scientiam dicat emendationem secundum culpam, et eam tamen admensuret propter indulgentiam. Quædam culpæ reputantur a bonis judicibus secundum rectum emendandæ, quædam per Dei misericordiam condonandæ. Judicia debent esse sine omni haderunga, quod non parcatur diviti alicui vel enego, amico vel inimico: jus publicum recitari. Nihil autem injustius est, quam susceptio munerum pro judicio subvertendo: quia munera excæcant corda sapientum, et subvertunt verba justorum. Dominus Jesus dixit: 'in quo judicio judicaveritis, judicabimini.' Timeat omnis judex ac diligat Deum judicem suum, ne in die judicii mutus fiat, et humiliatus ante oculos judicis cuncta videntis. Qui innocentem opprimit, et dimittit noxium pro pecunia, vel amicitia, vel odio, vel quacunque factione, opprimetur ab omnipotente judice. Et nullus dominus, nulla potestas, stultos aut improbos judices constituat, quia stultus per ignaviam, improbus per cupiditatem, vitat quam didicit, veritatem. Gravius enim lacerantur pauperes a pravis judicibus, quam a cruentis hostibus. Nullus hostis acerbior, nulla pestis efficacior quam familiaris inimicus. Potest aliquoties homo fuga vel defensione vitare pravos inimicos. Non ita possunt judices, quoties adversus subditos malis desideriis inflammantur. Sæpe etiam boni judices habent malos vicarios et ministros nefandos, quorum reatibus ipsi domini constringuntur, si non eos coerceant, et a rapacitate cohibeant. Quia Dominus et minister sæculorum ait, non solum male agentes, sed omnes consentientes digni sunt æterna morte. Sæpe etiam pravi judices judicium pervertunt, vel respectant, et non finiunt causam, donec voluntas eorum implcatur. Et quando judicant, non opera, sed munera considerant. Impii judices, juxta verbum sapientum, sicut rapaces lupi vespere nil residuant usque mane, id est, de præsenti solum vita cogitant, de futura nihil considerant. Malorum præpositorum mos est, ut quicquid possunt auferant, et vix necessarium pavum quid relinquant sustentationi. Iracundus judex non potest attendere rectam

Edmund Ironside and Canute.

A. D. 1016.

EDMUND IRONSIDE, A SAXON, AND CANUTE, A DANE, KINGS TOGETHER IN ENGLAND.[1]

After the death of Egelred, there was variance among the Englishmen about the election of their king; for the citizens of London, with certain other lords, named Edmund, the eldest son of Egelred, a young man of lusty and valiant courage, in martial adventures both hardy and wise, and who could very well endure all pains; wherefore he was surnamed Ironside. But the more part of the lords favoured Canute, the son of Swanus, especially the abbots, bishops, and men of the spiritualty, who before had sworn to his father. By means of this, many great battles were fought between these two martial princes, first in Dorsetshire, where Canute was compelled to fly the field, and after that, they fought another battle in Worcestershire, so sore that none could tell who had the better; but either for weariness, or for lack of day, they departed one from the other, and on the morrow fought again, but Canute was then compelled to forsake the field. After this they met in Mercia, and there fought again; where Edmund, as stories say, by the treason of that false Edric, duke of Mercia, whom he before had received to favour, had the worse. Thus there were many great conflicts between these two princes, but upon one occasion, when the hosts were ready to join, and a certain time of truce had been taken before battle, a knight, of the party of Edmund, stood up upon a high place, and said these words:—

Battles between Edmund and Canute.

"Daily we die, and none hath the victory: and when the knights be dead on either part, then the dukes, compelled by need, shall accord, or else they must fight alone, and this kingdom is not sufficient for two men, which sometimes sufficed seven. But if the covetousness of lordship in these twain be so great, that neither can be content to take part and live by the other, nor the one under the other, then let them fight alone, that will be lords alone. If all men fight, still, at the last, all men shall be slain, and none left to be under their lordship, nor able to defend the king that shall be, against strange enemies and nations."

A witty oration to stay blood between two armies.

These words were so well approved of by both the hosts and the princes, that all were content to try the quarrel between those two only. Then the place and time were appointed, at which they should both meet in sight of the two hosts, and when either had attacked the other with sharp swords and strokes, on the motion of Canute, as some write, hastily they were both agreed, and kissed each other, to the comfort of both hosts; and, shortly after, they agreed upon a partition of the land, and, after that, during their lives they loved as brethren. Soon after, a son of wicked Edric, by the instigation of his father, as appeared afterwards, espied when King Edmund was at the draught, and with a spear, some say with a long knife, gave him a secret thrust,

Two kings fight hand to hand.

A.D.1017. Wicked murder of king Edmund.

judicii satisfactionem. Nam per furoris excæcationem, non perspicit rectitudinis claritatem. Justum judicium, ubi non persona consideratur. Scriptum est: non attendas personam hominis in judicio, nec pro aliquo facies, ut a vero declines, et injuste judices. Susceptio muneris est dimissio veritatis."—Ex Historia Bibliothecæ Jornalensis.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 11. Ed. 1583, p. 162. Ed. 1596, p. 146. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 181.—Ed.

Canute. A.D. 1017. whereof the said Edmund shortly after died, after that he had reigned two years. He left behind two sons, Edmund and Edward, whom Edric, the wicked duke, after the death of their father, took from their mother, not knowing yet of the death of Edmund her husband, and presented them to King Canute, saluting him in these words, "Ave rex solus." Thus Canute, after the death of Edmund Ironside, was king alone of the whole realm of England, and afterwards, by the advice of his council, he sent the aforesaid sons of Edmund Ironside to his brother Swanus, king of Sweden, to be slain; who abhorring that deed, sent them to Salomon, king of Hungary, where Edmund being married to the king's daughter, died; Edward was married to Agatha, daughter of his brother, the emperor, Henry IV.[1]

Two sons of Edmund Ironside sent out to be slain.

When Canute was established in the kingdom, he called a parliament in London, where, among other things there debated, it was propounded to the bishops, barons, and lords of parliament, present, whether, in the composition made between Edmund and Canute, there was any special remembrance made of the children or brethren of Edmund, by any partition of any part of the land. Whereunto the English lords, falsely flattering the foreign king, and speaking against their own minds, as also against their native country, answered, and said, "Nay." Affirming, moreover, with an oath (for the king's pleasure) that they, to the uttermost of their powers, would put off the blood of Edmund in all that they might; by reason of which answer and promise, many of them thought to have purchased with the king great favour. But, by the just retribution of God, it chanced far otherwise; for many of them, or the most part (such especially as Canute did perceive to be sworn before-time to Edmund and his heirs, and also considering that they were native Englishmen) he mistrusted and disdained ever after, insomuch that some he exiled, a great sort he beheaded, and some, by God's punishment, died suddenly, among whom wicked Edric also, the traitor, although with his sugared words he continued a while in the king's favour, at length escaped not condign reward for his deceivable dealing. For, as the history of Jornalensis recordeth, as the king was in his palace beyond the Thames, this Edric, being probably accused, or else suspected of the king before, and coming unto him, began to reckon up his benefits and labours bestowed for his sake, first, in forsaking and betraying Egelred, then in slaying King Edmund's son, with many such other deeds, which all, for his sake, he had done. "Well," saith the king, "thou hast here rightly judged thyself, and worthily thou shalt die for slaying thy natural prince, and my sworn brother," and so commanded him to be bound immediately hand and foot, and to be thrown into the Thames. Some stories say, that when he had saluted the king with "Ave rex solus," and showed him the slaying of Edmund, Canute, promising that he would make him, therefore, higher than all the lords of the realm, commanded his head to be stricken off, and to be set upon London bridge, and his body to be cast into the town-ditch: and thus with shame ended he his wretched life; as all they commonly do, who, with like dissimulation, seek the destruction of their prince, and of their country.

Flattery, infidelity, and untruth, in English lords.

Duke Edric, the false traitor and murderer of his king rewarded.

This Canute, shortly after the death of King Edmund, by the counsel of Edric, exiled Edwy, being brother unto King Edmund,

The brother of Edmund Ironside slain.

(1) See Appendix, respecting the errors in this statement.—Ed.

called rex rusticorum, 'the king of churls;' but afterwards, he was reconciled again to the king's favour, and, lastly, slain by certain of the king's secretaries, or servants. Also, through the counsel of the said Edric, and of Emma his wife, he sent the two sons of Edmund Ironside, Edmund and Edward, to his brother Swanus, king of Denmark, to be slain, as is before said.[1] *Canute.* A. D. 1040. *See Appendix.*

In the mean time Swanus, king of Denmark, brother to Canute, died; wherefore that land fell to Canute, who soon after sailed thither, and took possession of it, and after he had set it in order, he returned to England and married Emma, late wife of Egelred, and by her he had a son, called Hardeknight, or Hardicanute. Moreover this Canute assembled a parliament at Oxford, where it was agreed that Englishmen and Danes should hold the laws made by King Edgar, because they were thought so good and reasonable above any other laws. Thus the Danes being in England began, by little and little, to be Christian men. Canute went to Rome, and returning again to England, governed that land the space of twenty years, leaving after him two sons, Harold and Hardicanute; which latter was made king of Denmark in his father's time. *See Appendix.* Canute, king of Denmark, marries Emma, widow of Egelred. *See Appendix.* A.D.1035.

Harold I., called Harefoot for his activity and swiftness, son to Canute by Elgina, his first wife, began his reign over England A.D. 1036. Of him little is left in memory, save that he banished his step-mother Emma, and took her goods and jewels from her. Harold Harefoot, a Dane.

Hardicanute, being king of Denmark, and second son to Canute by his last wife Emma, was next king of England. In the time of these Danish kings, there was one Godwin, an earl in England, who had been before in great favour with Canute, for his acts done in Denmark against the Norwegians; who afterwards married the sister (some say the daughter) of Canute. This Godwin was of a cruel and subtle wit, as is instanced not a little by the sons of King Egelred; for when those two, whose names were Alfred and Edward, came from Normandy into England, to visit their mother Emma, and brought with them a great company of Normans, this Godwin (having a daughter called Godith, whom he thought to marry to Edward, and set him up to be king), to bring his purpose about, used this device, namely, to persuade King Hardicanute, and the lords, not to suffer those Normans to be within the realm for jeopardy, but rather to punish them for example: by which means he obtained authority to order the matter himself, wherefore he met them on Guild down, and there most wretchedly murdered, or rather martyred the greater number of the Normans, and that without provocation. For, as Swanus before had tithed the monks of Canterbury, so he, with a cruel company of English soldiers, slew nine of the said Normans, and saved the tenth. And yet, passing the fury of Swanus, as not contented with that tyranny, he tithed again the said tithe, and slew every tenth knight, and that by cruel torment, as winding their entrails out of their bodies, as writeth Ranulphus. Among his other deeds, he put out the eyes of the elder brother, Alfred, and sent him to the abbey of Ely, where he, being fed with bread and water, endured not long. By some writers it is recorded, that he was there slain with the aforenamed torment, and that Edward was conveyed by some one to his mother; who, fearing the treason of Godwin, sent him soon over the sea into Normandy again. This cruel Hardicanute, last of the Anglo-Danish kings June 18th, A.D.1039. *See Appendix.* Cruelty of Earl Godwin against the Normans. Alfred, son of Egelred, right heir to the crown, tormented to death.

(1) See p. 80, note (1).—Ed.

Canute. act of Godwin and his men against the innocent Normans, whether it
A. D. 1041. came of himself, or of the king's setting on, seemeth to me to be the cause why the justice of God did shortly after revenge the quarrel of these Normans, in conquering and subduing the English nation by William the Conqueror, and the Normans who came with him. For so it was just and right, that as the Normans, coming with a natural English prince, were murdered of Englishmen; so afterwards, the Englishmen should be slain and conquered by the Normans, coming with a foreign king, not being of their natural country.

Why God suffered this land to be conquered by the Normans.

Death of Hardicanute. A.D.1041.

Then it followeth in the story, that this King Hardicanute, when he had reigned two years, being merry at Lambeth, suddenly was stricken dumb, and fell down to the ground, and within eight days died without issue, A. D. 1041. He was the last that reigned in England of the blood of the Danes.

Sons of Godwin.

The aforesaid Godwin had, by the daughter of Canute, his wife, but one son, who was drowned. By his second wife he had six sons; to wit, Swanus, Harold, Tostius, Wilmot, Sixth or Surth, and Leofric, with one daughter, called Goditha, who was afterwards married to King Edward the Confessor.

Concerning the story of this Alfred, I find it somewhat otherwise reported in our English chronicles, that it should be after the death of Hardicanute; forasmuch as the earls and barons after his death assembled and made a council, that never after, any of the Danes' blood should be king of England, for the despite that they had done to Englishmen. For ever before, if the English and the Danes happened to meet upon a bridge, the Englishmen were not so hardy as to move a foot, but stood still till the Danes had passed over. And, moreover, if the Englishmen had not bowed down their heads to do reverence to the Danes, they would have been beaten and defiled. For these despites and villanies they were driven out of the land after the death of Hardicanute, for they had no lord that might maintain them; and after this manner the Danes so evacuated England, that they never came again.[1]

Abject state of the English.

The earls and barons, by their common assent and council, sent into Normandy for these two brethren, Alfred and Edward, intending to crown Alfred, the elder brother, and to make him king of England; and to this the earls and barons made their oath. But the Earl Godwin of West Sax, falsely and traitorously thought, to slay these two brethren, as soon as they came into England, to the intent that he might make Harold his son king; which son he had by his wife, Hardicanute's daughter, who was a Dane.[2] So this Godwin went privily to Southampton, to meet the two brethren at their landing; and thus it fell out, that the messengers who went (saith mine author) into Normandy, found only Alfred the elder brother, for Edward his younger brother was gone to Hungary, to speak with his cousin, the outlaw, who was Edmund Ironside's son.

Alfred or Alured, son of King Egelred.

When Alfred had heard these messengers, and perceived their tidings, he thanked God, and hastening with all speed to England, arrived at Southampton. There Godwin, the false traitor, having knowledge of his coming, welcomed and received him with much joy,

(1) Taken out of the English story or chronicle compiled by certain English clerks.
(2) See Appendix.

pretending to lead him to London, where the barons waited to make him king; and so they together passed forth toward London. But when they came to Guild down, the traitor commanded all his men to slay all that were in Alfred's company, who came with him from Normandy, and after that to take Alfred, and to lead him into the isle of Ely, where they should put out both his eyes, and so they did; for they slew all the company that were there, to the number of twelve gentlemen, who came with Alfred from Normandy, and after that they took Alfred, and in the isle of Ely they executed their commission. That done, they opened his body, took out his bowels, and setting a stake into the ground, fastened an end of his bowels thereunto, and with needles of iron they pricked his tender body, thereby causing him to go about the stake, till all his bowels were drawn out. So died this innocent Alfred or Alured, being the right heir to the crown, through treason of wicked Godwin. When the lords of England heard thereof, and how Alfred, who should have been their king, was put to death through the false traitor Godwin, they were wondrous wroth; and sware between God and them that he should die a worse death than did Edric, who betrayed his lord, Edmund Ironside; and would immediately have put him to death, but that the traitor fled thence into Denmark, and there remained four years and more, losing all his lands in England.

Canute. A.D. 1041.

Another Latin story I have, bearing no name, which saith that this coming in of Alfred and the Normans was in the time of Harold, Canute's son.[1] Also how Godwin, after he pretended great amity to them, suddenly in the night came upon them at Guildford, and after he had tithed the Normans, sent Alfred to Harold in London; who sent him to the isle of Ely, and caused his eyes to be put out. And thus much of Canute, and of his sons, Harold and Hardicanute.

Besides these two sons, Canute had also a daughter named Gunilda, married to Henry III, emperor. Of her some write, that she being accused to the emperor of spouse-breach, and having no champion or knight that would fight for her, after the manner of that country, for trial of her cause, a certain little dwarf or boy, whom she brought with her out of England, stirred up of God, fought in her cause against a mighty big German, of a monstrous greatness; which silly dwarf, cutting by chance the sinews of his leg, afterwards struck him to the ground, and cut off his head, and so saved the life of the queen; if that be true which Malmesbury and Fabian report.

Gunilda, wife of Henry the emperor. *See Appendix.*

Of this Canute it is storied that he, following much the superstition of Egelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, went on a pilgrimage to Rome, and there founded an hospital for English pilgrims. He gave the pope precious gifts, and burdened the land with a yearly tribute, called the Rome-shot. He shrined the body of Berinus, and gave great lands and ornaments to the cathedral church of Winchester; he also builded St. Benet's in Norfolk, which was before a hermitage; likewise St. Edmundsbury, which King Athelstan before ordained for a college of priests, he turned to an abbey of monks of St. Benet's order.

Canute went to Rome, and founded the hospital for English pilgrims. Rome-shot confirmed by him. *See Appendix.*

Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon,[2] maketh mention of this Canute, as doth also Polydore,[3] that he, after his coming from Rome, walking

(1) Ex historia ignoti authoris. (2) Lib. vi. (3) Lib vii.

Canute. A.D. 1041.

upon a time by the port of Southampton (but, as Polydore saith, and Fabian affirmeth the same, it was by the Thames' side in London), when his flatterers coming about him, began to exalt him with high words, calling him a king of all kings, most mighty, who had under his subjection both the people, the land, and also the sea: Canute, revolving this matter in his mind (whether for pride of his heart exalted, or whether to try and refel their flattering words), commanded his chair of state to be brought to the sea side, at what time the tide should begin to flow. Polydore saith that no seat was brought; but sitting upon his garments, being folded together under him, there charged and commanded the floods arising and coming towards his feet, that they should touch neither him nor his clothes. But the water, keeping his ordinary course, came nearer and nearer, first to his feet, and so growing higher, began to wash him well-favouredly; wherewith the king abashed, and partly also afeard, start back, and looking at his lords, "Lo," saith he, "ye call me such a mighty king, and yet I cannot command back this little water to stay at my word, but it is ready to drown me. Wherefore all earthly kings may know that all their powers be but vain, and that none is worthy to have the name of a king, but he alone who hath all things subject to the power and authority of his word, who is the Lord of heaven and earth, the Creator above of all things, the Father of our Christ and Lord, who with him for ever is to be glorified: him let us worship and extol for our King for ever." After this, as histories witness, he never suffered the crown to come upon his head, but went to Winchester, or, as some say, to Canterbury; but both those accounts may be true, for his going to Canterbury was to acknowledge that there was a Lord much higher, and of more power than he himself was, and therewithal to render up his crown for ever. With that, Egelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, informed him of the image of the crucifix beforementioned, which dissolved the matter between married priests and life of monks, and did many other miracles more, being then at Winchester; whereupon the king, provoked to go to Winchester to the rood, there resigned his regal crown, and made the rood king over all the land.

Flatterers and claw-backs about princes.

Canute chargeth the sea to stand back

God only, the King of kings, and Lord of lords.

See Appendix.

The king's crown put on a rood or cross.

Here is also to be noted in this Canute, that although, as is said, he submitted in the beginning of his reign to King Edgar's laws, yet afterwards, in process of time, he set forth peculiar laws of his own, among which, divers there be that concern as well causes ecclesiastical, as also temporal. Whereby it may appear, that the government of spiritual matters did not then depend upon the bishop of Rome, but appertained to the lawful authority of the temporal prince, no less than did matters and causes temporal, as by certain ordinances of the aforesaid Canute may be well perceived.[1]

Kings of England have as much right in causes spiritual as temporal

And here is an end of the Danish kings. Now to the English kings again, whose right line cometh in, in Edward here following.

(1) *Laws of Canute, in matters ecclesiastical.*—"Pecunia sepulturæ justum est ut aperta terra reddatur. Si aliquod corpus a sua parochia deferatur in aliam, pecunia sepulturæ," &c.

In English:—"It is meet and right, that in funerals money be given for opening the earth.

"If any body, or corse, be carried out of its own parish into another, the money of the burial shall pertain by the law to its own parish church.

"All ordinances and ceremonies of God, let them be observed as need in all things requireth.

"Upon the Sunday we forbid all public fairs or markets, all synods or conventicles, huntings, or any such secular actions to be exercised, unless urgent necessity compel thereunto.

"Let every christian man prepare himself thrice a year, to approach to the receiving of the Lord's body: so to eat the same, as not to his judgment, but to his wholesome remedy.

"If

Edward the Confessor.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.[1]

A.D. 1043.

FORASMUCH as God, who is the only maker of heirs, of his mercy and providence, thought it so good, after the woeful captivity of this English nation, to grant now some respite of deliverance, in taking away the Danish kings without any issue left behind them; who reigning here in England, kept the English people in miserable subjection about the space of eight and twenty years, and, from their first landing in the time of King Brightric, wasted and vexed this land the term of 254 years[2]: now their tyranny here coming to an end, the next election and right to the crown fell, as appertained, to Edward, the younger son of King Egelred and Emma, a true-bred Englishman, who had been now long banished in Normandy, as is above declared; a man of gentle and soft spirit, more appliable to other men's council, than able to trust to his own; of nature and condition so given from all war and bloodshed, that, being in his banishment, he wished rather to continue all his life long in that private estate, than by war or bloodshed to aspire to any kingdom. This Edward, after the death of Canute II., or Hardicanute, being sent for by the lords into Normandy, to take possession of the realm, although he something mistrusted the inconstant and fickle heads of Englishmen, yet, having sufficient pledges laid for him in Normandy, came over, accompanied by a few Normans, and not long after was crowned at Winchester, A.D. 1043, by Edsine, then archbishop of Canterbury. Not long after that, he married Goditha, or Editha, daughter of Earl Godwin, whom he treated after such a sort, that he lived with her as though she had not been his wife. Whether it were for hate of her kin, as most likely it was, or for love of chastity, it remaineth uncertain, but most writers agree that he continued his life in this manner; for the which he is highly exalted among our story-writers, and called holy King Edward. After he had thus taken upon him the government of the realm, he guided the same with much wisdom and justice for the space of four and twenty years, lacking two months; from whom issued, as out of a fountain, much godliness, mercy, pity, and liberality toward the poor; gentleness and justice toward all men; and, in all honest life, he gave a virtuous example to his people. He discharged the Englishmen from the great tribute called Dane-gilt, which before-time was yearly levied to the great impoverishing of the people. He subdued the Scots and the Welshmen, who in their borders began to rebel against him. In much peace he continued his reign, having no foreign enemy to assault him: albeit, as some chronicles do show, certain Danes and Norwegians there were, who intended to set upon England, but as they were taking shipping, there was brought to them first one bowl, then another, of mead[3] or methe, to drink for a *bon*

England afflicted by the Danes for 254 years.

King Edward crowned April 3d, A.D. 1043. *See Appendix.*

"If a minister of the altar do kill any man, or have entangled himself in any notorious crime, let him be deprived both of his order and his dignity.

"If any married woman, her husband being alive, have committed adultery, and the same be proved; to her open shame in the world, let her have her nose and ears cut off.

"Let every widow, after the death of her husband, remain sole twelve months; or if she marry, let her lose her jointure."

(1) Edition 1563, p. 11. Ed. 1583, p. 164. Ed. 1596, p. 148. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 183.—Ed.

(2) See p. 5, note (6), and vol. i. p. 378, note (3).

(3) Μέθη [methe], in Greek, signifieth drunkenness.

Edward. the Confessor. A.D. 1052.

viage. Thus one cup coming after another, after drink came drunkenness, after drunkenness followed jangling, of jangling came strife, and strife turned unto stripes, whereby many were slain, and the others returned to their homes again; and thus, the merciful providence of the Lord disposed of that journey.

Accusation against Emma, the king's mother.

In the time of this Edward, Emma his mother was accused of being familiar with Alwin, the bishop of Winchester; upon which accusation, by counsel of Earl Godwin, he took from her many of her jewels, and caused her to be kept a deal more strictly in the abbey of Warwel, and the bishop to be committed to the examination of the clergy. Polydore saith they were both in prison at Winchester, where she, sorrowing the defame both of herself and the bishop, and trusting to her conscience, desired justice of them, offering herself as ready to abide any lawful trial, yea, although it were the sharpest. Then divers of the bishops made entreaty to the king for them both, and had obtained the suit, had not Robert, then archbishop of Canterbury, stopped it; who, not well content with their labour, said † unto them, "My brethren, how dare you defend her who is so unworthy the name of a woman? She hath defamed her own son ‡ the king, and hath lowered herself with the bishop. And if it be so, that the woman will purge the priest, who shall then purge the woman, who is accused of consenting to the death of her son Alfred, and who procured venom to the poisoning of her son Edward? But, whether she be guilty or guiltless, if she will go barefoot for herself four steps, and for the bishop five, continually upon nine ploughshares fire hot, and escape harmless, he shall be assoiled of this challenge, and she also." To this she agreed, and the day was appointed, on which the king and a great part of his nobles were present, save only Robert, the archbishop. This Robert had been a monk of a house in Normandy, and a helper of the king in his exile, and so by the sending for of the king, came over and was made first bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. Then was she led blind-

False accusation purged by hot iron.

fold unto the place between two men, where the irons lay burning hot, and passed the nine shares unhurt. At last, said she, "Good Lord, when shall I come to the place of my purgation?" When they then opened her eyes, and she saw that she was past the pain, she kneeled down, giving God thanks. Then the king repented, saith the story, and restored unto her what he had before taken from her, and asked her forgiveness; but the archbishop fled into Normandy.

A.D. 1052. Great snow and mortality.

Near about this time, about the tenth year of this reign, fell passing great snow from the beginning of January, to the seventeenth day of March. After which ensued a great mortality of men, murrain of cattle, and by lightning the corn was wonderfully blasted and wasted.

See Appendix.

Not long after this, Eustace earl of Boulogne, who had married King Edward's sister, came into England, through the occasion of whom, when execution should be done upon the citizens of Dover for a fray between them and the earl's men, variance happened between King Edward and Earl Godwin; who, perceiving that he could not withstand the king's malice, although he gathered

Earl Godwin outlawed.

a great company to work therein what he could, fled into Flanders, and was outlawed with his five sons. King Edward repudiated

his wife, the daughter of the said Godwin; but the second year after, by mediators, he was reconciled to the king again, and called from banishment, and for his good a-bearing he gave for pledges his son Wilmot and grandson Hacus, who were sent to the duke of Normandy, there to be kept.[1] *Edward the Confessor.* A. D. 1052.

During the time of the outlawry of Godwin, William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, came with a goodly company into England to see King Edward, and was honourably received: to whom the king made great cheer, and at his return enriched him with great gifts and pleasures; and there, as some write, made promise to him that, if he died without issue, the said William should succeed him in the kingdom of England. William, duke of Normandy, comes to England.

In this king's reign lived Marianus Scotus, the story-writer.[3] As concerning the end of Earl Godwin, the cruel murderer of Alfred and of the Normans, although divers histories diversely do vary, yet in this the most part do agree, that as he sat at the table with King Edward at Windsor, it happened one of the cup-bearers, one of Earl Godwin's sons, to stumble and recover again, so that he did shed none of the drink; whereat Godwin laughed, and said how the one brother had sustained the other.[2] With which words the king calling to mind his brother's death, who was slain by Godwin, beheld the earl, saying, "So should my brother Alfred have holpen me, had not Godwin been." Godwin then, fearing the king's displeasure to be newly kindled, after many words in excusing himself, said, "So might I safely swallow this morsel of bread, as I am guiltless of the deed;" but as soon as he had received the bread, forthwith he was choked. Then the king commanded him to be drawn from the table; and so he was conveyed by Harold his son to Winchester, and there buried. The death of ungodly Godwin. A.D.1053.

About the thirteenth year of this king's reign, the said King Edward sent Aldred, bishop of Worcester, to the emperor Henry IV., praying him that he would send to the king of Hungary, that his cousin Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, might come to England, forsomuch as he intended to make him king after him, who was called Edward the Outlaw; the which request was fulfilled, so that he came into England with his wife Agatha, and with his children, to wit, Edgar Etheling, Margaret, and Christina. But the year after his return into the realm, this Edward deceased in London, and was buried at Westminster, or, as Jornalensis saith, at Paul's church in London. After whose decease, the king then received Edgar Etheling his son as his own child, thinking to make him his heir; but fearing partly the inconstant mutability of the Englishmen, partly the pride and malice of Harold, the son of Godwin, and of others (perceiving thereby that he could not bring that his purpose well to pass), he directed solemn ambassadors unto William, duke of Normandy, his kinsman, admitting and assigning him to be his lawful heir, next to succeed after him to the crown. Edward the Outlaw, son of Edmund Ironside sent for. A.D.1056. Death of Edward, son of Edmund Ironside. William, duke of Normandy, admitted heir to the crown.

After the death of Godwin, Harold his son waxed so in the king's favour, that he ruled the most and greatest causes of the realm, and was lieutenant of the king's army; who, with his brother Toston or Tostius, sent by the king against the Welshmen, subdued their

(1) Foxe says, erroneously, "his two sons Biornon and Tostius." See Appendix.
(2) Ex Jornal.; Malmesb.; Polydor.; Fab. et aliis.
(3) See Appendix.

Edward the Confessor. A. D. 1056.

rebellion. But afterward, such envy grew between these two brethren, for that Tostius saw his brother Harold so greatly advanced in the king's favour, that at Hereford Tostius slew all his brother's men; whom when he had cut in pieces, he powdered their quarters and mangled parts in barrels of salt, vinegar, wine, and other liquors. That done, he made a power against his brother Harold, being king, with the aid of certain Danes and Norwegians, and fought a battle with him in the North, as after shall follow (God willing) to be seen. So ungracious were these wicked children of Earl Godwin, that if they had seen any fair mansion or manor-place, they would slay the owner thereof with all his kindred, and enter the possession thereof themselves.

Graceless children of a wicked father.

At length it came in the mind of this Harold to sail over the sea, as Polydore saith, unto Normandy, to see his brother Wilmot, as also his cousin Hacus,[1] whom the king had sent thither to be kept for pledges, as ye heard before. Polydore saith, "These pledges were Tostius and Biornan;" but that cannot be, for Tostius was then in England. But, as Henry archdeacon of Huntingdon saith, his journey was into Flanders, as seemeth more like; for it is not to be thought that Harold, who was a doer in the cruel murder of Alfred and of the Normans, would venture into Normandy, and therefore more like it is, that his sailing was into Flanders. But, as the story proceedeth, he, being in the course of sailing, was weather-driven by tempest into the province of Ponthieu, where he was taken as a prisoner, and sent to Duke William of Normandy; to whom he was made to swear, that he in time following should marry his daughter, and that, after the death of King Edward, he should keep the land of England to his behoof, according to the will and mind of Edward, after some writers, and so to live in great honour and dignity, next unto him in the realm. This promise faithfully made to the duke, Harold returneth to England with his cousin[1] Hacus, the son of his brother Swanus, delivered unto him; but Wilmot, brother of Harold, the duke keepeth still for performance of the covenants. Thus Harold, I say, returning home, sheweth the king all that he had done in the aforesaid matters, wherewith the king was well contented. Whereby it may be gathered that king Edward was right well willing that Duke William should reign after him, and also it seemeth not unlike but that he had given him his promise thereunto before.

Harold, taken by the Normans, promiseth Duke William to marry his daughter, and to keep the realm for his behoof.

Among all that were true and trusty to King Edward of the English nobility, none had like commendation as had Leofric, earl of Mercia and of Chester. This Leofric purchased many great liberties for the town of Coventry, and made it free of all manner of things, except only of horse. Which freedom there was obtained by means of his wife Godiva, by riding, as the fame goeth, after a strange manner through the town. This Leofric, with his wife Godiva, builded also the abbey of Coventry, and endowed the same with great lands and riches.

Earl Leofric true and faithful to his prince.

The abbey of Coventry builded by Leofric.

You heard a little before of the coming over of Edward, called the Outlaw, son of King Edmund Ironside, whom King Edward had purposed to have made king after him; but soon after his coming over he deceased in London. This Edward had, by his

(1) "Hacun his nevewe," says Fabian, correctly: but see p. 105, note (2).—Ed.

wife Agatha, a son called Edgar Etheling, and a daughter Margaret, who, being afterward married to the king of Scots, was the mother of Matilda, or Maud, queen of England, and of David, king of Scots. *Edward the Confessor.* A.D. 1066.

This virtuous and blessed King Edward, after he had reigned three and twenty years and seven months, died, and was buried in the monastery of Westminster, which he had greatly augmented and repaired; but afterwards it was more enlarged after the form which it hath now, by Henry III., the son of King John. The death of King Edward, Jan. 5th, A.D. 1066.

They that write the history of this king, here make mention of a dream or revelation that should be showed to him in time of his sickness;[1] how that because the peers and bishops of the realm were servants, not of God, but of the devil, God would give this realm to the hand of others. And when the king desired utterance to be given him, that he might declare the same to the people, whereby they might repent, it was answered again, that they would not repent; still, if they did, it should not be given to another people: but because it is a dream, I let it pass.

Divers laws were before in divers countries of this realm used, as the law first of Dunuallo Molinucius, with the laws of Offa king of Mercia, called Mercenelega: then the laws of West Saxon kings, as of Ine, Alfred, &c., which were called West-Saxenelega: the third were the laws of Canute, and of the Danes, called Danelega. Of all these laws, which before were diversely in certain particular countries used and received, this Edward compiled one universal and common law for all people through the whole realm, called King Edward's laws; which, being gathered out of the best and chiefest of the other laws, were so just, so equal, and so serving the public profit and weal of all estates, that mine authors say, "The people long after did rebel against their heads and rulers, to have the same laws again (being taken from them), and yet could not obtain them." *See Appendix.*

Furthermore, I read and find in Matthew Paris, that when William the Conqueror, at his coming in, did swear to use and practise the same good laws of Edward, for the common laws of this realm; afterwards being established in his kingdom, he forswore himself, and placed his own laws in their room, much worse and obscurer than the others were. William the Conqueror sworn to King Edward's laws, yet went from them.

Notwithstanding, among the said laws of Edward, and in the first chapter and beginning thereof, this I find among the ancient records of the Guildhall in London:—"The office of a king, with such other appurtenances as belong to the realm of Britain," set forth and described in the Latin style; which I thought here not unmeet to be expressed in the English tongue, for those who understand no Latin. The tenor and meaning whereof thus followeth.[2]

"The king, because he is the vicar of the highest King, is appointed A king, the vicar of God on earth.

(1) Ex Malmesb.; Jornalen.; Historia Richardi II. jussis composita.

(2) *De jure et appendiis regni Britanniæ, et quod sit officium Regis.*—"Rex autem, quia vicarius summi regis est, ad hoc est constitutus, ut regnum terrenum et populum Domini, et super omnia sanctam ejus veneretur ecclesiam et regat, et ab injuriosis defendat, et malefícos ab eo avellat et destruat, et penitus disperdat. Quod nisi fecerit, nomen regis non in eo constabit; verum, Papa Johanne testante, nomen regis perdit: cui Pipinus et Carolus filius ejus (nec dum reges, sed principes sub rege Francorum stulto) scripserunt, quærentes, si ita permanere deberent Francorum reges, solo regio nomine contenti. A quo responsum est, illos decet vocare reges, qui vigilanter defendunt et regunt ecclesiam Dei et populum ejus," &c.—Ex Libro Reg. Antiquorum in Prætorio Londinensi.

Edward the Confessor. A.D. 1066.

for this purpose, to rule the earthly kingdom, and the Lord's people, and, above all things, to reverence his holy church, to govern it, and to defend it from injuries; to pluck away wicked doers, and utterly to destroy them: which, unless he do, the name of a king agreeth not unto him, but he loseth the name of a king, as witnesseth Pope John; to the which pope, Pepin and Charles his son being not yet kings, but princes under the French king (not being very wise), did write, demanding this question, 'Whether the kings of France ought so to continue, having but only the name of a king?' Unto whom Pope John answereth again, that it was convenient to call them kings, who vigilantly do defend and govern the church of God and his people, following the saying of King David, the Psalmograph, 'He shall not dwell in my house which worketh pride,' &c. Moreover, the king, by right and by his office, ought to defend and conserve fully and wholly, in all ampleness, without diminution, all the lands, honours, dignities, rights, and liberties, of the crown of his kingdom: and, further, to reduce into their pristine state, all such things as have been dispersed, wasted, and lost, which appertain to his kingdom. Also the whole and universal land, with all islands about the same in Norway and Denmark, be appertaining to the crown of his kingdom, and be of the appurtenances and dignity of the king, making one monarchy and one kingdom, which sometime was called the kingdom of the Britons, and now the kingdom of England; such bounds and limits as are beforementioned be appointed and limited to the name of this kingdom."

Limits of the kingdom of England.

Moreover, in the aforesaid laws of this King Edward, it followeth in the same book, where the said Edward, describing the office of a king, addeth in these words:—"A king," saith he, "ought above all things to fear God, to love and to observe his commandments, and cause them to be observed through his whole kingdom. He ought also to keep, cherish, maintain, and govern the holy church within his kingdom with all integrity and liberty, according to the constitutions of his ancestors and predecessors, and to defend the same against all enemies, so that God, above all things, be honoured, and ever be before his eyes. He ought also to set up good laws and customs, such as be wholesome and approved; such as be otherwise, to repeal them, and thrust them out of his kingdom. Item, He ought to do judgment and justice in his kingdom, by the counsel of the nobles of his realm. All these things ought a king in his own person to do, taking his oath upon the evangelists, and the blessed relics of saints, swearing in the presence of the whole state of his realm, as well of the temporality as of the spirituality, before he be crowned of the archbishops and bishops. Three servants the king ought to have under him as vassals: fleshly lust, avarice, and greedy desire; whom if he keep under as his servants and slaves, he shall reign well and honourably in his kingdom. All things are to be done with good advisement and premeditation; and that properly belongeth to a king. For hasty rashness bringeth all things to ruin, according to the saying of the gospel, 'Every kingdom divided in itself shall be desolate.'"

The office of a king described.

Three servants a king ought to have under his subjection.

After the duty and office of princes have been thus described, followeth the institution of subjects, declared in many good and

necessary ordinances, very requisite and convenient for public government; of which laws, William the Conqueror was compelled, through the clamour of the people, to take some, but the most part he omitted, contrary to his own oath at his coronation, inserting and placing the most of his own laws in his language, to serve his purpose, and which as yet, to this present day, in the Norman language do remain. Now, the Lord willing, let us proceed in the story as in order followeth. *Harold II.* A.D. 1066.

KING HAROLD II.[1]

Harold, the second son of Earl Godwin, and last king of the Saxons, notwithstanding that divers of the nobles went with Edgar Adeling, the next heir after Edmund Ironside, yet he, through force and might contemning the young age of Edgar, and forgetting also his promise made to Duke William, took upon him to be king of England, A.D. 1066. When Harold Harefager, son of Canute, king of Norway and Denmark, heard of the death of King Edward, he came into England with 300 ships or more, who then joining with Tostius, brother to the said Harold, king of England, entered into the north parts, and claimed the land after the death of Edward. But the lords of the country arose, and gave them battle; notwithstanding the Danes had the victory. Therefore Harold, king of England, repaired towards them in all haste, and gave them another strong battle, and had the victory, where also Harold the Dane was slain by the hand of Harold king of England; and Tostius was also slain in the battle. After this victory, Harold waxed proud and covetous, and would not divide the prey with his knights who had deserved it, but kept it to himself, whereby he lost the favour of many of his knights and people. A.D. 1066.

Harold king of Denmark and Tostius slain.

In the mean time, William, duke of Normandy, sent an ambassage to Harold, king of England, admonishing him of the covenant that was agreed between them; which was, to have kept the land to his use after the death of Edward. But because the daughter of Duke William, who had been promised to Harold, was dead, Harold thought himself thereby discharged, and said, "That such a nice foolish promise ought not to be holden concerning another's land, without the consent of the lords of the same; and especially because he was thereunto, for need or for dread, compelled."

Upon these answers received, Duke William, in the mean time, while the messengers went and came, gathered his knights and prepared his navy, and had the assent of the lords of his land to aid and assist him in his journey. And besides that, sending unto Rome to Pope Alexander concerning his title and voyage into England, the pope confirmed him as to the same, and sent unto him a banner, willing him to bear it in the ship wherein himself should sail. Thus Duke William, being purveyed of all things concerning his journey,

The pope sendeth a banner to Duke William for a boon voyage into England.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 12. Ed. 1583, p. 166. Ed. 1596, p. 150. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 186.—Ed.

Harold II. A.D. 1066.

sped him to the sea-side, and took shipping at the haven of St. Valery, where he tarried a long time ere he might have a convenient wind, on which account his soldiers murmured, saying, "It was a woodness,[1] and a thing displeasing God, to desire to have another man's kingdom by strength; and, namely, when God was against it by sending contrary wind." At last the wind shortly after came about, and they took shipping with a great company, and landed at Hastings, in Sussex.

William landeth at Hastings Sept. 29th.

For three causes Duke William entered this land to subdue Harold. One was, for that it was to him given by King Edward, his nephew. The second was to take wreak for the cruel murder of his nephew Alfred, King Edward's brother, and of the Normans, which deed he ascribed chiefly to Harold. The third was, to revenge the wrong done to Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, who was exiled by the means and labour of Harold, in the time of King Edward.

Thus, while Harold was in the north, Duke William made so great speed, that he came to London before the king; out of which he was holden, till he made good surety that he and his people should pass through the city without tarrying; which promise he well observing, passed the bridge, and went over to Sussex, from whence he sent a monk unto Harold, and proffered him three manner of ways. First, either to render to him the possession of the land, and so to take it again of him under tribute, reigning under him; secondly, or else to abide and stand to the pope's arbitrement betwixt them both; or, thirdly, to defend this quarrel in his own person against the duke, and they two only to try the matter by dint of sword, without any other bloodshedding.

Three conditions offered to Harold by William.

But Harold refused all these offers, saying, "It should be tried by dint of swords, and not by one sword;" and so gathered his people and joined battle with the Normans, in the place where afterward was builded the Abbey of Battle in Sussex. In the beginning of this fight, the Englishmen kept them in good array likely to vanquish the Normans; wherefore Duke William caused his men to give back, as though they fled, whereupon the Englishmen followed fast, and broke their array. Then the Normans, fiercely giving a charge upon them, in conclusion obtained the victory through the just providence of God. On which occasion King Harold, who before had so cruelly murdered Alfred, the true heir of the crown, with his company of Normans, was now wounded of the Normans in the left eye with an arrow, and thereof incontinent died; although Giraldus saith he fled away to Chester, and lived after that, a monk in the monastery of St. James.[2] This, however, is not likely, but rather that he was there slain, after he had reigned nine months, and was buried at Waltham, which proveth that he died not at Chester; and so was he the last that reigned in England of the blood of Saxons, which continued, to reckon from Hengist's first reign in Kent, by the space of 610 years; and if it be reckoned from the years of the West Saxons, then it endured the space of 571 years.[3]

The fight betwixt them Oct. 14th.

King Harold slain.

This Duke William and King Edward were by the father's side

(1) Madness.—Ed. (2) See Appendix. (3) See vol. i. pp. 315, 316.—Ed.

cousin-germans removed[1]: for Richard, the first of that name, who was the third duke of Normandy after Rollo, was father to Duke Richard, the second of that name and brother to Emma, mother to King Edward; which Duke Richard II. was father to Duke Robert, this Duke William's father. *Ecclesiastical affairs.* Consanguinity between King Edward and William the Conqueror.

Albeit in this matter some others may gather otherwise and better perchance, yet, if I may say what I think, verily I suppose, that consanguinity is not so much the cause why God of his unknown judgments suffered the Normans here to prevail, as was rather the cruel murder of Alfred and of the innocent Normans, wrought by the cruel despight of Harold and the Englishmen, as is before declared, which merciless murder God here justly in this conquest recompensed. *See Appendix.* Murder recompensed.

Now it remaineth to these foreign affairs of kings and princes, to add something concerning the continuation of the archbishops of Canterbury, beginning where we left off, that is, with Elphege, whom we declared a little before to have been stoned by the Danes at Greenwich.[2] After Elphege next succeeded Living, and after him Egelnoth, also abovementioned. Then Robert, a Norman, a great doer, as is declared, about King Edward, and a faithful counsellor unto him, but he abode not long. After whom Stigand invaded the see, as they report, by simony, being both archbishop of Canterbury, bishop of Winchester, and also abbot in another place, wherein he continued a great space, gathering and heaping goods together; till at length Duke William put him in prison, and there kept him, placing in his room Lanfranc, a Lombard, of whom more shall follow, Christ willing, hereafter to be declared. A.D.1012. Archbishops of Canterbury. A.D.1052. A.D.1070.

*Whereupon[3] cometh the latter age of the church. Here now beginneth the fresh flowering blood of the church to faint, and strength to fail, oppressed with cold humours of worldly pomp, avarice, and tyranny; here now cometh in blind superstition, with cloaked hypocrisy, armed with rigorous laws, and cruel murdering of saints; here cometh in the order and name of cardinals, whose name was not heard of before the time 1030 years after Christ, growing up in such excess and riches, that some of them now have two, some three hundred benefices at once. Here cometh in four orders of friars; here the supremacy of Rome raged in his ruff, which being once established in the consciences of men, the power of all other christian princes did quake and decay, for dread of the pope's interdict, suspense, and excommunication, which they feared no less than Christ's own sentence from heaven. Thus the Roman bishop, under the title of St. Peter, doing what he lusted, and princes not daring that which was right; in the mean while the people of Christ were miserably governed and abused, especially here in England and Scotland, as in this history, Christ so permitting, shall appear. For here then came in tyranny without mercy, pomp and ambition without measure, error and blindness without knowledge, articles and canons without number, avarice without end, impropriations, abalienations, reservations, vowsons, or Decay of the church. *See Appendix.*

(1) First-cousins one remove.—Ed.
(2) See page 77.—Ed.
(3) This passage in single asterisks is an extract from the edition of Foxe of 1563, p. 10, and is entitled "The Third Age of the Church."—Ed.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

expectations of benefices, translations of cathedral churches, contributions, annuities, Petershots (as in our old chronicles they are termed), preventions of patronage, bulls, indulgences, and cases papal; with innumerable other grievances and proud proceedings of the Romish prelates, wherewith they brought all realms, with their princes, underneath their girdles; insomuch that the emperors, at length, could not take their crown but by the pope's grace and license: and if any did otherwise, the pope's ban [1] was ready either to depose him, or to stir up civil war against him. Then began corruption to enter and increase; then turned the gold and good metal into dross and filthiness; then quenched the clear light of the gospel; the book of God's word obscured in a dark tongue, which book King Athelstan before caused to be translated from Hebrew into English, A.D. 930; then shepherds and watchmen became wicked wolves, Christ's friends changed into enemies. To be short, then came in the time that the Revelation speaketh of, when Satan, the old serpent, being tied up for a thousand years, was loosed for a certain space, of the which space, here, in these books, by the help and supportation of Christ our Lord, we intend something to entreat and speak of, though not of all things in general done in all places, yet that such things as be most principal may come to light, the knowledge whereof shall be necessary for all our countrymen to understand.*

Proud proceedings of the Romish prelates.

Although the church of Christ and the state of religion, first founded and grounded by Christ and his apostles, did not altogether and continually remain in its primitive perfection wherein it was first instituted, but in process of time began from better to worse, to decrease and decline into much superstition and inconvenience, partly through the coming in of Mahomet, A.D. 612, partly through the increase of wealth and riches, and partly through the decrease of knowledge and diligence in such as should be the guides of Christ's flock; yet the infection and corruption of that time, though it were great, did not so abound in such excessive measure as afterwards in the other later times now following, about the thousand years expired after Christ, whereof we have to treat, Christ so permitting; about which time and year came Sylvester II. who next succeeded after Gregory V. already mentioned, and occupied the see of Rome about A.D. 1000, lacking one or two.

Coming in of Mahomet.

A.D.1000.

This Sylvester was a sorcerer, who, after the manner of those who work by familiars, as they call them, and by conjuration, compacted with the devil to be made pope; and so he was, through the operation of Satan, according to his request, which thing, some histories say, he did greatly repent before his death; but for a more ample declaration hereof, I will bring in the words of Johannes Stella, a Venetian, translated from Latin into English, concerning the said Sylvester, to the intent that our enchanters and sorcerers now-a-days, of whom there be too many in England, may the better, through his example, be admonished. The words of Stella be these, agreeing also with the narration of Benno, Platina, and many others.[2] "Gibert, a Frenchman, called Sylvester II., being pope, sat in his papacy four

Pope Sylvester II. a foul sorcerer.

A. D. 999.

(1) The pope's ban—a public proclamation: thus, "banns of marriage." It is used more commonly in a bad sense, as in Shakspeare, and means to curse, proscribe, excommunicate.—ED.

(2) Johannes Stella, Platina, Petrus Præmonstratensis, Nauclerus, Antoninus, Robertus Barnus. Johannes Baleus. *See Appendix.*

years, one month, and eight days. He entered into his papacy through wicked and unlawful means, who from his youth being a monk, and leaving his monastery, gave himself wholly to the devil, to obtain what he required. And first coming to Seville, a city in Spain, he there applied to his book, and profited therein so much that he was made doctor, having amongst his auditors, Otho the emperor's son, Robert the French king, Lotharius archbishop of Sens, with divers others; by whose advancement he was promoted, first to be bishop of Rheims, then archbp. of Ravenna, and at last, through the operation of Satan, he was exalted to the papacy of Rome, upon this condition, that after his death he should give himself to the devil, by whose procurement he came to that promotion. Upon a certain time he demanded an answer of the devil, how long he should enjoy his popedom. To whom he answered again, 'Until thou say mass in Jerusalem thou shalt live.' At length, in the fourth year of his popedom, saying mass at Lent-time in the temple of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem at Rome, he there knew the time was come when he should die. Whereupon, being struck with repentance, he confessed his fault openly before the people, desiring them to cut his body all in pieces (being so seduced by deceits of the devil); and thus, being hewn in pieces, that they would lay it upon a cart, and bury it wheresoever the horses would carry it of their accord. And so the saying is, that by the providence of God (whereby the wicked may learn, that there is yet hope of remission with God, so that they will repent them in their life), the horses of their own accord stayed at the church of Lateran, and there he was buried: where commonly, by the rattling of his bones within the tomb, is portended the death of popes, as the common report goeth."[1] Thus much out of Johannes Stella concerning Sylvester, by whom our sorcerers and enchanters, or magicians, may learn to beware of the deceitful operation of Satan, who in the end deceiveth and frustrateth all them that have to do with him, as the end of all such doth declare commonly, who use the like art or trade. The Lord and God of all mercy, through the Spirit of Jesus, our Redeemer, dissolve the works of Satan, and preserve the hearts of our nobles, and all other Englishmen, from such infection! Amen.

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See Appendix.

A.D.1003.

An admonition for sorcerers.

After Sylvester succeeded John XIX. by whom was brought in, as Volateran saith, the feast of All Souls, A.D. 1004, through the means and instigation of one Odilo, abbot of Clugny, to be celebrated next after the feast of All Saints. This monk Odilo, thinking that purgatory, as he heard, should be in the Mount Etna, dreamed upon a time, in the country of Sicily, that he, by his masses, had delivered divers souls from thence: saying moreover, "That he did hear the voices and lamentations of devils, crying out for that the souls were taken from them by the masses and funeral dirges."[2] Not long after him, came John XX. and Sergius IV., after whom succeeded Benedict VIII., and then John XXI., who being promoted by art magic of Theophylact his nephew, Gratian, Brazutus, and other sorcerers, brought in first the fast of the even of John Baptist and St. Lawrence. After him followed Pope Benedict IX., also

The feast of All Souls brought in by Pope John XIX. or XVII.

A.D.1012.

A.D.1024.

A.D.1033.

(1) Ex Johanne Stella. (2) Ex Bakenthorpo in prologo iv. lib. sententiarum.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

aspiring to his papacy by like magic, practising enchantments and conjuration in woods, after a horrible manner; who resisted the Emperor Henry III. son to Conrad, and placed in his room Peter the king of Hungary, with this verse—

See Appendix.

"Petra dedit Romam Petro, tibi Papa coronam."

A.D.1044. Afterwards, for fear of Henry prevailing in battle, he was fain to sell his seat to his successor, Gratian, called Gregory VI., for 1500*l.* At which time there were three popes together in Rome, reigning and raging one against another, Benedict IX., Sylvester III., and Gregory VI.; for which cause the said Henry, surnamed Niger, the emperor, coming to Rome, displaced these three monsters at one time, placing instead of them Clement II., and thereupon enacting that no bishop of Rome should henceforth be chosen, but by the consent and confirmation of the emperor.

No pope to be chosen but by the confirmation of the emperor

A.D.1046. This constitution, though it was both agreeable, and also necessary for the public tranquillity of that city, the cardinals would not suffer long to stand, but did impugn it afterward by subtle practice and open violence, as in process, the Lord permitting, shall appear in the time of Henry IV. and Henry V. In the time of this Clement, the Romans made an oath to the emperor concerning the election of the bishops, that they would themselves intermeddle no further therein, but as the assent of the emperor should go withal. Howbeit the emperor departing thence into Germany again, by and by they forgat their oath, and within nine months after poisoned the bishop, which deed some impute

A.D.1048. to Stephen, his successor, called Damasus II. Others impute it to Brazutus, who, as histories record, within thirteen years poisoned six popes; that is, Clement II., Damasus II., Leo IX., Victor II., Stephen IX., and Nicholas II.

Thus Clement being poisoned, after him succeeded Damasus II., elected neither by consent of the people, nor of the emperor, but by force and invasion; who also within twenty-three days being poisoned,

A.D.1049. A.D. 1049, much contention and striving began in Rome about the papal seat; whereupon the Romans, through the counsel of the cardinals, sent to the aforesaid emperor, desiring him to give them a bishop: and so he did, whose name was Bruno, an Almain, and

See Appendix.

bishop of Toul, afterward called Leo IX. This Bruno, being a simple man and easy to be led with evil counsel, coming from the emperor towards Rome in his pontifical apparel like a pope, there meeteth him by the way the abbot of Clugny, and Hildebrand a monk, who seeing him so in his pontificalibus began to rate him, laying to his charge, that he would so take his authority of the emperor, and not rather of the clergy of Rome and the people thereof, as other his predecessors were wont to do; and so counselled him to lay down that apparel, and to enter in with his own habit, till he had his election by them. Bruno, following their counsel, and confessing his fault before the clergy of Rome, obtained their favour, and so was nominated Leo. IX., whereby Hildebrand was made a cardinal, and put in high room. Under this Pope Leo were two councils, one kept at Vercelli, where the doctrine of Berengarius against the real substance in the sacrament was first condemned, although Berengarius yet recanted not, which nevertheless was done

after in the Council of Lateran, under Nicholas II. A.D. 1059; the other was kept at Mentz, where, amongst many other decrees, it was enacted, That priests should be utterly excluded and debarred from marriage: Item, that no layman might give benefice or bishopric, or any spiritual promotion,[1] &c. *Ecclesiastical affairs.* Council of Mentz, A.D.1051.

This Leo IX. being at Worms with the emperor on Christmas-day, did excommunicate the sub-deacon; because in reading the epistle, he did it not in the Roman tune, he being there present. The archbishop, moved therewith, departed from the altar (being then at mass) saying, He would not proceed any further in his service unless his sub-deacon was restored, whereupon the pope commanded him to be released, and so they went forward in their service.

After the death of Leo, whom Brazutus poisoned the first year of his popedom, Theophylactus did strive to be pope:[2] but Hildebrand, to defeat him, went to the emperor (partly also being sent by the Romans for fear of the emperor's displeasure), who assigned another bishop, a German, called Victor II. This Victor holding a council at Florence, deposed divers bishops and priests for simony and fornication: for simony, in that they took of secular men their dignities for money; for fornication, in that, contrary to their canon, they were married, &c. The second year of his papacy, and little more, this pope also followed his predecessors, being poisoned by the aforesaid Brazutus, through the procurement of Hildebrand and his master. A.D.1055. *See Appendix.* Council of Florence. A.D.1057.

Here now began the church and clergy of Rome to wring out of the emperor's hand the election of the pope: electing Stephen IX. for pope, contrary to their oath, and to the emperor's assignment. Here was the church of Milan first brought to obedience of the Romish church by this Stephen IX. bishop of Rome; who also shamed not to accuse the emperor Henry (of whom mention is made before) of heresy, for minishing the authority of the Roman see. So this was their heresy at that time, not to maintain the ambitious proceedings of the Romish prelate; and simony they called this, to take and enjoy any spiritual living at a secular man's hand. Wherefore Stephen hearing this simony to reign in divers places, namely, in the churches of Burgundy and Italy, sent forth the cardinal Hildebrand to reform the matter, who was no less earnest in that kind of commission to help the matter forward. The Church of Milan first brought under the Church of Rome.

In the mean time, Stephen the pope tasting of Brazutus's cup fell sick. Hildebrand, hearing that, applieth home, with all speed. So being returned to Rome, he assembleth all the companies and orders of the clergy together, making them to swear that they would admit none to be bishop, but who should be appointed by the public consent of them altogether. This being done, Hildebrand taketh his journey into Florence, to fetch the bishop of Florence, to install him bishop; the clergy swearing unto him that no bishop should be ordained before his return again. But the people of Rome, not suffering the election to stand so long after the death of Stephen, elected one of their own city, called Benedict X. Hildebrand, Hildebrand beginneth to stir. A.D.1058.

(1) Nauclerus, Crantz. (2) Alb. Crantz. Saxo. lib. iv. cap. 15.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

hearing of this, was not a little offended; wherefore, returning to Rome with Gerhard, the bishop of Florence, he caused the clergy to proceed to a new election, saying, "That Benedict was not lawfully called, but came in by force and bribing." But the clergy, not daring to attempt any new election at Rome, went to Sienna, and there elected this Gerhard, bishop of Florence, whom Hildebrand brought with him. So were two popes in Rome together: but Gerhard, named Nicholas II., holding a council at Sutri, through the help of Godfrid, duke of Tuscany, and Guibert, the chancellor, and many Italian bishops, caused the other pope to be deposed. Benedict, understanding them to be set against him through the means of Hildebrand, unpoped himself, and went to Velitri; living there more quietly than he would have done at Rome.

See Appendix.

Two popes together at Rome.

Benedict unpopes himself.

The gloss of the pope's decrees refuted.

Here is to be touched by the way the error of the gloss upon the three and twentieth distinction, which falsely allegeth out of the chronicles, that Benedict X., who succeeded Stephen, was deposed; after whom came Johannes, bishop of Sabine, for money, and he again was deposed; that Benedict was then restored, and afterwards displaced again, and then Johannes, archpriest of the church of St. John 'ad portam latinam,' was made pope, and he again deposed by the emperor; and all in one year: which story neither is found in any chronicle, nor agreeth to any Benedict, save only that Benedict IX., who was deposed, and then reigned three popes together: Benedict IX., Sylvester III., and Gregory VI., who before was called "Johannes ad portam latinam," whom the emperor deposed. But that Benedict neither was the tenth, neither did he succeed Pope Stephen, as the gloss recordeth. Nicholas thus being set up without the mind both of the emperor and of the people of Rome, after his fellow-pope was driven away, brake up the synod of Sutri, and came to Rome, where he assembled another council, called Concilium Lateranum; in which council first was promulgated the terrible sentence of excommunication mentioned in the decrees, and that beginneth, "In nomine Domini nostri," &c.[1] The effect whereof is this: first, that he, after a subtle practice, as far and as plainly as he durst speak, undermineth the emperor's jurisdiction, and transferreth to a few cardinals and certain catholic persons the full authority of choosing the pope. Secondly, against all such as do creep into the seat of Peter by money or favour, without the full consent of the cardinals, he thundereth with terrible blasts of excommunication, accursing them and their children with devils, as wicked persons, to the anger of Almighty God, giving also authority and power to cardinals, with the clergy and laity, to depose all such persons, and call a council-general, wheresoever they will, against them.

See Appendix.

Council of Lateran, A.D. 1059.

A terrible curse of Nicholas.

Berengarius driven to recantation.

Item, in the said Council of Lateran, under Pope Nicholas II., Berengarius of Tours, archdeacon of Angers, was driven to the recantation of his doctrine, denying the real substance of Christ's holy body and blood to be in the sacrament, otherwise than sacramentally and in mystery.

See Appendix.

Transubstantiation brought in.

In the same council also was hatched and invented the new-found device and term of 'transubstantiation.'

(1) Dist. 23 cap. "In nomine," &c.

It were too long here to declare the confederation betwixt this Nicholas and Robert Guiscard, whom this pope (contrary to all right and good law, displacing the right heir) made duke of Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, and captain-general of St. Peter's lands; that through his force of arms and violence he might the better subdue all such as should rebel, to his obedience; and so did.[1] Now let all men, who be godly wise, judge and understand how this standeth with the doctrine of Christ, the example of Peter, or the spirit of a christian bishop, by outward arms and violence to conquer christian men and countries, under the obedience of a bishop's see.[2] Thus Pope Nicholas II., well answering to his Greek name[3] by might and force continued three years and a half; but, at length, he met with Brazutus's cup, and so turned up his heels. *Ecclesiastical affairs.* A.D. 1061.

At the beginning of this Nicholas, or somewhat before, about A.D. 1056, Henry IV., after the decease of Henry III., was made emperor, being but a child, and reigned fifty years; but not without great molestation and much disquietness, and all through the ungracious wickedness of Hildebrand, as hereafter (the Lord so permitting) shall be declared. The emperor Henry IV.

Here, by the way, cometh to be noted an example, whereby all princes may learn and understand how the pope is to be handled, whosoever looketh to have any goodness at his hand. If a man stand in fear of his curse, he shall be made his slave; but if he be despised of you, you shall have him as you list. For the pope's curse may well be compared to Domitian's thunder: if a man give ear to the noise and crack, it seemeth a terrible thing; but if you consider the causes and effect thereof, it is a most vain ridicule. The pope's curse compared to Domitian's thunder.

In the reign of this Nicholas, A.D. 1060, Aldred, bishop of Worcester, after the decease of Kinsius, his predecessor, was made archbishop of York; who, coming to Rome with Tostius, earl of Northumberland, for his pall, as the manner was, could not obtain it, but was deprived of all his dignity, for some default (I cannot tell what) in his answer; and furthermore, after his return home, was spoiled of all that he brought with him. Whereupon, he returning again to Rome with Tostius, the aforesaid earl, there made his complaint, but could not be heard, till Tostius, a man of stout courage, taking the matter in hand, told the pope to his face, "That that curse of his was not to be feared in far countries, which his own neighbours, yea, and most vile vagabonds, derided and despised at home." Wherefore he required the pope either to restore Aldred again to his goods lost, or else that it should be known that they were lost through his means and subtilty. And, furthermore, it would come to pass that the king of England hearing this would debar him of St. Peter's tribute, taking it for a great shame to him and his realm, if Aldred should come from Rome both deprived of dignity, and spoiled also of his goods, &c. In fine, the pope thus persuaded by the argument of his purse, was content to send home Aldred with his pall, according to his request. Tostius persuadeth the pope.

(1) Nauclerus, Platina, Æneas Silvius.
(2) "Potentia Papæ coactiva" standeth not with the gospel.
(3) Νικόλαος, compounded of νίκη and λαός, is equivalent to "Conqueror of the people."—Ed.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

After the death of Nicholas, the Lombards being oppressed before by Pope Nicholas, and brought under fear, were the more desirous, and thought it good to have a bishop of their company, and so elected the bishop of Parma, called Cadalous, to be pope: sending to the emperor, and desiring his favour and support therein; for the election of the pope (said they) most properly appertained unto him.

Cadalous, a Lombard, made pope by the emperor.

The emperor, well pleased and content, giveth his good leave and voice withal. Hildebrand, no less a wicked necromancer than a stout maintainer of popish liberties against good emperors, hearing this, setteth up, by a contrary faction, Anselm, bishop of Lucca, after called Alexander II. Cadalous, thus elected by the emperor and the cardinals, setteth forward to Rome with a sufficient army and strength of men. Alexander also, no less prepared, there received him with another army, where they had a great conflict, and many were slain on both sides; but Cadalous, as he had the better cause, so he had the worst fortune, who, being repelled, yet repaired himself, and came again with a greater power; albeit he prevailed not. The emperor, seeing this hurly-burly, to take up the matter, sent thither his ambassador, Anno, archbishop of Cologne; who, coming to Rome, beginneth sharply to chide the pope for taking so upon him without the leave or knowledge of the emperor, declaring how the election of that see ought chiefly to appertain to the right of the emperor, as it hath done for the most part in the time of his predecessors tofore. But Hildebrand, all set on wickedness and ambition, and also puffed up not a little with his late victories, not suffering the ambassador to tell to the end, interrupted him in the middle of his tale; affirming, that if they should stand to law and custom, the liberty of that election should rather belong to the clergy than to the emperor. To make short, Anno the ambassador, bearing more with the clergy than with the emperor, was content to be persuaded, only requiring, in the emperor's name, a council to be had, to decide the matter, whereat the emperor should be present himself; and so he was. In that council, held at Mantua, Alexander was declared pope; the other had his pardon granted. In this council, amongst many other considerations, it was concluded, concerning priests, that they should have no wives; that such as have concubines should say no mass; that priests' children should not be secluded from holy orders; that no benefices should be bought for money; and that Allelujah should be suspended in time of Lent out of the church. This also was decreed (which made most for Hildebrand's purpose) that no spiritual man whatsoever should enter into any church, by a secular person, and that the pope should be elected only by the cardinals. Benno the Cardinal writeth thus of Alexander, that after he perceived the frauds of Hildebrand, and of others the emperor's enemies, and understanding that he was set up and enthronized only for a purpose; being at his mass, as he was preaching to the people, told them he would not sit in that place, unless he had the license of the emperor; which when Hildebrand heard, he was stricken with such a fury, that scarcely he could keep his hands off him till mass was done. After the mass being finished, by force of soldiers and strength of men, he had Pope Alexander into a chamber, and there all to-be-pommelled him with his fists, rating and rebuking him for that he would seek for favour of

See Appendix.

Two battles betwixt two popes for St. Peter's seat.

See Appendix.

Council of Mantua.

No secular man to give spiritual promotion.

Pope Alexander knocked about the pate by Hildebrand.

the emperor. Thus, Alexander being kept up in custody, and being stinted to a certain allowance, as about five groats a day, Hildebrand encroacheth all the whole revenues of the church to himself, procuring thereby much treasure. At length Alexander, under the miserable indurance of Hildebrand, died at eventide, after eleven years and a half of his popedom. And thus much of Romish matters. *Ecclesiastical affairs.* A.D.1073.

These things thus discoursed concerning the matters of Rome, now returning again to our own country story, the order thereof would require to enter again into the reign of William the Conqueror, the next king following in England; but as a certain oration of king Edgar's, which should have been placed before, chanced in the mean time to come to my hands, not unworthy to be read; I thought by the way in the end of this Book to insert the same, although out of order; yet better I judge it out of order, than out of the book. *See Appendix.*

THE ORATION OF KING EDGAR TO THE CLERGY.

Because God hath shewed his great mercy to work with us, it is meet, most reverend Fathers! that with worthy works we should answer his innumerable benefits. "For we possess not the land by our own sword, and our own arm hath not saved us; but his right hand and his holy arm, because he hath been delighted in us." (Psal. xliv. 3.) Therefore it is meet that we should submit both ourselves and our souls to him, that hath subjected all these things under our government; and we ought stoutly to labour, that they whom he hath made subject to us, might be subject to his laws. It belongs to me to rule the lay people with the law of equity, to do just judgment between man and his neighbour, to punish church-robbers, to hold under rebels, to deliver the helpless from the hand of the stronger, the needy also and the poor from them that rob them. It belongs also to my care to provide necessary things to the ministers of the churches, to the flocks of the monks, to the company of virgins, and to provide for their peace and quiet. The examining of all whose manners belongeth unto us; whether they live chastely, if they behave themselves honestly toward them that be without, whether they be diligent at God's service, if they be earnest to teach the people, if they be sober in eating and drinking, if they keep measure in apparel, and if they be discreet in judgment. If ye had regarded these things with a trial of them, (O reverend Fathers! by your leaves I speak,) such horrible and abominable things of the clerks should not have come unto our ears. I omit to speak how their crown is not broad, nor their rounding convenient: the wantonness in your life, your pride in gesture, the filthiness in your words, do declare the evil of the inward man.

Furthermore, what negligence is in God's service, when scarce they will be present at the holy vigils! And when they come to mass, they seem rather to be gathered to play and laugh than to sing. I will tell that which good men be sorry for, and the evil laugh at. I will speak with sorrow (if so be I may express it) how they be riotous in banquetings, in chambering, in drunkenness, and in unshamefacedness; that now clerks' houses may be thought to be resorts of harlots and covents of players. There be dice, there is dancing and singing, there is watching to midnight, with crying and shouting. Thus the goods of kings, the alms of princes, yea, and what is more, the price of that precious blood, is not esteemed. Have our fathers then spent their treasure for this purpose? Have the king's coffers decayed by taking away many revenues, for this cause? Hath the king's liberality given lands and possessions to Christ's churches for this intent, that clerks' paramours should be decked with the same? that riotous feasts might be dressed? that hounds, and hawks, and such other toys might be gotten? The soldiers cry out at these things, the people grudge, minstrels sing and dance; and yet ye regard it not, ye spare it, ye dissemble it. Where is the sword of Levi, and the zeal of Simeon, (Gen. xxxiv. 25,) which killed the Shechemites and the circumcised, who bare the figure of them that defile Christ's church with filthy deeds, because they abused

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Jacob's daughter? Where is Moses's spirit, who spared not his own kinsfolk that worshipped the head of the calf? (Exod. xxxii. 27.) Where is Phinehas, the priest's dagger, who pacified God's anger by holy zeal, when he killed him that played the harlot with the Midianite? (Num. xxv. 8.) Where is Peter's spirit, by whose power covetousness is destroyed, and simoniacal heresy is condemned? (Acts iv. 4.) Be earnest, ye priests! be earnest to follow the ways of the Lord, and the righteousness of our God. (Deut. v. 33.) It is time to do against them that have broken the law of God. I have Constantine's sword, and ye have Peter's sword in your hands; let us join right hands, let us couple sword to sword, that the lepers may be cast out of the temples, that the holy place of the Lord may be purged, and the sons of Levi may minister in his temple, who said to his father and mother, "I know you not," and to his brothers, "I know not you." Go to diligently, I pray you, lest we repent to have done that we have done, and to have given that we give, if we shall see that to be spent not in God's service, but on the riotousness of wicked men, through vile and corrupt liberty of life, for lack of chastisement. Let the relics of holy saints, which they despise, and the holy altars before which they play the madmen, move you. Let the great devotion of our ancestors move you, whose alms the madness of the clerks doth abuse. My great great grandfather, as ye know, gave the tenth part of all his lands to churches and abbies. My great grandfather, Alfred, of holy memory, thought it not meet to spare his treasures, his goods, or costs, or rents, that he might enrich the church. My grandfather, the elder Edward, your fatherhood is not ignorant how great things he gave to the churches. It becometh you to remember with what gifts my father and his brothers did enrich Christ's altars. O father of fathers, Dunstan! behold, I pray thee, the eyes of my father looking on thee, from that bright place of heaven; hearken to his complaining words sounding in thine ears, thus pitifully lamenting: "O father Dunstan, thou, thou I say, gavest me counsel to build abbies and churches, thou wast my helper and fellow-worker in all things; I chose thee as a shepherd and bishop of my soul, and a keeper of my manners. When did I not obey thee? What treasures did I prefer in respect of thy counsels? What possessions did I not despise, if thou badest me? If thou thoughtest meet to give any thing to the poor, I was ready. If thou thoughtest meet to give any thing to churches, I deferred not. If thou complainedst that monks or clerks wanted any thing, I supplied. Thou saidst that alms lasted for ever, and that there was none more fruitful than that which was given to abbies or churches; for with that both God's servants are sustained, and that which remaineth is given to the poor. O worthy alms! O worthy price of the soul! O wholesome remedy for our sins, which now doth stink in the sweet furs of priests' lemans,[1] wherewith they adorn their ears and deck their fingers, apparelling their delicate bodies with silk and purple! O father, is this the fruit of my alms, is this the effect of my desire, and of thy promise?" What wilt thou answer to this complaint of my fathers? I know, I know: when thou didst see a thief, thou runnest not with him, neither hast thou put thy portion with adulterers. Thou hast rebuked, thou hast exhorted, thou hast blamed them; but words have been despised, now we must come to stripes of correction. Thou hast here with thee the worshipful father Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester. Thou hast the reverend prelate, Oswald, bishop of Worcester. I commit this business to you, that both by bishoply correction, and the king's authority, the filthy livers may be cast out of the churches, and they that live orderly may be brought in, &c.

See Appendix

Ignorance and superstition of the time of King Edgar.

In this oration of King Edgar, above prefixed, three things are chiefly to be noted and considered of them that have judgment to mark and understand; to wit, the religious zeal and devotion of kings, both in giving to the church, and also in correcting the manners of churchmen. Secondly, the dissolute behaviour and wantonness of the clergy, in then abusing the great donations and patrimonies of princes bestowed upon them. Thirdly, the blind ignorance and superstition

(1) "Lemans", paramours.—Ed.

of that time in both states, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, in esteeming Christ's religion chiefly to consist in giving to churches, and in maintaining of monkery; falsely being persuaded that remission of their sins, and remedy of their souls therein, did lie in building monasteries, erecting churches and cloisters, and in placing monks in the same, and such other alms-deeds and works of devotion. Wherein appeareth how ignorant that time was of the true doctrine of Christ's faith, and of the free grace of the gospel, which promiseth life, remedy, and justification, not by any devout merits of ours, nor by any works either of the law of God, or of the inventions of man, but only and freely by our faith in Christ Jesus, the Son of God, in whom only consist all the promises of God.[1] *Amen.*

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The doctrine of justification by faith in Christ unknown.

Now remaineth, as in the former Book before, so in this likewise, to prosecute the order and race of archbishops of Canterbury, as we have done the race of kings, beginning with Ethelred, who succeeded next after Celnocke, the seventeenth archbishop of that see, mentioned where we left before.[2]

The Names and Order of the Archbishops of Canterbury, from the time of King Egbert to William the Conqueror.

18. Ethelred was archbishop of Canterbury for nineteen years.

19. Pleimund, who was schoolmaster to King Alfred, possessed the see of Canterbury for twenty-nine years. *See Appendix.*

20. Athelm was archbishop for twelve years.

21. Ulfelm for thirteen years.

22. Odo for twenty years. By the prayers of Odo, the monkish stories say that the sword of King Athelstan was brought again into his scabbard, as is noted before in that king's time. *See Appendix.*

23. Elsius or Elsine, first[3] bishop of Winchester, came to the see of Canterbury, which he occupied one year, by the commandment of King Edgar, some say by bribes, contrary to the mind of Odo. Whereupon, on the first day of his consecration, he insulting the tomb of Odo with despite, shortly after went to Rome for his pall, where in his journey upon the Alps he died for cold, insomuch that though his horses were killed, and he put in their warm bellies, yet could he get no heat.[4]

24. Dunstan,[5] who was archbishop for twenty years. Of Dunstan many monkish miracles be feigned, as of the harp[6] upon the wall playing by itself, "Gaudent in cœlis," &c.[7] Of our Lady with her company appearing to him singing, "Cantemus Domino sociæ, cantemus honorem; dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio." Also of the angels singing "Kyrie eleison." Item, of holding the devil by the nose with a pair of tongs, for tempting him with women.[8] Item, *See Appendix.*

(1) The reader can hardly fail to observe the sound and scriptural principles of our author here expressed, and how admirably they harmonize with the received doctrines of the protestant church of England. Vid. Art. XVIII.—Ed.

(2) See the names and order of the archbishops of Canterbury at the close of Vol. I.—Ed.

(3) "First," *i. e.* previously. (4) Malmesbury.

(5) Polydore maketh Dunstan to be the twenty-third archbishop. [See infrà, p. 717.—Ed.]

(6) "St. Dunstan's harp upon the wall
Fast by a pin did hang a,
Without man's help, with lie and all,
And by itself did twang a."

(7) See suprà, page 64.—Ed. (8) Malmesbury.

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of seeing the Holy Ghost at his mass in likeness of a dove. Item, in delivering the soul of Edwin from the devil. Item, in foreseeing the death of King Edred by the death and falling of his horse. Item, of his mother being great with Dunstan: when all the candles of others went out, her only candle remained a-light: and many other like fables.

25. Ethelgar sat for one year.

26. Siric was archbishop for five years, and was the counsellor to King Egelred, to redeem peace of the Danes with a great tribute.

See Appendix.

27. Elfric[1] for eleven years.

28. Elphege for six years. Elphege, because he denied to pay to the Danes a tribute, was stoned to death at Greenwich, and of some is called a martyr.

29. Livingus for seven years.

30. Egelnoth for seventeen years.

31. Edsius for eleven years.

32. Robert, who sat for two years, caused Godwin and his sons to be banished, accusing them of treason; but afterward they being restored, he went to Rome, and at his return died.

33. Stigand, being an Englishman, in the time of William the Conqueror, the Norman, after being archbishop for seventeen years, was, by the craft of the said William, conveyed into Normandy, where a while with great honour he was entertained. At length, the said William procured secretly the pope's letters to depose him, that he might place Lanfranc in his room. This Stigand died at length in prison.

34. Lanfranc held the see for nineteen years.[2]

(1) At p. 717, infrà, Foxe desires the reader to insert "Alured" after "Siricius;" he should have said "Aluric," who is identical with "Elfric" or "Ælfric," whom Foxe here places *before* "Siricius:" the transposition, therefore, which has been made of Elfric's name answers Foxe's object.—Ed.

(2) It appears that during the Anglo-Saxon period, or from A.D. 803 to A.D. 1070, nineteen archbishops occupied the chair of Canterbury, giving an average of fourteen years to each. The rapid succession of popes during nearly the same period presents a striking difference: from A.D. 795 to A.D. 1061 fifty-nine individuals occupied the papal chair. Of these, a few, either voluntarily or by constraint, had vacated it; but the short average of four years and a half, allotted to fifty-nine popes in succession, leads us reluctantly to conclude, that as our author records, it was not always the progress of disease, or the hand of old age, which caused the vacancy in that high and envied office. See page 96 of this volume.

Subjoined is a table of the names and order of the archbishops of Canterbury, continued from that in vol. i. p. 385, the dates of their accession being taken from Richardson's Godwin "De præsulibus," &c.

A.D.		
871	18	Ethelred.
891	19	Pleimund.
923	20	Athelm.
928	21	Ulfelm.
941	22	Odo.
958	23	Elsine.
959	24	Dunstan.
988	25	Ethelgar.
989	26	Siric.
996	27	Elfric.
1005	28	Alphage.
1013	29	Livingus.
1020	30	Egelnoth.
1038	31	Edsius.
1050	32	Robert.
1052	33	Stigand.
1070	34	Lanfranc.

—Ed.

END OF BOOK THE THIRD.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK IV.

CONTAINING

OTHER THREE HUNDRED YEARS,
FROM WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR TO THE TIME OF JOHN WICKLIFFE.

WHEREIN IS DESCRIBED THE PROUD AND MISORDERED REIGN OF ANTICHRIST, BEGINNING TO STIR IN THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.[1]

William the Conqueror.

WILLIAM, duke of Normandy, surnamed Conqueror, base son of Duke Robert, the sixth duke of Normandy, and nephew[2] unto King Edward, after the aforesaid victory against Harold and the Englishmen obtained, was received king over the realm of England, not so much by assent, as for fear and necessity of time; for else the Londoners had promised their assistance to Edgar Etheling to the uttermost of their power. But being weakened and wasted so greatly in battles before, and the duke coming so fast upon them, fearing not to make their party good, they submitted themselves. Whereupon the said William (of a duke made a king) was crowned upon Christmas-day, A.D. 1066, by the hands of Aldred, archbishop of York; forasmuch as at that time Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was absent, or else durst not, or would not come in the presence of the king. A little before the coming in of this duke, a terrible blazing star was seen for the space of seven days, which was the same year; in record whereof, as well of the conquest of the duke, as of the blazing star, these verses yet remain :—

A. D. 1066.

A.D.1066

A blazing star.

> " Sexagenus erat sextus millesimus annus,
> Cum pereunt Angli stella monstrante cometa.[3]

Which king, thus being crowned, did reign over the realm of England the space of one and twenty years and ten[4] months, with great severity and cruelness toward the Englishmen, burdening them with great tributes and exactions; which was to pay of every hide of ground containing twenty acres, six shillings; by means whereof certain parts of the land rebelled, and especially the city of Exeter, but at last William overcame them, and won the city, and punished them grievously. But for that and for other stern deeds of this prince, divers of the lords departed to Scotland: wherefore he kept the other

Rebellion.

Earl Marcarus, and Earl Edwin, Edgar Atheling, with

(1) Edition 1563, p. 14. Ed. 1583, p. 171. Ed. 1596, p. 154. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 192.—Ed.

(2) " Nephew" was formerly used very indefinitely: see Nares: it here means " first cousin one remove."—Ed.

(3) In the copy of these verses, p, 14, Ed. 1563, follows a third line :—
" Dux Normanorum transit mare, vicit Heraldum."—Ed.

(4) Foxe's text has " one month :" but see pp. 3, 134.—Ed.

William the Conqueror.

A. D. 1067.

lords that tarried the straiter, and exalted the Normans, giving to them the chief possessions of the land; and forsomuch as he obtained the kingdom by force and dint of sword, he changed the whole state of the governance of this commonweal, and ordained new laws at his own pleasure, profitable to himself, but grievous and hurtful to the people, abolishing the laws of King Edward, whereunto notwithstanding he was sworn before, to observe and maintain them. For the which great commotions and rebellions remained long after among the people, as histories record, to have the said laws of King Edward revived again.

his mother and two sisters, Margaret and Christina, fled into Scotland.

New king, new laws.

* Here,[1] by the way, speaking of laws, this is memorable, that even in this king's time the authority of the temporal magistrate was distinct from that of the church; but yet in such sort, that if need required, he should deal in causes ecclesiastical, and be assistant to the bishop, whose jurisdiction, what it was, and how qualified by King William now holding the stern of government in his hand, the words following do declare.[2]

King William forsworn in abolishing King Edward's laws.

See Appendix.

William, by the grace of God king of England, to all earls and sheriffs, and to all French-born and English, who in the bishopric of bishop Remigius have lands, greeting. Know you all, and the rest my faithful subjects, who abide in England, that the episcopal laws which have been not well, nor according to the precepts of the holy canons, even to my time, in the kingdom of England, by the common council and counsel of mine archbishops, bishops, and abbots, and all the princes of my kingdom, I have judged to be amended. Wherefore I command, and by my royal authority give in charge, that no bishop or archdeacon do hold any more pleas of law by the episcopal laws in the Hundred, nor bring any cause which pertaineth to the cure of souls unto the judgment of secular men: but whosoever shall be troubled about any suit or default under the episcopal laws, shall come to the place which to this end the bishop shall choose and name, and there answer his cause, and not according to the Hundred, but according to the canons and the episcopal laws, shall do right unto God and to his bishop. And if any, puffed up with pride, being called once, twice, and thrice to the bishop's court, refuseth to come, and will not so be drawn to amendment, let him be excommunicated. And to enforce this, if need be, let the power and authority of the king or the sheriff be used. And he who, being called to the bishop's court, will not come, for every such calling shall be put to his answer before the bishop, and make amends. And this I defend, and by mine authority forbid, that any sheriff or provost, or officer of the king, or any layman, interfere with the episcopal laws; nor that any layman bring or sue another out of the bishop's court of justice unto judgment. And as for judgment, let it be given in no place but in the bishop's see, or in that place which in this behalf the bishop shall appoint.

The jurisdiction ecclesiastical qualified and circumscribed in King William's time.

By this evidence of record it is manifest, as you see, that Duke William (now king) having assumed unto himself the absolute authority royal, endeavoured to establish a form of government both in the church and commonwealth answerable to his own mind: howbeit this is to be noted, that he allowed unto the clergy a kind of jurisdiction of conventing persons before them, and likewise of exercising such ecclesiastical discipline as the quality of that age and time did use, whereon we will not stand to debate any thing at large, but proceed in the course of our story, as the Spirit of God shall vouchsafe to direct us.*

(1) This passage in single asterisks is not in the Edition of 1583, but it appears in that of 1596.—Ed.

(2) "Willielmus Gratia Dei Rex Anglorum, comitibus, vicecomitibus, et omnibus Francigenis et Anglis, qui in Episcopatu Remigii Episcopi terras habent, salutem. Sciatis," &c.—Turris Londin. [Given in the New Edition of Rymer's Fœdera, whence some corrections are made above.—Ed.]

Over and besides this, *the aforesaid William, as he was a warrior, so he delighting in forts and bulwarks,*[1] builded four strong castles, two at York, one at Nottingham, and another at Lincoln, which garrisons he furnished with Normans. *William the Conqueror.* A.D. 1069.

About the third year of his reign, Harold and Canute, sons of Swanus, king of Denmark, entered into the north country. The Normans within York, fearing that the Englishmen would aid the Danes, fired the suburbs of the town; whereof the flame was so big, and the wind so strong, that it reached the city, and burnt a great part thereof, with the minster of St. Peter, where no doubt many worthy works and monuments of books were consumed, in the time whereof the Danes, by favour of some of the citizens, entered the city, and slew more than three thousand of the Normans. But not long after King William chased them out, and drove them to their ships, and took such displeasure with the inhabitants of that country, that he destroyed the land from York to Durham, so that nine years after the province lay waste and unmanured, except only St. John's land of Beverly; and the people thereof were so strictly kept in penury by the war of the king, that, as our English story saith, they eat rats, cats, and dogs, and other vermin. York, with the minster, burnt. The north country wasted with war and famine.

Also, in the fourth year of this king, Malcolm, king of Scots, entered into Northumberland, and destroyed the country, and slew there much of the people, both men, women, and children, after a lamentable sort, and took some prisoners. But within two years after, King William made such war upon the Scots, that he forced Malcolm their king to do him homage. A.D. 1070. Malcolm III., king of Scots, subdued.

And thus much concerning the outward calamities of this realm under this foreign conqueror, which is now the fifth time that the said land with the inhabitants thereof hath been scourged by the hand of God. First, by the Romans in the time of Julius Cæsar; then by the Scots and Picts, as hath been showed; afterward by the Saxons. Again, the Saxons or Englishmen did not enjoy the possession of Britain with long quiet, but were brought into as much subjection themselves under the Danes as they had brought the Britons before, and even much more, insomuch that through all England, if an Englishman had met a Dane upon a bridge, he might not stir one foot before the Lord Dane (otherwise Lurdane) were past. And then if the Englishman had not given low reverence to the Dane at his coming by, he was sure to be sharply punished, as above hath been declared. This subjection continued almost from the reign of King Ethelwolf till the reign of King Edward, for the space of two hundred and thirty years; and yet the indignation of God then ceased not, but stirred up the Normans against them, who conquered and altered the whole realm after their own purpose; insomuch that besides the innovation of the laws, coins, and possessions, there was almost in no church in England any English bishop, but only Normans and foreigners placed through all their dioceses.[2] To such misery was this land then brought, that not only of all the English nobility not one house was standing, but also it was thought reproachful to be called an Englishman. This punishment of God Five conquests which have been in this realm. *See Appendix.*

(1) This passage in italic is not in the Edition of 1583, but is found in that of 1596.—Ed.
(2) Ex Henr. Huntingdon. lib. vi.

William the Conqueror.

A.D. 1070.

against the English nation, writers do assign diversely to divers causes, as partly before is touched; of whom some assign this to be the cause as followeth in the words of the story:—"That whereas kings and queens, dukes and prelates, in the primitive time of the English church, were ready, for religion, to forsake either liberty or country, and give themselves to a solitary life, in process of time they grew to such dissoluteness, that they left no other realm like unto them in iniquity,"[1] &c. Again some, writing of the vision of King Edward, a little before the invasion of the Normans, testify how the king, reporting of his own vision, should hear that for the great enormity and misbehaviour of the head dukes, bishops, and abbots of the realm, the kingdom should be given to the hand of their enemies after the decease of him, for the space of one hundred years and one day; which space was also seen by William the Conqueror, to be one hundred and fifty years, and that his progeny so long should continue. Again, some writers, treating of this so great wrath of God upon the English people, declare the cause thereof as followeth:—"Like as the Englishmen did subdue the Britons, whom God proposed for their deservings to exterminate, and them unjustly did dispossess of their land, so they should likewise be subdued and scourged with a double persecution, first by the Danes, and after by the Normans,"[2] &c. Moreover to these injuries and iniquities done and wrought by the Englishmen, hitherto recited, let us add also the cruel villany of this nation, in murdering and tithing the innocent Normans before, who coming as strangers with Alfred, the lawful heir of the crown, were despitefully put to death; which seemeth to me no little cause why the Lord, whose doings be always just and right, did suffer the Normans so to prevail. By the coming in of these Normans, and by their quarrel unto the realm, three things we may note and learn. First, to consider and learn the righteous retribution and wrath of God from heaven upon all iniquity and unrighteous dealing of men. Secondly, we may thereby note, what it is for princes to leave no issue or sure succession behind them. Thirdly, what dangers often do chance to realms public by foreign marriage with other princes.

Vision of King Edward.

Englishmen scourged for their unjust oppression of the Britons.

Cruelties against the Normans.

Three things in this conquest to be noted.

A.D. 1070. Council at Winchester, Apl. 11th. *See Appendix.*

In the same fourth year of this king, between Easter and Whitsuntide, was holden a solemn council at Winchester of the clergy of England, at the which were present Hermenfred, bishop of Sion, and two cardinals sent from Pope Alexander II., Peter and John.[3] In this council, the king being present, were deposed divers bishops, abbots, and priors, by the means of the king, without any evident cause; to the intent his Normans might be preferred to the rule of the church, as he had preferred his knights before to the rule of the temporalty, thereby to stand in more surety of the land; amongst whom also Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was put down for three causes against him pretended.

Divers bishops, abbots, and priors, deposed.

(1) "In primitiva Angliæ ecclesia religio clarissime splenduit, ita ut reges et reginæ, duces et episcopi, vel monachatum, vel exilium pro Dei amore appeterent: processu vero temporis adeo omnis virtus in eis emarcuit, ut gentem nullam proditione et nequitia sibi parem esse permitterent," &c.—Ex Histor. Jornalens.

(2) "Nam sicut Angli, Britones quos Deus disterminare proposuerat (peccatis suis exigentibus) humiliaverant, et a terra Angliæ minus juste fugaverant: sic ipsi duplici persecutione," &c.

(3) See Hoveden and Wilkins's Concilia, and the Appendix.—Ed.

The first was, for that he had unlawfully held the bishopric of Winchester together with the archbishopric. *William the Conquerror.*

The second was, for that, while Robert the archbishop above mentioned was living, he sometimes used his pall which he had left at Canterbury when he was unjustly banished from England. A.D. 1070.

The third cause was, for that he had received a pall of Benedict X., bishop of Rome, which Benedict for buying his popedom was deposed, as is showed before.[1] *See Appendix.*

Then Stigand well proved the benevolence of King William, for whereas before, the king seemed in friendly countenance to make much of him, and did unto him great reverence, then he changed all his mildness into sternness, and excused himself by the bishop of Rome's authority, so that in the end Stigand was deprived of his dignity, and kept in Winchester as a prisoner during his life. This Stigand is noted for a man so covetous and sparing, that when he would take nothing of his own, and would swear that he had not a penny, yet by a key fastened about his neck was found great treasure of his under the ground. A.D.1070.

At the same time was preferred to the archbishopric of York, Thomas, a Norman, and canon of Baieux. At the which time also Lanfranc, abbot of St. Stephen's at Caen, a Lombard and Italian born, was sent for, and made archbishop of Canterbury, between which two archbishops, about their consecration, first began a contention for giving and taking the oath of obedience; but that contention was, at that time, appeased by the king, and Thomas was contented to subscribe to the archbishop of Canterbury's obedience. *See Appendix.* Lanfranc, an Italian, archbishop of Canterbury.

After this, it followed within short space, that the said Lanfranc, and Thomas, archbishop of York, who first builded the minster of York, and gave possessions thereunto, came to Rome with Remigius, bishop of Dorchester, for their palls, as the manner was; without which no archbishop nor bishop could be confirmed, although their election were never so lawful. This pall must be asked nowhere but of the pope or his assigns, and that within three months; also it must be asked not faintly, but mightily (Dist. 100, cap. "prisca"); which, as it was a chargeable thing to other nations, especially such as were far from Rome, so it was no small gain to the Romish see, so as they did order it. For although at the beginning the pall was given without money, according to the decree Dist. 100,[2] or for little, as was the case in this time of Lanfranc; yet, in process of years it grew to such excess, that whereas the bishop of Mentz was wont to give to Rome but ten thousand florins, afterwards it arose so, that he who asked his confirmation, could not obtain it without twenty thousand; and from thence it exceeded to five and twenty thousand, and at length to seven and twenty thousand florins, which sum Jacob, archbishop of Mentz, was pressed to pay; insomuch that the said Jacob at his departing, which was within four years after, said, that his death did not so much grieve him as to remember his poor subjects, who should be constrained to pay so terrible a fine for the pope's pall. Now by this, what did arise to the pope in the whole of Germany, containing in it above fifty bishoprics, besides the abbeys, may be easily conjectured.[3] Lanfranc thus coming to Rome, with the The minster of York rebuilt. The giving of the pall. A.D.1504. Æneas Silvius writeth that there be fifty bishoprics in Germany.

(1) See pp. 97, 98: also the Appendix. (2) Dist. 100, cap. "novit."
(3) Ex lib. Gravaminum Nationis Germanicæ. [See Appendix.—Ed.]

William the Conqueror. A.D. 1070.

other two bishops, he, for the estimation of his learning, obtained of Alexander two palls, one of honour, the other of love. Item, he obtained for the other two bishops also their confirmation. At this time, they being there present before Alexander, the controversy began first to be moved, or rather renewed, for the primacy betwixt the two metropolitans, that is, betwixt the archbishop of Canterbury and the archbishop of York, whether of them should have pre-eminence above the other; for Canterbury challenged to himself prerogative and the primacy over the whole of Britain and Ireland. The which contention continued a long season betwixt these two churches, and was often renewed in the days of divers kings after this; as in the reign of Henry I., betwixt Thurstin of York and Radulph of Canterbury; and again, in the seven and twentieth year of the said king, at his second coronation, for Radulph would not suffer the first coronation to stand, because it was done by the bishop of York, without his assent.[1] Also, in the reign of Henry II., where Pope Alexander III. made a letter decretal betwixt these two metropolitans, for bearing the cross, A.D. 1159. Also, another time, in the reign of the said king, betwixt Richard of Canterbury and Roger of York.[2] Again, about A.D. 1170, when Thomas Becket, hearing the king to be crowned of Roger, bishop of York, complained thereof grievously to Pope Alexander III. Item, another time, A.D. 1176, betwixt Richard and the said Roger, whether of them should sit on the right hand of Cardinal Hugo in his council in London. Moreover, in the beginning of the reign of King Richard, A.D. 1190, betwixt Baldwin of Canterbury and Godfrid of York.

See Appendix.

Now to proceed in the story hereof:[3] after this question was brought, as is said, to the pope's presence, he, not disposed to decide the matter, sent them home to England, there to have their cause determined. Whereupon they, speeding themselves from Rome to England, A.D. 1072, and in the sixth year (as it is said) of this William, brought the matter before the king and the clergy at Windsor. Where Lanfranc, first alleging for himself brought in, how that from the time of Austin to the time of Bede (which was about one hundred and forty years) the bishop of Canterbury had ever the primacy over the whole land of Britain and Ireland; how he kept his councils divers times within the precincts of York; how he did call and cite the bishops of York thereto, whereof some he did constitute, some he did excommunicate, and some he did remove: besides also he alleged divers privileges granted by princes and prelates to the primacy of that see.

See Appendix.

To this Thomas, archbishop of York, replieth again, and first beginning with the first original of the Britons' church declareth, in order of time, how the Britons, first possessioners of this kingdom of Britain, which endured from Brutus and Cadwallader two thousand and seventy-six years under a hundred and two kings, at length received the christian faith A.D. 180, in the time of Lucius,[4] their king; when Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, sent Faganus and Damianus preachers unto them; at which time, after their conversion, they assigned and ordained in the realm eight and twenty bishops, with two archbishops, Theonus, the archbishop of London, and Theodosius, archbishop of York. Under those bishops and

Lucius, the first king of Britain, christened.

Theonus, first archbishop of London.

(1) See Appendix. (2) See infrà, p. 257.
(3) This account is apparently taken from Brompton, Script. x. p. 970.—Ed. (4) See vol. i. 308.

archbishops the church of Britain was governed after their conversion, almost three hundred years, till at length the Saxons, being then infidels, with Hengist their king, subdued the Britons by fraudulent murder, and invaded their land, which was about A.D. 440.[1] After this, the Britons being driven into Cambria, which we now call Wales, the Saxons overrunning the land, divided themselves into seven kingdoms; and so, being infidels and pagans, continued till the time that Gregory, bishop of Rome, sent Augustine to preach unto them; who, coming first to Dover, being then the chief city of Kent (called in Latin Dorobernia), and there planting himself, converted first the king of Kent, called Ethelbert, who had then subdued certain other kings as far as the Humber. By reason of this Augustine was made archbishop of Dover, by the appointment of Gregory I., about A.D. 600, who sent him certain palls with his letter from Rome, as before is expressed,[2] which letter being recited, Thomas expounding upon the same, beginneth to declare for himself, how the meaning of Gregory in this letter was, to reduce the new church of Saxons or Englishmen to the order that was in the old time among the Britons; that is, to be under two metropolitans, one of London, the other of York; for so the church was ordered in the time of the Britons, as is before declared. Notwithstanding he giveth to Augustine this prerogative during his lifetime, to have authority and jurisdiction, not only over his twelve bishops, but upon all other bishops and priests in England; and after his decease then these two metropolitans, London and York, to oversee the whole clergy, as in times past amongst the Britons, whom he joineth together after the death of Augustine, to constitute bishops, and to oversee the church. That he meaneth London to be equal in authority with York, it appeareth by four arguments: First, in that he willeth London to be consecrated by no bishop, but of his own synod: Secondly, in that he willeth no distinction of honour to be betwixt London and York, but only according to that as each one of them is elder in time Thirdly, in that he matcheth these two together in common counsel and with one agreement to consent together in doing and disposing such things as they shall consult upon, in the zeal of Christ Jesus; and that, in such sort, that one should not dissent nor discord from the other; what meaneth this, but that they should govern together, whom he would not to dissent together? Fourthly, in that he writeth, that the bishop of York should not be subject to the bishop of London; what meaneth this, but that the bishop of London should be equivalent with the metropolitan of York, or rather superior unto him?

William the Conqueror. A.D. 1072.

This was about 150 years after the coming of the Saxons.

And thus he expounded the meaning of Gregory to be in the aforesaid letter. To whom Lanfranc again answereth, that he was not the bishop of London, and that the question pertained not to London. Thomas replieth, having on his part many favourers, that this privilege was granted by Gregory to Augustine alone, to have all other bishops subject to him; but after his decease there should be equality of honour betwixt London and York, without any distinction of priority, save only that priority of time should make superiority between them. And although Augustine translated the see from London to Kent, yet Gregory, if his mind had been to give the same

(1) Ex Chron. Sigeberti [read 456: see vol. i. p. 315.—Ed.] (2) See vol. i. p. 335.—Ed.

William the Conqueror. A. D. 1072.

prerogative to the successors of Augustine, which he gave to him, would expressly have uttered it in the words of his epistle, writing thus to Augustine: "That which I give to thee, Augustine, I give also and grant to all thy successors after thee." But in that he maketh here no mention of his successors, it appeareth thereby, that it was not his mind so to do.

To this Lanfranc argueth again, "If this authority had been given to Augustine alone, and not to his successors, it had been but a small gift, proceeding from the apostolic see, to his special and familiar friend; especially seeing also that Augustine in all his life did constitute no bishop of York, neither was there any such bishop to be subject to him. Again, we have privileges from the apostolic see, which confirm this dignity in the successors of Augustine, in the same see of Dover. Moreover, all Englishmen think it both right and reason to fetch the direction of well living from that place, where first they took the sparkle of right believing. Further, whereas you say that Gregory might have confirmed with plain words the same thing to the successors of Augustine, which he gave unto him; all that I grant: yet notwithstanding, this is nothing prejudicial to the see of Canterbury. For, if you know your logic, that which is true in the whole is also true in the part; and what is true in the more, is also true in the less. Now the church of Rome is as the whole, to whom all other churches be as parts thereof; and as 'homo,' *i. e.* mankind, is 'genus,' *i. e.* the general in a certain respect to all his 'individua,' *i. e.* to all particular persons, yet in every particular person lieth the property of the general; so in like manner the see of Rome in a certain respect is the general, and the whole to other churches, and yet in every particular church is contained the whole fulness of the whole christian faith. As the church of Rome is greater than all churches, that which is wrought in it ought to work in the less churches also, so that the authority of every chief head of the church ought to stand also in them that do succeed, unless there be any precise exception made by name. Wherefore like as the Lord said to all bishops of Rome the same thing which he said to Peter, so Gregory in like manner said to all the successors of Augustine, that which he said to Augustine. So thus I conclude—Likewise as the bishop of Canterbury is subject to Rome, because he had his faith from thence, so York ought to be in subjection to Canterbury, which sent the first preachers thither. Now, whereas you allege, that Gregory would Augustine to be resident in London, that is utterly uncertain, for how is it to be thought that such a disciple would do contrary to the mind of such a master? But grant, as you say, that Augustine removed to London, what is that to me, who am not bishop of London? Notwithstanding all this controversy ceasing betwixt us, if it shall please you to come to some peaceable composition with me, all contention set apart, you shall find me not out of the way, so far as reason and equity shall extend."

Dignity of Canterbury confirmed.

Well replied of an Italian.

If this similitude were formed into a syllogism, neither were the major true; and especially the minor were utterly false.

With these reasons of Lanfranc, Thomas gave over, condescending that his province should begin at the Humber. Whereupon it was then decreed that York from that time should be subject to Canterbury in all matters appertaining to the rites and regiment of the catholic church; so that wheresoever within England Canter-

bury should or would hold his council, the bishop of York should resort thither with his bishops, and be obedient to his decrees canonical. Provided moreover that when the bishop of Canterbury should decease, York should repair unto Dover, there to consecrate with others the bishop that should be elect. And if York should decease, his successor should resort to Canterbury, or else where the bishop of Canterbury should appoint, there to receive his consecration, making his profession there, with an oath of canonical obedience. Thomas being content withal, Lanfranc, the Italian, triumpheth with no small joy, and putteth the matter forthwith in writing, that the memory thereof might remain to the posterity of his successors. But yet that decree did not long stand; for, shortly after, the same scar, so superficially cured, burst out again, insomuch that in the reign of King Henry I., A.D. 1121, Thurstin, archbishop of York, could not be compelled to swear to the archbishop of Canterbury; and yet, notwithstanding, by the letters of Calixtus II., was consecrated without any profession made to the said bishop, with much more matter of contention, all which to recite it were too long. But this I thought to commit to history, to the intent men might see the lamentable decay of true Christianity amongst the christian bishops, who, inflamed with glorious ambition, so contended for honour, that without mere forcement of law, no modesty could take place.

William the Conqueror. A.D. 1072.

Of such like contentions among prelates of the clergy for superiority, we read of divers in old chronicles, as in the history entitled Chronicon Hirsfeldense, where is declared a bloody conflict, which twice happened in the church of Goslar, between Hecelon, bishop of Hildesheim, and Wederatus, bishop of Fulda, and all for the superior place, who should sit next to the emperor; the emperor himself being there present, and looking on, and yet not able to stay them.

See Appendix

Thus I have described the troublous contention between Lanfranc and Thomas, metropolitan of York, in the days of Alexander, of which controversy, and of the whole discourse thereof, Lanfranc writeth to Pope Alexander.[1]

In the story before of King Egelred, was declared, about A.D. 1016, how the bishopric of Lindisfarne, otherwise named Holy-island, in the flood of Tweed, was translated to Durham; so likewise in the days of this Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1076, divers bishops' sees were altered and removed from townships to greater cities; as the bishopric of Selsey, to Chichester; of Cornwall to Exeter; of Wells to Bath; of Sherborne to Salisbury; of Dorchester to Lincoln; of Lichfield to Chester; the bishopric of Chester, Robert being then bishop, being reduced from Chester to Coventry. Likewise after that, in the reign of William Rufus, A.D. 1095, Herbert, bishop of Thetford, from thence reduced the see to Norwich, &c.

Bishops' sees translated in England

As concerning Dover and Canterbury, whether the see was likewise translated from the town of Dover to the city of Canterbury in

(1) The letter of Lanfranc sent to Pope Alexander begins thus:—"Domino totius Christianæ religionis summo speculatori Alex. papæ Lanefrancus, sanctæ Dorobernensis ecclesiæ antistes, debitam cum omni servitute obedientiam. In concilio quod Angliæ per vestram authoritatem coactum est, ubi querelæ Thomæ Archiepiscopi prolatæ et ventilatæ sunt, allata est Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum Historia, quam Eboracensis ecclesiæ Presbyter, et Anglorum doctor Beda composuit:" and so forth, in a long process of words which follow; among which, in the middle of the epistle, speaking of Dover and Canterbury, he hath these words: "Urbs namque, quæ nunc Cantuarberia nominatur, antiquis temporibus, ab ipsius terræ incolis Dorobernia vocabatur," &c. With many other words in the said epistle, which for brevity I here over-pass.

William the Conqueror. A. D. 1072.

the time of Theodore, or whether Canterbury in old time had the name of Dorobernia, as the letter of Lanfranc to Pope Alexander abovementioned doth pretend, I find it not in histories expressly defined; save that I read in the words of William, being yet duke of Normandy, charging then Harold to make a well of water for the king's use in the castle of Dorobernia, that the said Dorobernia then was taken for that which we now call Dover; but whether Dorobernia and the city of Canterbury be both one or divers, the matter is not great. Notwithstanding this I read in the epistle of Pope Boniface III. to King Ethelbert, as also in one of Boniface V. to Justus, the archbishop; in one of Pope Honorius I. to archbp. Honorius; in one of Pope Vitalian to Theodore; in one of Pope Sergius I. to kings Ethelred, Alfred, and Adulphus, and to the bishops of England; likewise in one of Pope Gregory III. to the bishops of England; of Pope Leo III. to Athelard, archbishop of Canterbury; of Formosus to the bishops of England; and of Pope John XII. to Dunstan; that the names of Dorobernia and Canterbury indifferently are taken for one matter.[1]

See Appendix.

Council holden at London, A.D.1075.

In this time, and by the procuring of this Lanfranc, the ninth year of this king a council was holden at London, where among the acts thereof these were the principal things concluded:[2]—

See Appendix

I. For the order of sitting, that the archbishop of York should sit on the right hand and the bishop of London on the left hand,[4] and Winchester next to York; or in the absence of York, London should have the right, and Winchester the left hand of the archbishop of Canterbury sitting in council.

II. That bishops should translate their sees from villages into cities: whereupon the sees of Sherborn, Selsey, and Lichfield, were translated to Salisbury, Chichester, and Chester: some others were reserved for the king's decision on his return from France.[3]

III. That monks should have nothing in proper; and if any so had, he dying unconfessed should not be rung for, nor buried in the churchyard, nor mass said for his soul.

IV. That no clerk or monk of any other diocese should be retained as such, or admitted to orders, without letters commendatory or testimonial.

V. That none should speak in the council except bishops and abbots, without leave of the metropolitan.

VI. That none should marry within the seventh degree, with any either of his own kindred, or kindred of his wife's departed.

VII. That none should either buy or sell holy orders, or any office within the church pertaining to the cure of souls.

VIII. That no sorcery or any divination should be used or permitted.

IX. That no bishop or abbot, or any of the clergy, should be at the judgment of any man's death or dismembering, neither should be any fautor of the judicants in such causes.

Bishops of England drive out monks, and place priests in their stead.

Moreover in the days of this Lanfranc divers good bishops of the realm began to take part with priests against the monks, in displacing these out of their churches, and to restore the married priests again, insomuch that Walkelm, bishop of Winchester, had placed above forty canons instead of monks for his part; but this godly enterprize was stopped by stout Lanfranc, the Italian Lombard. This lusty prelate sat nineteen years, but at his latter end he was not so favoured of William Rufus, and died for sorrow. Although this Italian Frank being archbishop had little leisure to write, yet something he thought to do to set out his famous learning, and wrote a book against Berengarius, entitling it "Opus Scintillarum." The

(1) Eadmer, W. Malmesb. de gestis Pont.—Ed.

(2) See Malmesbury, also Wilkins's Conc. i. 363, 364; whence the text is revised.—Ed.

See Appendix.

(3) See last page.—Ed.

(4) *i. e.* of the archbishop of Canterbury.—Ed.

old church of Canterbury he plucked down, and builded up the new. *William the Conqueror.*

After [1]the death of Pope Alexander II., abovementioned, next unto him followed Hildebrand, surnamed Gregory VII. This Hildebrand, as he was a sorcerer, so was he the first and principal cause of all this perturbation that is now, and hath been since his time, in the church; by reason that through his example all this ambition, stoutness, and pride, entered first into the church of Rome, and hath ever since continued. For before Hildebrand came to Rome, working there his feats, setting up and displacing what bishops he listed, corrupting them with pernicious counsel, and setting them against emperors, under pretence of chastity destroying matrimony, and under the title of liberty breaking peace, and resisting authority; before this, I say, the church of Rome was in some order, and bishops quietly governed under christian emperors, and also were defended by the same; as Marcellus, Miltiades, and Sylvester, were subdued and under obedience to Constantine, A.D. 340; Siricius to Theodosius, A.D. 388; Hilary to Justinian, A.D. 528; Gregory to Mauritius, A.D. 600; Adrian and Leo to Charlemagne, A.D. 801; Paschal and Valentine to Ludovicus Pius, A.D. 820: Sergius II. unto Lothaire, A.D. 845; Benedict III. and John VIII. unto Louis, son of Lothaire, A.D. 856.

A.D. 1073

See Appendix.

Hildebrand, the cause of all the stoutness and pride in prelates.

The obedience of bishops in ancient time to emperors. *See Appendix.*

Against this obedience and subjection Hildebrand was the first who began to spurn, and by his example taught all other bishops to do the like; insomuch that at length they wrought and brought to pass that it should be lawful for a few courtesans and cardinals (contrary to ancient ordinance and statutes decretal) to choose what pope they list, without any consent of the emperor at all. And whereas before it stood in the emperors' gift to give and to grant bishoprics, archbishoprics, benefices, and other ecclesiastical preferments within their own limits, to whom they list; now the popes, through much wrestling, wars, and contention, have extorted all that into their own hands, and to their assigns, yea, have plucked in all the riches and power of the whole world; and not content with that, have usurped and prevailed so much above emperors, that, as before, no pope might be chosen without the confirmation of the emperor, so now no emperor may be elected without the confirmation of the pope, taking upon them more than princes to place or displace emperors at their pleasure for every light cause, and to put down or set up when and whom they listed; as Frederic I., for holding the left stirrup of the pope's saddle, was persecuted almost to excommunication; which cause moveth me to strain more diligence here, in setting out the history, acts, and doings of this Hildebrand, from whom, as the first patron and founder, sprang all this ambition and contention about the liberties and dominion of the Roman church; to the intent that such as cannot read the Latin histories may understand in English the original of evils: how and by what occasion they first began, and how long they have continued.

Popes have usurped more than princes.

Frederic I. for holding the pope's left stirrup, is persecuted.

And first, how this Hildebrand hitherto had behaved himself before he was pope, I have partly declared. For though he was not yet pope in name, yet he was then pope indeed, and ruled the popes and all their doings as him listed. Item, what ways and fetches he

(1) See Appendix.—Ed.

William the Conqueror. A.D. 1073.

had attempted ever since his first coming to the court of Rome, to magnify and maintain false liberty against true authority; what practice he wrought by councils, what factions and conspiracies he made, in stirring up popes against emperors, striving for superiority; and what wars followed thereof, I have also expressed. Now let us see further (by the help of Christ) the worthy virtues of this princely prelate, after he came to be pope, as they remain in histories of divers and sundry writers described.

The tragical history of Gregory VII., otherwise named Hildebrand.

A.D. 1073.

Hitherto[1] the bishops of Rome have been elected by voices and suffrages of all sorts and degrees, as well of the priests and the clergy, as of the nobility, people, and senate, all conventing and assembling together. And this election I find to stand in force, if so be it were ratified and confirmed by the consent of the Roman emperors, who had authority to call these, as well as other bishops, unto councils as case required. Moreover, all other prelates whatsoever, and the masters of monasteries and religious houses—both in Germany, France, Italy, and throughout the whole Roman world—according to the ancient usage were appointed by the emperors, with the advice of their council, and by the suffrages of the chief estates assembled together, as is declared by Aventine in his account of Charlemagne. The holy and ancient fathers (like as Christ our Lord with his disciples and apostles both taught and did) honoured and esteemed their emperors as the supreme potestate next under God on earth, as above all other mortal men, and as set up, ordained, elected, and crowned of God, and called them their lords. To them they yielded tribute, and paid their subsidies, and also prayed every day for their life. Such as rebelled against them they took as rebels and resisters against God's ordinance and christian piety. The name of the emperor then was of great majesty, and received as given from God. Then these fathers of the church never intermeddled nor entangled themselves with politic affairs of the commonweal; much less occupied they martial arms and matters of chivalry. Only in poverty and modesty was all their contention with other christians, who should be poorest and most modest among them, and the more humbleness appeared in any, the higher opinion they conceived of him. The sharp and two-edged sword they took, given to the church of Christ, to save, and not to kill; to quicken, and not to destroy; and called it the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, the life and light of men, and revoketh from death to life, making of men, gods; of mortal, immortal. Far were they from that, to thrust out any prince or king (though he were ever so far out of the way, yea an Arian) from his kingdom, or to curse him, to release his subjects from their oath and their allegiance, to change and translate kingdoms, to subvert empires, to pollute themselves with christian blood, or to war with their christian brethren for rule and principality. This was not their spirit and manner then, but rather they loved and obeyed their princes. Again, princes loved them also like fathers

See Appendix.

The state of the old church in times past.

Reverence and obedience given to princes.

The manner and virtue of the forefathers of the church.

(1) The words of the Latin History be these:—"Hactenus Pontifices Rom. comitiis curiatis, calatis, a sacerdotibus, equitatu, plebe, senatu," &c.—Ex Aventino. [See Appendix.—Ed.]

and fellow-princes with them over the souls of men. Now this Gregory VII., otherwise named Hildebrand, trusting to the Normans, who then ruffled about Apulia, Calabria, and Campania, trusting also to the power of Matilda, a stout woman there about Rome, and partly again bearing himself bold for the discord among the Germans, first of all others (contrary to the manner of the elders) contemning the authority of the emperor, invaded the cathedral see of Rome, vaunting himself as having both the ecclesiastical and temporal sword committed to him by Christ, and that fulness of power was in his hand, to bind and loose whatsoever he listed. Wherenpon thus he presumed to occupy both the regiments, to challenge all the whole dominion of the West, yea, and to encroach all power to himself alone, abiding none to be equal, much less superior unto him; derogating from others, and arrogating to himself their due right and honour, setting at light Cesars, kings, and emperors, as who thus reigned but by his own god-a-mercy.[1] Bishops and prelates as his underlings he kept in awe, suspending and cursing, and chopping off their heads, stirring up strife and wars, sowing of discord, making factions, releasing oaths, defeating fidelity and due allegiance of subjects to their princes. Yea, and if he had offended or injured the emperor himself, yet notwithstanding he ought to be feared, as he himself glorieth in a certain epistle, as one that could not err, and had received of Christ our Saviour, and of Peter, authority to bind and unbind at his will and pleasure. Priests then in those days had wives openly and lawfully (no law forbidding to the contrary), as appeareth by the deeds and writings of the donations, which were given to churches and monasteries, wherein their wives also be cited with them for witness, and are called Presbyterissæ.[2] Also bishops, prelates, parsons of churches, governors of the clergy, masters of monasteries and religious houses—all these were, in those times, in the emperor's ordination, to assign by voice or consent to whom he would. Now these two things this Pope Gregory could not abide; for which two causes only was all his striving and driving from his first beginning to abolish the marriage of priests, and to translate the authority imperial to the clergy; for to this scope only tended all his labour, practice, and devices, as appeared before in the council of Lateran under Pope Nicholas, and also in the council of Mantua under Alexander, making their marriage heresy, and the other to be simony. And that which before he went about by others, now he practiseth by himself, to condemn ministers that were married for Nicolaitans, and to treat any spiritual regiment of secular persons as simony, directing forth his letters upon the same to Henry the emperor; also to dukes, princes, potestates, tetrarchs; namely to Berchtold duke of Zeringhen, to Rodolph duke of Suabia, to Welph duke of Bavaria, Adalberon bishop of Wurtzburg, and to their wives; item, to bishops, archbishops, priests, and to all the people. In the which letters he denounceth them to be no priests, so many as were married, forbidding men to salute them, to talk, to eat, to company with them, to pay them tithes, or to obey them, if they would not be obedient to him. Amongst all other he directed special letters to Otho, bishop of Constance, concerning this matter; but Otho, perceiving the ungodly and unreasonable pretence

William the Conqueror.

A. D. 1074.

The ambitious presumption of Hildebrand.

See Appendix.

Priests' wives called Presbyterissæ.

See Appendix.

Hildebrand a mortal enemy to priests' marriages.

A.D.1074.

Priests' marriage made heresy and spiritual regiment of secular persons held to be simony.

(1) "Ut precariò regnantes."—Ed. (2) Ex Aventino, qui invenit in instrumentis donationum.

William the Conqueror.

of Hildebrand, would neither separate those who were married from their wives, nor yet forbid those to marry who were unmarried"

A.D. 1074.

The copy of the letter of Hildebrand sent to the bishop of Constance, against priests' marriages.

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the clergy and laity, both more and less, within the diocese of Constance, salutation and benediction. We have directed to our brother Otho, your bishop, our letters exhortatory; wherein we enjoined him, according to the necessity of our duty, by the authority apostolical, that he should utterly abolish out of his church the heresy of simony, and also should cause with all diligence to be preached the chastity of priests. But he, neither moved with reverence for St. Peter's precept, nor yet with the regard of his duty, neglected to do these things, whereunto we so fatherly have exhorted him; incurring thereby a double offence, not only of disobedience, but also of rebellion, in that he hath gone and done clean contrary to our commandment, yea, rather the commandment of blessed St. Peter, so that he hath permitted his clergy, not only such as had wives, not to put them away, but also such as had none, to take unto them. Whereupon we being truly informed thereof, and grieved therewith, have directed to him another letter, declaring the motion of our displeasure and indignation. In which letters also we have cited him up to our council at Rome, there to appear and give account of his disobedience in the audience of the whole synod. And now therefore we thought it best to signify this to you (our dear children), whereby in this behalf we might the better provide for your health and salvation; for if your bishop shall continue so obstinately to repugn and resist against our commandment, he is not meet to sit over you, &c. Wherefore these shall be to command you, and all those that be obedient to God, and to blessed St. Peter, by our apostolical authority, that if this your bishop shall persist in his obstinacy, you that be his subjects hereafter give to him no service nor obedience; for the which thing doing, we here discharge you before God and your souls. For if your bishop shall seem contrary to the decreements and injunctions apostolical, we, through the apostolical authority of St. Peter, discharge and absolve you from the band of your allegiance to him. So that if you be sworn to him, so long as he is a rebel against God and the apostolic seat, we loose you from the peril of your oath, that you shall not need to fear therein any danger, &c.

Otho, bishop of Constance, cited to appear, for allowing priests their lawful wives.

The pope dispenseth for disobedience.

Otho, bishop of Constance, thus being cited, whether he did appear personally himself, I do not read. This I read and find, that in the said council holden at Rome, Hildebrand, with other bishops of Rome, did then enact, among many others, these three things most special:—First, that no priest, hereafter, should marry. Secondly, that all such as were married should be divorced. Thirdly, that none hereafter should be admitted to the order of priesthood, but should swear perpetual chastity, &c. This council of Rome being ended, forthwith the act of Hildebrand concerning the single life of priests was proclaimed and published in all places, and strict commandment given to bishops to execute the same.

March, A.D.1074.

Here cometh in the vow of chastity.

The copy of his Bull sent into Italy and Germany.

Gregory, the pope, otherwise Hildebrand, the servant of the servants of God, sendeth the apostle's blessing to all those within the kingdoms of Italy and Germany, who show their true obedience to St. Peter. If there be any priests, deacons, and subdeacons, that still will remain in the sin of fornication, we forbid them the church's entrance, by the omnipotent power of God, and by the authority of St. Peter, till in time they amend and repent. But, if they persevere in their sin, we charge that none of you presume to hear their service; for their blessing is turned into cursing, and their prayer into sin, as the Lord doth testify to us by his prophets, "I will turn your blessing," &c.

William the Conqueror.
A. D. 1074.

The bishops of France being called upon daily with the pope's letters, were compelled to obey the decree of the council; but the residue of the clergy, manfully and stoutly withstanding the pope's decree and enforcement of their bishops, would not agree, but repined thereat, and said that the council did manifestly repugn against the word of God, and that the pope did take from priests that which both God and nature had given them; and therefore that that person was a heretic, and author of a wicked doctrine, who ruled and governed not by the Spirit of God, but by Satan. That the decree and act set forth tended directly against the word of God and the saying of Christ,—"Non omnes capiunt verbum hoc:" "All men have not the gift and capacity of this word." Also that it was against the sound doctrine of St. Paul, writing these words,—"As concerning virginity, I have no commandment of the Lord," &c.; again; "He that cannot otherwise live continent, let him marry." Also, that it was against the canons both of the apostles and of the Nicene Council. Moreover, that it was against the course of nature, which he required, namely, that men being sequestered from their natural wives and women, should be coacted to live as angels; that is, to perform that which nature doth not give; and, therefore, that the bishop therein did open a pernicious window to uncleanness and to fornication. In sum, giving up their answer, thus they concluded: that they had rather give up their benefices than forsake their natural and lawful wives, against the word of Christ; and, finally, if married priests could not please them, they should call down angels from heaven to serve the churches. But Hildebrand, nothing moved, neither with honest reason nor with the authority of holy Scripture, nor with the determination of the Nicene Council, nor any thing else, followeth up this matter, and calling upon the bishops still, with his letters and legates, doth solicit their minds, accusing them of negligence and dastardliness, and threatening them with excommunication, unless they cause their priests to obey his decree enjoined them. Whereupon a great number of bishops, for fear of the pope's tyranny, laboured the matter with their priests, by all means possible, to bereave them of their accustomed matrimony.

The clergy of France resist the bull. *See Appendix.*

Amongst others, the archbishop of Mentz, perceiving this act of taking away priests' marriage might breed him no little trouble, talketh with his clergy gently, admonisheth them of the pope's mind and decree, and giveth them half a year's respite to deliberate upon the case;[1] exhorting them diligently to show themselves obedient to the pope and to him, and to grant with good will that which at length, will they, nill they, they must needs be forced unto; and therefore of their own accord to stand content therewith, lest the pope should be compelled to attempt ways of sharper severity. The time of deliberation expired, the archbishop assembleth his clergy at Erfurdt, in the month of October, and there willeth them, according to the pontifical decree, either to abjure for ever all matrimony, or else to renounce their benefices and ecclesiastical livings. The clergy again defend themselves against the pope's decree with the Scriptures, with reason, with the acts of general councils, with the examples of their

Bishop of Mentz.

The priests of Germany stout against the pope's unlawful proceedings.

(1) Ex Lamberto Scafnaburgensi, in Hist. Germanorum.

William the Conqueror. A. D. 1075.

ancestors, by divers strong arguments declaring the pope's decree not to be consonant nor one that ought to take effect. But the archbishop said he was compelled so of the pope, and could not otherwise do, but execute that was enjoined him.

The clergy seeing that no reason nor prayer, nor disputation would serve, left the synod on pretence of consulting among themselves what was best to be done. Some gave counsel not to return again to the synod: some thought it good to return and to thrust out the archbishop from his see, and to give him due punishment of death for his deserving, that by the example of him other might be warned hereafter never to attempt that thing any more, to the prejudice of the church and the rightful liberty of ministers. After that it was signified to the archbishop by certain spies that were amongst them, what the clergy intended to do, the archbishop, to prevent and salve the matter, sendeth to the priests certain messengers, bidding them to compose their minds and to return again to the synod, and promising that on the first favourable opportunity he would send to Rome and do his endeavour what he could to revoke and turn the mind of the bishop of Rome from the rigour of that sentence. So being persuaded, the next day they came again to the synod. The next year following, in A D.1075. the month of October, the archbishop of Mentz assembled there a council, to the which Hildebrand, the soldier of Satan, sendeth his legate, the bishop of Coire, with letters, wherein the archbishop was directed, under pain of degradation, again to propose the matter, and command all his clergy there to abrenounce for ever either their wives or their cure and ministry. The clergy defended their cause again with great constancy: but when no defension could take place, but all went by tyranny and mere extortion, it burst in the end to an uproar and tumult, where the legate and the archbishop, being in great danger, hardly escaped with their lives; and so the council brake up.[1] By this schism and tumult it followed, that the churches after that, in choosing their priests, would not send them to the bishops (the enemies and suppressors of matrimony) to be confirmed and inducted, but did elect them within themselves, and so put them in their office without all leave or knowledge of bishops; who then agreed and were determined to admit no priests, but such as should take an oath of perpetual singleness, never to marry after: and thus first came up the oath and profession of single priesthood. Notwithstanding, if other nations had followed the like constancy and concord of these German ministers, the devilish drift and decree of this Hildebrand, or rather 'Hellbrand,'[2] had been frustrate and avoided; but this greediness of livings in weak priests made them to yield up their godly liberty to wicked tyranny. Yet this remaineth in these Germans to be noted, what concord can do in repressing inordinate requests of evil bishops if they constantly stand to the truth, and hold together. And thus much for banishing of matrimony.[3]

Single priesthood, how it began.

Example of concord among priests and ministers.

Now let us proceed to the contentions between wicked Hildebrand and the godly emperor. But before, by the way of digression, it shall not be much wide from the purpose to touch a little of the properties of this pope, as we find them described in certain epistles of Benno, a cardinal, writing to other cardinals of Rome; which

(1) Lambert Schaffenburg. See Appendix.—Ed. (2) See Appendix. (3) Ibid.

William the Conqueror.

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Benno lived in the same time of Hildebrand, and detecteth the prodigious acts and doings of this monstrous pope. First he declares that he was a sorcerer most notable, and a necromancer, an old companion of Sylvester, of Laurentius, and Theophylact, called otherwise Benedict IX. Amongst others, Benno the cardinal writeth this history of him:[1]

"Upon a certain time this Gregory, coming from Albano to Rome, had forgot behind him his familiar book of necromancy, which he was wont commonly to carry always with him. Whereupon remembering himself, on entering the port of Lateran, he calleth two of his most trusty familiars to fetch the book, charging them on no account to look within it. But they being so restrained, were the more desirous to open it, and to peruse it, and so did. After they had read a little the secrets of the satanical book, suddenly there came about them the messengers of Satan, the multitude and terror of whom made them almost out of their wits. At length, they coming to themselves, the spirits were instant upon them to know wherefore they were called up, wherefore they were vexed; 'quickly,' said they, 'tell us what ye would us to do, or else we will fall upon you, if ye retain us longer.' Then spake one of the young men to them, bidding them go and pluck down yonder walls, pointing unto certain high walls there nigh to Rome, which they did in a moment. The young men crossing themselves for fear of the spirits, and scarcely recovering themselves, at length came to their master."[2]

See Appendix.

We read, moreover, in the epistle of the said Benno to the cardinals, as followeth:[2]—

Pope Hildebrand forsaken by divers of his cardinals.

"We have divers eminent persons and colleges of the church of Rome to mention, which refused to communicate with him; as Leo, then arch-priest of the cardinals, Benno, Ugobald, John the cardinal, and Peter, chancellor and cardinal, who were all instituted before this Hildebrand. These three, who were consecrated by him, that is to say, Natro, Innocent, and Leo, forsook him, cursing the detestable errors which he held: in like case Theodinus, whom he constituted archdeacon, and other cardinal-deacons more, John the present archdeacon, and Crescentius, John the master of the singing school,[2] with all his company, and Peter the Oblationer, with all his company except one; and certain others. And now, when this Hildebrand saw that the bishops also would forsake him, he called unto him the laymen and made them privy of his design, that he intended to separate the bishops, that they should have no conference with the cardinals. After that he called together those bishops, and being guarded with bands of laymen he enforced the bishops, partly for fear, and partly by his menacing words, to swear unto him, that they should never disagree unto that which he would have done, that they should never defend the king's quarrel, and that they should never favour or obey the pope that should in his stead be instituted. Which thing being done, he sent them, by means of the prince of Salerno, into Campagna; and thus did he separate them from the company of the cardinals, and from the city of Rome. And not only the bishops, but also the priests of the city, and clerks of inferior orders, as also the laymen, he bound by their oaths, that at no time nor for any cause they should condescend unto the king.

See Appendix.

He compelleth the bishops and priests of Rome to swear unto him.

"As soon as Pope Alexander was dead, who died somewhat before night, the same day, contrary to the canons, he was chosen pope of the laymen; but the cardinals subscribed not to his election, for the canons prescribe, under pain of cursing, that none should be chosen pope before the third day after the burial of his predecessor. But he, having thus by sinister means climbed to the see, removed the cardinals of the sacred see from being his privy council. With what persons, however, he consulted night and day, Rome well heard and saw. And he now, having put the cardinals from his counsels and person, his life, faith, and doctrine, no man could accuse or bear witness of; whereas in the canons is commanded,[3] that whersoever the pope is, there should be with him three cardinal-priests and two deacons, to be his ecclesiastical witnesses, and for the honour of the

Pope Hildebrand unorderly made pope.

At which canonical decree look, gentle reader, before.[3]

(1) "Benno, Germanus, eccl. Rom. archi-presbyter et cardinalis à Clemente III. antipapâ, in Gregorii VII. (sententiâ synodali depositi) locum à concilio Brixiensi anno 1080 subrogato, factus. Clementis partibus constantissimè adhæsit, Gregorio VII. hostis infensissimus: quo nomine plenis conviciorum ac calumniarum plaustris a Baronio aliisque scriptoribus pontificiis obruitur." Cave. —Ed. (2) See Appendix. (3) Ed. 1570 refers to vol. i. p. 114: add p. 193.—Ed.

William the Conqueror.

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truth.[1] He violently wrested the sacred Scriptures to cover his falsehood; which kind of idolatry how great it is, manifestly throughout all the Scripture appeareth. Contrary to the minds and counsel of the cardinals, and beside the order of pronouncing judgment determined by the canons, he rashly did excommunicate the emperor, being in no synod canonically accused before, to the which excommunication (saith Benno) none of the cardinals subscribed.[2] As soon as he arose out of his seat papal to excommunicate the emperor, the same seat, being made but a little before with the strongest timber, suddenly, by the appointment of God, was rent and shivered in pieces; that all men might plainly understand, how great and terrible schisms that lubber was sowing against the church of Christ, and against the seat of St. Peter, by that his so perilous and presumptuous excommunication, and how cruelly he was breaking in pieces the chair of Christ, in trampling on the laws of the church, and ruling by might and austerity.

The emperor wrongfully excommunicated. The pope's chair breaks under him as he rises to excommunicate the emperor.

"In the body of the said excommunication he inserted those very things wherein he himself erred from the catholic faith, viz. how he cut off the emperor by an unjust excommunication, and the bishops also communicating with him, and those who communicated with them; and thus rending the unity of the church, did as much as in him lay to make two churches.

The pope divideth the unity of the church.

"Also the same bold merchant commanded that the cardinals should fast, to the intent that God might reveal whose opinion was better, whether that of the church of Rome, or of Berengarius, touching the controversy of the Lord's body in the sacrament. And hereby he proved himself to be a manifest infidel, for that in the Nicene Council it is written, 'He that doubteth in the faith is an infidel.'

Of this miracle we read in no approved history.

"Further he sought for the sign to establish his faith concerning the article of the Lord's body, which was vouchsafed to Gregory to confirm a woman's faith, when the consecrated bread was transubstantiated into the form of a finger. He also sent two cardinals, Atto and Cuno, to St. Anastasie's, that with Suppo the arch-priest of the same church they should begin a fast of three days' space, and that every one of them, every day during those three days, should say over the Psalter, and sing masses, that Christ might show unto them the aforesaid sign of his body; which thing they could not obtain.

"The emperor was wont oftentimes to go to St. Mary's church, in the mount Aventine, to pray. Hildebrand, when he had by his espials searched out and knew all the doings of the emperor, caused the place to be marked where the emperor was accustomed, either standing or prostrate on his face, to pray, and for money he hired a naughty pack like himself, to gather and lay together a heap of great stones on the beams in the vaulted roof of the church, directly over the place where the emperor would stand, that in throwing the same down upon his head, he might slay the emperor. About which purpose as the hireling hasted and was busy removing to the place a stone of great hugeness and weight, it broke the plank whereon it lay, and, the hireling standing thereupon, both together fell down from the roof to the pavement of the church, and with the same was dashed all in pieces. After the Romans had understanding of the handling of this matter, they fastened a rope to one of the feet of this hireling, and caused him to be drawn through the streets of the city three days together for an example to others. The emperor, notwithstanding, according to his wonted clemency, caused him to be buried.

The pope hireth one to slay the emperor.

Hildebrand casteth the sacrament of the Lord's body into the fire, because it would give him no answer.

"John, bishop of Porto, being one of the secret council of Hildebrand, came up into the pulpit of St. Peter, and amongst other things, in the hearing both of the clergy and people, said, 'Hildebrand and we have committed such a deed, and so horrible, for the which we are all worthy to be burned alive,' meaning of the sacrament of the body of Christ; which sacrament Hildebrand, when he thereof required a divine answer against the emperor, and it would not speak, threw into the fire and burned it, contrary to the persuasion of the cardinals who were there present, and would have resisted the same.

"On the Monday in the Easter-week, when the clergy and the people were assembled at St. Peter's church to hear mass, after the gospel he went up into the pulpit, arrayed in his pontifical attire, and, in the presence of divers bishops and cardinals, and of a great company of the clergy, and of the senate and people of Rome, openly preached, among many other words of divination, that

(1) See Appendix.

(2) The sentence of which excommunication, after rehearsal of these presents, shall also be manifested (Christ willing).

See Appendix

king Henry should die, without all peradventure, before the feast of St. Peter next ensuing; or else, at leastwise, that he should be so dejected from his kingdom, that he should not be able to muster above the number of six knights. He also declared from the pulpit with a loud voice to the bishops and cardinals, and to all that were present, 'Never accept me for pope any more, but pluck me from the altar, if this prophecy be not fulfilled by the day appointed.' About the same time he went about, by help of privy murderers, to kill the emperor, but God preserved him. And many there were, even at the time, who thought Pope Hildebrand to have been privy to, nay, the deviser of, the treason, because that just before the attempt was made he presumed on the death of the king, being by him falsely prophesied of before; which words of his struck many men's hearts. And so it came to pass that Hildebrand was openly condemned by his own mouth in the congregation, because, as we have said, he had adjudged himself to be no pope, neither that he ought be counted for pope any longer, but a traitor and liar, unless that before the feast of St. Peter, next coming, the emperor should die, or else should be deprived of all kingly honour, insomuch that he should not be able to muster above six knights on his part. And thus by the appointment of God it came to pass, that by his own mouth he was condemned for a heretic.

William the Conqueror. A. D. 1075.

The pope seeketh again to murder the emperor.

The pope by his own mouth condemned for a heretic.

"Thus saith the Lord, The prophet who of arrogancy will prophesy in my name those things which I have not commanded him, or else will prophesy in the name of other gods, let him be slain. And if thou shalt say with thyself, How shall I know what thing it is that the Lord hath not commanded to be spoken? this token shalt thou have to know it by: whatsoever thing the prophet shall prophesy in the name of the Lord, and the same come not to pass, that mayest thou be sure the Lord hath not spoken, but the prophet hath imagined through the haughtiness of his own mind, and therefore thou shalt not be afraid of him.'

"'When the time was expired which Hildebrand in his divination had set, and yet neither the king was dead, nor the number of his troops impaired; fearing, lest by the words of his own mouth he should be entrapped and condemned, subtilely he turned his tale, saying, and persuading the ignorant people, that he meant not of the body of the king, but of his soul; as though the soul of the king had lost all, saving six, of his knights, or else had been dead during that space; and thus by these sleights he beguiled the ignorant people. Against such prophets St. Gregory on Ezekiel saith, 'Between true prophets and false this difference there is, that true prophets, if they speak any thing of their own mind, they be soon rebuked; but the false prophets both tell lies, and, not having the spirit of truth, persevere in their falsity.'

The emperor preserved by the power of God, and the pope a false prophet.

"Over and besides, the said Hildebrand sentenced to death three men, before they were convicted, or had confessed their crime, without the sentence of any secular judge, and caused them to be hanged upon a pair of gallows, over against the church of St. Peter, in a place called Palatiolum, without any delay or advisement, contrary to the laws which command, that even notorious criminals should have thirty days' space before they be put to execution; which thing even amongst the pagans is in use and observed, as teacheth the authority of St. Ambrose, and the martyrdom of holy Marcellinus and Marcus.

Three persons put to death by Hildebrand against all law.

"He cast Centius the son of Stephen, the præfect, into prison, being before his trusty friend; and, in a vessel thick set with sharp nails, he put him to tortures worse than a thousand deaths; who, after he was escaped, apprehended the said Hildebrand. Of this apprehension, before he was set at liberty, he openly forgave all the conspirators; which thing afterwards, contrary to good faith, he revoked, and in revenge persecuted Centius, to whom he had forgiven all offences, and nine of his men he hanged upon the gallows before St. Peter's porch.

Centius tortured by the pope.

"There was, at the apprehension of Pope Hildebrand, a certain widow's son, to whom, and to others more, for their penance, he enjoined a year's banishment; which time being run out, the widow, in token of more ample satisfaction, thinking thereby to have appeased the mind of Hildebrand, put a halter about her son's neck, and drawing him by the rope to the feet of Hildebrand said, 'My lord pope, at your hands will I receive again my son, who one whole year hath endured banishment, and other penance, by your holiness enjoined.' Then the said Hildebrand, dissembling his wrath for that instant because of

William the Conqueror. A.D. 1075.

those who were with him in company, delivered her her son very churlishly, saying, 'Get thee hence, woman, I bid thee, and let me be at rest.' After this he sent his officers, and apprehended the widow's son, and gave commandment to the judges to put him to death; who with one consent answered and said, 'That they could no more condemn or meddle with him, for that he had appealed once to the pope, and abidden the banishment, and done the penance by him enjoined for his crime committed.' Hereupon this glorious Hildebrand, displeased with the judges, caused the foot of the widow's son to be cut off, making neither repentance, nor the laws and ordinances, to be of any estimation with him; and thus, his foot being cut off, he died within three days after with the pain thereof. Many other wicked deeds did this Hildebrand, upon whom the blood of the church crieth vengeance, shed by the sword of his tongue, with miserable treachery; for which things, and that justly, the church refused to communicate with him."[1]

The villany of the pope in killing a widow's son.

Another Epistle of Benno to the Cardinals.

To the venerable fathers of the church of Rome, and to his beloved and ever to be beloved brethren in Christ, Benno, cardinal of the church of Rome, wisheth faithful service, and health, in the communion of the catholic church: of the communion, and discipline, or power whereof, *he* vainly braggeth, whoever, presuming on his authority, shall unjustly bind or loose any manner of person. And he doth unjustly bind, whoever curseth any man who is willing to make satisfaction, and implores a hearing, being unconvicted, and not confessing the crime; nay rather, by cursing that party in vain he curseth and condemneth himself, turning his weapon upon his own person to his destruction. O strange and new-found treachery, proceeding from the sanctuary, nay, rather from him who, as high-priest, seemed to rule the church, and to be a judge over the judges!

Hildebrand setting the bishops against the emperor.

Hildebrand was earnestly in hand with the emperor, that he should deprive those bishops who came in by simony. The emperor, thinking, as a zealous prince, that this commission had proceeded from the throne of God, without delay obeyed the same, and, forthwith, without any consideration, or judicial order, deprived certain bishops, and thought that by this his obedience to Hildebrand he offered an acceptable sacrifice to God; not knowing as yet the crafty handling of the man. But Hildebrand then again replaced those whom the emperor for simony at his commandment had before deposed, and those whom by that means he had caused to bear a hateful heart to the emperor he attached to himself in great familiarity; and securing their fidelity by many and solemn oaths taken of them, he promoted them above all the rest. And, by these pranks, the imperial house being shortly after troubled and almost destitute of friends, he, craftily purchasing the friendship and favour of the greatest princes, the better to bring his matters to pass, suddenly, without any lawful accusation, without any canonical citation, without any judicial order, excommunicated the emperor (always so obedient to him), and set the princes of the empire all against him. And notwithstanding, as the apostle saith, that no man ought to circumvent his brother in any matter, as much as in him lay he rather mortally wounded him, than brotherly corrected him. Thus the emperor being many ways circumvented, and excommunicated against all canonical order, and by the consent and counsel of Hildebrand spoiled of the greatest part of his imperial honour, and overcharged with wars and immense slaughter of his faithful adherents, in vain desired and sued to have a canonical hearing, but was forced against his will at Canossa, in the presence of Hildebrand, to accuse himself by an extorted confession.

The emperor caused by Hildebrand to accuse himself.

Say you now, I pray you, all such as love justice, and know not to lean either to the right hand or to the left in favour of any person, say your minds, whether such a confession, so extorted, ought to be prejudicial to never so poor a man, much less to an emperor? and whether he who extorted the same confession is not amenable to the canons, rather than he who, being so perversely judged, for three days together suffered the injury and violence of his perverse judge, patiently and publicly, and with lamentable affliction, being barefoot, and clothed in linsey wolsey,[2] in an unusually sharp winter, being made a spectacle

The great patience of the godly emperor.

(1) Hæc Benno Rom. Cardinal. (2) An old penance: see Appendix. -Ed.

at Canossa both to angels and men, and a mocking-stock to that proud Hildebrand? Never trust me, if thirteen of the more wise and pious cardinals, the archdeacon himself, and the master of the singing school, besides many others of the clerks of Lateran (to whose judgment by the privilege of the holy see the whole world is obedient), weighing and considering his intolerable apostasy, did not depart from participating and refuse to communicate with him. *William the Conqueror.* A. D. 1075.

Thus glorious Hildebrand, and his familiar, Turbanus, by their new authority, breaking the decrees of the Chalcedon Council not only in words but also in public writings, have agreed, that it is allowable both to baptize and communicate out of the church of God: and how blind these men were, and also what heretics they were, their own writings do declare. What a mischief is this (saith Benno) that they presume to judge in the church, who swarm themselves in all errors: who also convert the truth itself into a lie; for lest the poisoned errors both of their words and writings should appear, they have, like sorcerers, the better to deceive, mixed the honey of truth therewithal: but a lie, saith St. Augustine, is every thing pronounced with the intent of deceiving others. Urban II. *See Appendix.* What a lie is.

It were too long and tedious here to recite all the detestable doings, and diabolical practices of conjurings, charms, and filthy sorceries, exercised between him, and Laurentius, and Theophylact, otherwise named Pope Benedict IX., whereof a long narration followeth in the aforesaid epistle of Benno to the cardinals to be seen, to which the reader may repair, whoso hath either leisure to read or mind to understand more of the abominable parts and devilish acts of this Hildebrand. Pope Hildebrand a worker of sorcery and conjuring.

Thus having sufficiently alleged the words and testimonies of Benno and Aventinus, concerning the acts and facts of this pope; now let us proceed, in the order as followeth in his story, to set forth the miserable vexation which the virtuous and godly emperor sustained by that ungodly person.

About what time Hildebrand was made pope, Henry IV., the emperor, was encumbered and much vexed with civil dissention in Germany, by reason of certain grievances of the Saxons against him and his father, Henry III.; whereupon the matter growing to sedition, sides were taken, and great wars ensued betwixt Otho, duke of Saxony, and Henry, the emperor. This busy time seemed to Hildebrand very opportune to work his feats, whose study and drift was ever from the beginning to advance the dominion of the Romish seat above all other bishops, and also to press down the authority of the temporal rulers under the spiritual men of the church. And although he went about the same long before by subtle trains and acts set forth concerning simony, yet now he thought more effectuously to accomplish his purposed intent, after that he was exalted thither where he would be. And therefore now bearing himself the bolder, by the authority of St. Peter's throne,[1] first he began to pursue the act set out by his predecessor, as touching simony, cursing and excommunicating, whosoever they were, that received any spiritual living or promotion at laymen's hands, as also all such as were the givers thereof. For this he then called simony, that under that colour he might defeat the temporal potestates of their right, and so bring the whole clergy at length to the lure of Rome. And forasmuch as the emperor was the head, thinking first to begin Henry IV. emperor.

(1) "Much boast is made of Peter's throne,
But his life they let alone."

William the Conqueror.

A.D. 1076.

with him, he sendeth for him, by letters and legates, to appear in the council of Lateran at Rome. But the emperor, busied in his wars against the Saxons, had no leisure to attend to councils. Notwithstanding Gregory, the pope, proceedeth in his council, rendering there the cause and reason before the bishops, why he had excommunicated divers of the clergy, as Herman, bishop of Bamberg, counsellor to the emperor, and other priests more, for simony. And there, moreover, in the said council he threateneth to excommunicate likewise the emperor himself, and to depose him from his regal kingdom, unless he would renounce the heresy of simony, and do penance. The council being ended, Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, persuaded one Centius, the Roman præfect's son, whom the pope had excommunicated, to take the emperor's part against the pope, who, watching his time in the temple of St. Mary, upon Christmas-day in the morning, taketh the pope and putteth him fast in a strong tower. The next day the people of Rome, hearing this, harness themselves with all expedition to help the bishop, whom when they loosed out of prison, they besieged the house of Centius, and plucked it down to the ground; his family having their noses cut off were cast out of the city. Centius himself escaping, fled to the emperor. Guibert, the archbishop, pretending good-will to the pope, departed from Rome; who, likewise, had wrought with Hugo Candidus, cardinal, and with Theobald, archbishop of Milan, also with divers other bishops about Italy, to forsake the pope and take the emperor's part. Gregory the pope, called Hildebrand, hearing of the conspiracy, layeth the sentence of excommunication upon them all, and depriveth them of their dignity. The emperor, being moved not unworthily, with the arrogant presumption of the proud prelate, called together a council at Worms, in which all the bishops not only of Saxony, but of all the whole empire of the Germans, agree and conclude upon the deposition of Hildebrand, and that no obedience hereafter should be given to him. This being determined in the council, Rowland, a priest of Parma, was sent to Rome with the sentence, who, in the name of the council, should command Gregory to yield up his seat, and also charge the cardinals to resort to the emperor, for a new election of another pope. The tenor of the sentence sent up by Rowland was this:—

Herman excommunicated by Hildebrand. *See Appendix.*

Hildebrand cast in a tower, Dec. 25th, A.D.1075.

Council of Worms, Jan. 23d. A.D.1076. *See Appendix.*

A.D.1076. **The sentence of the Council of Worms against Hildebrand.**

Forasmuch as thy first ingress and coming in hath been so spotted with so many perjuries, and also the church of God brought into no little danger through thine abuse and new-fangleness: moreover, because thou hast defamed thine own life and conversation with so much and great dishonesty, that we see no little peril or slander to arise thereof; therefore the obedience, which yet we never promised thee, hereafter we utterly renounce, and never intend to give thee. And as thou hast never taken us yet for bishops (as thou hast openly reported of us), so neither will we hereafter take thee to be apostolic. Vale.

The council of Rome, Feb. 12th, against the council of Worms.

Gregory the pope, tickled with this sentence, first condemneth it in his council of Lateran, with excommunication; secondly, depriveth Sigifrid, archbishop of Mentz, of his dignities and ecclesiastical livings, with all other bishops, abbots, and priests, as many

as took the emperor's part; thirdly, he accurseth Henry the emperor himself, depriveth him of his kingdom and regal possessions, and releaseth all his subjects of their oath of allegiance given unto him, after this form and manner.

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The tenor of the sentence excommunicatory against Henry the emperor, by Pope Hildebrand.

O blessed St. Peter, prince of the apostles! bow down thine ears I beseech thee, and hear me thy servant, whom thou hast brought up even from mine infancy, and hast delivered me unto this day from the hands of the wicked, who hate and persecute me, because of my faith in thee. Thou art my witness, and also the blessed mother of Jesus Christ, and thy brother St. Paul, fellow-partner of thy martyrdom, how that I entered this function not willingly, but enforced against my will; not that I take it so as a robbery, lawfully to ascend into this seat, but because that I had rather pass over my life like a pilgrim or private person, than for any fame or glory to climb up to it. I do acknowledge, and that worthily, all this to come of thy grace, and not of my merits, that this charge over christian people, and this power of binding and loosing, are committed to me. Wherefore, trusting upon this assurance for the dignity and tuition of holy church in the name of God Omnipotent, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I do here depose Henry, the son of Henry, once the emperor, from his imperial seat and princely government, who hath so boldly and presumptuously laid hands upon thy church. And, furthermore, all such as heretofore have sworn to be his subjects, I release them of their oath, whereby all subjects are bound to the allegiance of their princes; for it is meet and convenient, that he should be void of dignity, who seeketh to diminish the majesty of thy church. Moreover, for that he hath contemned my monitions, tending to his health and to the wealth of his people, and hath separated himself from the fellowship of the church, which he, through his seditions,[1] studieth to destroy, therefore I bind him by virtue of excommunication, trusting and knowing most certainly, that thou art Peter, on the rock of whom, as on the true foundation, Christ, our king, hath built his church.[2]

Mark this ye papists, that say, the pope cannot err.

The emperor, thus assaulted with the pope's censure, sendeth abroad his letters through all nations to purge himself, declaring how wrongfully, and against all right, he was condemned. The princes of Almany, partly fearing the crack of the pope's thunder-clap, partly again rejoicing that occasion was renewed to rebel against the emperor, assembled a commencement,[3] where they did consult and so conclude; to elect another emperor, and so fall from Henry, unless the pope would come to Aosta,[4] and he would there be content to submit himself and obtain his pardon. Wherein is to be considered the lamentable affections of the Germans in those days, so to forsake such a valiant emperor, and so much to repute a vile bishop: but this was the rudeness of the world then, for lack of better knowledge. The emperor, seeing the chief princes ready to forsake him, promiseth them with an oath, that if the pope would repair to Aosta, in Lombardy,[4] he would there ask forgiveness of him.

The Saxons take the pope's part against the emperor.

See Appendix.

Upon this the bishop of Treves was sent up in commission to Rome, to entreat the pope to come to Aosta.[4] The pope, at the instance of the legate and the princes, was content. He entered into Lombardy,[4] thinking to come to Aosta. After he was come to Vercelli, the bishop of that city (being the chancellor of Italy, and desirous to disturb peace for the old grudge he had to the emperor)

(1) Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?—Juven. (2) Ex Platina.
(3) "Colloquium maximum apud Oppenheim faciunt," Nauclerus. Sep. 15th, 1076, Lambert.—Ed.
(4) Foxe says "Germany," following Platina: but See Appendix.—Ed.

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falsely persuaded the pope, that he was certain the emperor was coming with a mighty great army against him, counselling him therefore to provide betimes for his own safeguard in some stronger place; whereby the pope's mind being altered, he retired back to Canusium, or Canossa, a city being subject to Matilda, a countess of Italy, where he should not need to fear the emperor.

Henry, understanding the false fear of the pope, and of his retiring to Canossa, incontinent (coming out of Spires with his wife and his young son, in the deep and sharp of winter) resorteth to Canossa. All his peers and nobles had left him for fear of the pope's curse, neither did any accompany him. Wherefore the emperor, being not a little troubled, and laying apart his regal ornaments, came barefooted with his wife and child to the gate of Canossa, where he from morning to night (all the day fasting) most humbly desireth absolution, craving to be let in, to the speech of the bishop: but no ingress might be given him once within the gates. Thus, he continuing three days together in his petition and suit, at length answer came, that the pope's majesty had yet no leisure to talk with him. The emperor, nothing moved therewith, that he was not let into the city, patient and with an humble mind, abideth without the walls, with no little grievance and painful labour; for it was a sharp winter, and all frozen with cold. Notwithstanding, yet through his importunate suit, at length it was granted, through the entreating of Matilda, the pope's paramour, and of Adelaide, countess of Savoy, and of the abbot of Clugny, that he should be admitted to the pope's speech. On the fourth day[2] being let in, for a token of his true repentance, he yieldeth to the pope's hands his crown, with all other ornaments imperial, and confessed himself unworthy of the empire, if ever he do against the pope hereafter, as he hath done before, desiring for that time to be absolved and forgiven. The pope answereth, he will neither forgive him, nor release the bond of his excommunication, but upon conditions. First, to promise that he shall be content to stand to his arbitrement in the council, and to take such penance as he shall enjoin him; also that he shall be prest and ready to appear, in what place or time the pope shall appoint him. Moreover, that he, being content to take the pope as judge of his cause, shall answer in the said council to all objections and accusations laid against him, and that he shall never seek any revengement herein. Item, that he, though he be quit and cleared therein, shall stand to the pope's mind and pleasure, whether to have his kingdom restored, or to lose it. Finally, that before the trial of his cause, he shall use neither his kingly ornaments, sceptres, nor crown, nor usurp the authority to govern, nor exact any oath of allegiance upon his subjects, &c. These things being promised to the bishop by an oath, and put in writing, the emperor is only released of excommunication.

A wondrous submission of a valiant emperor to a vile pope.

See Appendix

Proud conditions of the pope.

Here the beast of the Apocalypse appeareth in his colours.

The form and tenor of the oath, which Henry made to the pope.

I Henry, king, after peace and agreement made to the mind and sentence of our lord Gregory the Seventh, promise to keep all covenants and bonds betwixt us, and to provide that the pope go safely wheresoever he will, without any danger either to him, or to his retinue; especially in all such places as he

(1) See Appendix.—Ed. (2) Jan. 25th, A.D. 1077, says Aventine.—Ed.

subject to our empire. And that I shall not at any time stay or hinder him, but that he may do what belongeth to his function, where and whensoever his pleasure shall be. And these things I bind myself with an oath to keep."[1] *William the Conqueror.*

A.D. 1077.

Thus, the matter being decided between them after the pope's own prescribement, the emperor taketh his journey to Pavia. The pope, with his cardinals, did vaunt and triumph with no little pride, that they had so quailed the emperor, and brought him on his knees to ask them forgiveness. Yet, notwithstanding, mistrusting themselves, and misdoubting time, what might befall them hereafter if fortune should turn, and God give the emperor to enjoy a more quiet kingdom; therefore, to prevent such dangers betimes, they study and consult privily with themselves how to displace Henry clean from his kingdom, and how that device might safely be conveyed. They conclude and determine to derive the empire unto Rodolph, a man of great nobility amongst the chiefest states of Germany; and also to incite and stir up all other princes and subjects, being yet free and discharged from their oaths, against Henry, and so, by force of arms, to expel the emperor out of his kingdom. To bring this purpose the better to pass, legates were sent down from the pope, Sigehard patriarch of Aquileia, and Altman bishop of Passau, who should persuade through all France, that Henry the emperor was rightfully excommunicated, and that they should give to the bishop of Rome their consents in choosing Rodolph to be emperor. This being done, there was sent to the said Rodolph, duke of Suabia, a crown from the pope with this verse:—

The crafty conspiracy of the cardinals against the emperor.

Great wars stirred up by the pope.

See Appendix.

See Appendix

"Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodulpho."
"The Rock gave the crown to Peter,
Peter giveth it to Rodolph."

Here, by the way of digression, to make a little gloss upon this barbarous verse, two notable lies are to be noted. One, where he lieth about Christ, the other, where he lieth about St. Peter. First, that Christ gave any temporal diadem to Peter, it is a most manifest lie, and against the Scriptures, whereas he would not take it, being given to himself, saying, "My kingdom is not of this world." Again, where he saith that Peter giveth it to Rodolph, here he playeth the poet; for neither had Peter any such thing to give; and if he had, yet he would not have given it to Rodolph from the right heir; neither is it true that Peter did give it, because Hildebrand gave it. For it is no good argument—Hildebrand did give it, ergo, Peter did give it; except ye will say—Hildebrand stirred up great wars and bloodshed in Germany, ergo, Peter stirred up great wars in Germany. So Peter neither could, nor would, nor did, give it to Rodolph, but only Hildebrand, the pope; who, after he had so done, gave commandment to the archbishops of Mentz and of Cologne to elect this Rodolph for emperor, and to anoint him king, and also to defend him with all the force and strength they might.[2]

The pope proved a double liar.

While this conspiracy was in hand, Henry the emperor was

(1) Actum Canos. v. Calend. Februarii, Indic. xv. [Pagi observes that this date is spurious, as Henry was absolved Jan. 25.—Ed.]
(2) Rodolph was elected at the diet of Forcheim, March 15th, 1077, consecrated March 26th.—Ed.

William the Conqueror. A.D. 1080.

absent, and the pope's ambassadors with him also. In the mean space Rodolph was elected emperor, unknown to Henry. Upon this cometh the bishop of Strasburg to the emperor, certifying him what was done. He, suspecting and seeing the stomach and doings of the Saxons so bent against him, mustereth his men with expedition, and marcheth forward to defend his right; but first sendeth to Rome, trusting to the league betwixt him and his pope, and requireth the bishop to proceed with his sentence against Rodolph for the rebellious invasion of his empire. But the bishop, minding nothing less, sendeth word again, that it was not right to condemn any person, his cause being not heard; thus, under pretence of the law, colouring his unlawful treachery. Henry, thus disappointed, and forsaken on every side, with his men about him, attempteth battle against Rodolph; in which battle there was a marvellous great slaughter on both sides, but the victory on neither part was certain, so that both the captains still challenged the empire. After the battle, and great murder on both sides, they both sent to Rome to know of the pope's determination, to whether of them two he judged the right title of the empire to appertain. The bishop commanded them both to break up their armies, and depart the field, promising that he shortly would call a council, where this matter should be disputed: in the mean time they should cease from war. But before the messengers returned, their armies being refreshed, they had another conflict together, but no victory got on either part. Thus both the captains being wearied in wars, the Romish beast, the bishop, who was the cause thereof, perceiving whither these cruel wars would tend, to the great calamity not only of the Germans, but also of other nations, and trusting to find another way to help Rodolph and his adherents, sendeth down a commission by Udo, archbishop of Treves, Bernard a deacon, and Bernard, abbot of Marseilles, to whom he gave in charge that they should call together a council or sitting in Almany, and that there it should be defined to which party the empire should pertain, by most right and public consideration; promising that what they should therein determine, he (looking upon the matter through the authority of God omnipotent, and of St. Peter and St. Paul) would ratify the same. Moreover, for that no let nor impeachment should happen to the legates by the way, he giveth them letters to the princes and nations of Germany, whereof the contents be declared briefly in Platina, if any list to read them.

The pope traitor to the emperor.

Aug. 7th, A.D. 1078. *See Appendix.*

But the emperor would not permit the legates to have any council within Germany, except they would first deprive Rodolph of his kingdom. The legates, considering that to be against the drift and intention of the pope, returned again from whence they came. The pope hearing this, and seeing his purpose was thus disappointed by the emperor, [the emperor moreover being worsted in a third battle with his adversary,][1] draweth out another excommunication against him, and again bereaveth him of his kingdom; sending about his letters excommunicatory throughout all places, thinking thereby to further the part of Rodolph the better. Platina hath in his book the whole effect of the writing, which tendeth after this sort.

Jan. 25th, A.D. 1080.

(1) See Appendix.

The copy of the second excommunication of Hildebrand against the Emperor.

William the Conqueror.

A.D. 1080.

Blessed St. Peter, prince of the apostles, and thou St. Paul also, the teacher of the Gentiles, give ear unto me, I beseech you, a little, and gently hear me, for you are the disciples and lovers of truth! The things that I shall say are true. This matter I take in hand for truth's sake, that my brethren, whose salvation I seek, may the more obsequiously obey me, and better understand, how that I, trusting upon your defence, next to Christ, and his mother, the immaculate Virgin, resist the wicked, and am ready to help the faithful. I did not enter this seat of mine own accord, but much against my will and with tears, for that I accounted myself unworthy to occupy so high a throne. And this I say, not that I have chosen you, but you have chosen me, and have laid this great burden upon our shoulders. And now, whereas by this your assignment I have ascended up this hill, crying to the people, and showing them their faults, and to the children of the church their iniquities, the members of Satan have risen up against me, and have laid hands together to seek my blood. For the kings of the earth have risen up against me,[1] and the princes of this world, with whom also have conspired certain of the clergy, subjects against the Lord, and against us his anointed, saying, "Let us break asunder their bands, and cast off from us their yoke." This have they done against me, to bring me either to death or to banishment; in the number of whom is Henry, whom they call king, the son of Henry the emperor, who hath lift up so proudly his horns and heel against the church of God, making conspiracy with divers other bishops, both Italians, French, and Germans; against the pride of whom, hitherto, your authority hath resisted; who, rather being broken than amended, coming to me in Cisalpina, made humble suit to me for pardon and absolution. I, thinking nothing else but true repentance in him, received him again to favour, and did restore him to the communion only, from which he was excommunicate; but to his kingdom, from which in the synod of Rome he was worthily expelled, I did not restore him, nor to the rents and fruits thereof, that he might return to the faith again; that I granted not to him. And that I did, for this purpose, that if he should defer to fall to agreement with certain of his neighbours whom he hath always vexed, and to restore again the goods both of the church and otherwise, then he might be compelled by the censures of the church and force of arms thereunto: whereby divers and sundry bishops and princes of Germany (such as he had long troubled) being helped by this opportunity, elected Rodolph, their duke, to be king in the place of Henry, whom they for his transgressions had removed and despatched from his empire. But Rodolph, first in this matter using a princely modesty and integrity, sent up his messengers to me, declaring how he is constrained (wild he, nild he) to take that regal government upon him, albeit he was not so desirous thereof, but that he would rather show himself obedient to us, than to the other that offered him the kingdom; and, whatsoever our arbitrement should be therein, he would be under obedience both of God and of us. And, for more assurance of his obedience, he hath sent his own children hither for pledges. Upon this Henry began to snuff, and first entreated us to restrain and inhibit Rodolph, through the pain of our curse, from the usurpation of his kingdom. I answered again, I would see whether of them had more right and title thereunto, and so send our legates thither upon the same, to know the whole state of the matter; and thereupon I would decide betwixt them, whether of them had the truer part. But Henry would not suffer our legates to come to take up the matter, and slew divers, both secular men, and of the clergy, spoiling and profaning churches; and so by this means hath endangered himself in the bonds of excommunication. I, therefore, trusting in the judgment and mercy of God, and in the supportation of the blessed Virgin, also bold upon your authority do lay the sentence of curse upon the said Henry and all his adherents; and here again I take his regal government from him, charging and forbidding all christian men that have been sworn unto him, whom I discharge here of their oath, that hereafter they obey him in

O pestiferous hypocrite!

The pope prayeth St. Peter to dishonour his king.

And St. Peter bindeth the pope to honour his king.

Crocodili lachrymæ.

Scripture well applied.

Let all papists mark here well the holiness of their holy father.

As if he were not set up by you, rather than by them.

(1) A figure called ἀντιμεταβολὴ, cujus contrarium verum est. Vim faciunt scripturis, ut plenitudinem accipiant potestatis.

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nothing, but that they take Rodolph to their king, who is elected by many princes of the province. For so right it is and convenient, that as Henry, for his pride and stubbornness, is deprived of his dignity and possession, so Rodolph, being grateful to all men, for his virtue and devotion be exalted to the imperial throne and dominion.

The more to blame emperors to suffer you to be so saucy with them. Nego argumentum. Confer this clause with the history of the story hereafter. O double hypocrite!

Therefore, O you blessed princes of the apostles! grant to this, and confirm with your authority what I have said, so that all men may understand, if you have power to bind and loose in heaven, you have also power in earth to give and take away empires, kingdoms, principalities, and whatsoever here in earth belongeth to mortal men. For if you have power to judge in such matters as appertain to God, what then should we think you have, of these inferior and profane things? And if it be in your power to judge the angels, ruling over proud princes, what then shall it beseem you to do upon their servants? Therefore let the kings understand by this example, and all other princes of the world, what you be able to do in heaven, and what you are with God; that thereby they may fear to contemn the commandment of holy church. And now do you exercise this judgment quickly upon Henry, whereby all men may see this son of iniquity to fall from his kingdom, not by any chance, but by your provision and only work. Notwithstanding, this I would crave of you, that he, being brought to repentance through your intercession, still in the day of judgment may find favour and grace with the Lord.—Actum Romæ, nonis Martii, Indictione iii.

Mar. 7th, A.D.1080.

Furthermore, Hildebrand, not yet content with this, interdicteth and deposeth also Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, for taking the emperor's part, commanding all priests to give no manner of obedience to him, and sendeth thither to Ravenna another archbishop with full authority.

Council at Brixen in the Tyrol, A.D.1080. *See Appendix.*

The emperor, on his part, calleth together a council or assembly of divers bishops of Italy, Lombardy, and Germany, at Brixen, A.D. 1080, where he purged himself, and accused the bishop Hildebrand of divers crimes, to be an usurper, perjured, a necromancer and sorcerer, a sower of discord; complaining, moreover, of wrongs and injuries done by the bishop and church of Rome, in that the church of Rome preferred the bishop before him, when that his father, being emperor before him, had enthronized and set in divers and sundry pontiffs there by his assignment, without all others' election. And now this pontiff, contrary to his oath and promise made, thrust in himself without the will and knowledge of him, being their king and magistrate. For, in the time of his father Henry III., this Hildebrand, with others, bound themselves with a corporal oath, that so long as the emperor and his son, then king of the Romans, should live, they should neither themselves presume, nor suffer any other, to aspire to the papal seat, without the assent and approbation of the aforesaid emperors; which now this Hildebrand, contrary to his corporal oath, had done. Wherefore the aforesaid council, with one agreement, condemned this Gregory, that he should be deposed; the tenor of which condemnation is thus expressed in the abbot Urspergensis.

No bishop of Rome can be chosen without consent of the emperor.

The sentence of the council of Brixen against Hildebrand.[1]

Because it is not unknown that this bishop was not elected of God, but intruded himself by fraud and money, and hath subverted all ecclesiastical order, and hath disturbed the government of the christian empire, menacing death of body and soul against our catholic and peaceable king, and hath set up and maintained a perjured king, sowing discord where concord was, causing debate amongst friends, slanders and offences amongst brethren, divorcements

(1) Edition 1563, p. 29.

and separation amongst the married,[1] and finally disquieting the peaceable state of all quiet life: Therefore we, here in the name and authority of God congregated together, with the letters and sign-manual of nineteen bishops assembled on the day of Pentecost at Mentz, do proceed in canonical judgment against Hildebrand, a man most wicked, preaching sacrilege and burning, maintaining perjury and murders, calling in question the catholic faith of the body and blood of the Lord, a follower of divination and dreams, a manifest necromancer, a sorcerer, and infected with a Pythonical spirit, and therefore departed from the true faith; and we judge him to be deposed and expelled, and, unless he hearing this shall yield and depart the seat, to be perpetually condemned.—Enacted vii. Calend. Julii, feria v., Indictione iii. [*i.e.* Thursday, June 25th, A.D. 1080.]

William the Conqueror.

A. D. 1084.

The pope judged and deposed by the council.

This being enacted and sent to Rome, they elected Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, in the place of Hildebrand, to govern the church of Rome, named Clement III.

After and upon this, Henry and Rodolph, to try the matter by the sword, coped together in battle, not without bloodshed, where Henry, by the favour of God, against the judgment of Hildebrand, had the victory. Rodolph there greatly wounded in the conflict, was had out of the army, and carried to Merseburg, where he commanded the bishops and chief doers of his conspiracy to be brought before him. When they came, he lifted up his right hand in which he had taken his deadly wound, and said, "This is the hand which gave the oath and sacrament unto Henry my prince, and which, through your instigation, so oft hath fought against him in vain: now go and perform your first oath and allegiance to your king, for I must to my fathers;" and so died. Thus the pope gave battle, but God gave the victory.

Fourth battle betwixt Henry and Rodolph, Oct. 12th A.D. 1080.

Rodolph at his death repenteth.

The pope giveth war.

God giveth victory.

See Appendix.

Henry, after his enemy had been thus subdued, and wars had ceased in Germany, forgat not the old injuries received of Hildebrand, by whom he was twice excommunicated, and expelled from his kingdom, and to whom he was three days making humble suit, yea, and that in sharp winter, but could find no favour with him. Besides that, he incited moreover, and aided his enemy against him. Wherefore when Hildebrand neither would give over his hold, nor give place to Clement, the emperor, gathering an army to send to Italy, came to Rome to depose Gregory, and to place Clement. But Hildebrand, sending to Matilda, the countess before mentioned, required her, in remission of all her sins, to withstand Henry the emperor; and so she did. Notwithstanding, Henry prevailing came to Rome on Whitsun-eve, where he besieged the city two years, and got it June 2d, A.D. 1083,[2] the Romans being compelled to open the gates unto him; so he coming to the temple of St. Peter, there placeth Clement in his papacy. Hildebrand straight flieth into Adrian's tower with his adherents, where he, being beset round about, at length sendeth for Robert Guiscard, his friend, a Norman. In the mean time, while Robert collecteth his power, the abbot of Clugny, conferring with Gregory, exhorteth him to crown Henry emperor in Lateran; which if he would do, the other promiseth to bring about, that Henry should depart with his army into Germany; whereunto the people of Rome also did likewise move him. To whom Gregory answered, "That he was content so to do, but upon condition that the emperor would submit himself to ask pardon, to amend his fault, and to promise

The pope seeketh succour of his paramour.

The first example to fight for remission of sins began in Hildebrand.

See Appendix

A.D. 1084.

(1) For he took away the marriage of priests, as Ulric Mutius witnesseth. [See Appendix.]
(2) See Appendix.

William the Conqueror. obedience." The emperor not agreeing to those conditions, went to Sienna, taking Clement, the newly stalled pope, with him.

A. D. 1087. After the return of the emperor, the aforesaid Robert Guiscard, approaching with his soldiers, burst in at one of the gates, and spoileth the city, and not long after delivereth Hildebrand out of his enemies' hands, and carried him away to Campagna, where he not long continuing, afterwards died in exile.[1]

May 25th, A.D. 1085. *See Appendix.*

Antoninus writeth, that Hildebrand, as he did lie a dying, called to him one of his chief cardinals, bewailing to him his fault and misorder of his spiritual ministry, in stirring up discord, war, and dissension; whereupon he desired the cardinal to go to the emperor, and desire of him forgiveness, absolving from the danger of excommunication both him and all his partakers, both quick and dead.

Hildebrand, the author and patron of all misrule.

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, the full history of Pope Gregory VII., called Hildebrand, which I have laid out more at large, and desire thee to mark, because that from this pope, if thou mark well, springeth all the occasions of mischief, of pomp, pride, stoutness, presumption, and tyranny, which since that time have reigned in his successors hitherto, in the cathedral church of the Romish clergy. For here came first the subjection of the temporal regiment under the spiritual jurisdiction; and emperors, which before were their masters, now are made their underlings. Also here came in the suppression of priests' marriage, as is sufficiently declared. Here came in, moreover, the authority of both the swords spiritual and secular into spiritual men's hands; so that christian magistrates could do nothing in election, in giving bishoprics or benefices, in calling councils, in hearing and correcting the excesses of the clergy, but only the pope must do all. Yea, moreover, no bishop or pastor in his own parish could excommunicate or exercise any discipline among his flock, but only the pope challenged that prerogative to himself. Finally, here came in the first example to persecute emperors and kings with rebellion and excommunication, as the clergy themselves hereafter do testify and witness in proceeding against Paschal. Thus, these notes being well observed, let us, by the grace of Christ, now repair again to our country history of England.

The death of William the Conqueror, Sept. 9th, A.D. 1087. *See Appendix.*

About the death of Pope Hildebrand, or not long after, followed the death of King William the Conqueror, A.D. 1087, after he had reigned in England the space of one and twenty years and ten months. The cause of his sickness and death is said to be this: for that Philip, the French king, upon a time jesting said, that "King William lay in childbed, and nourished his fat belly." To this the aforesaid William, hearing thereof, answered again and said, "When he should be churched, he would offer a thousand candles to him in France, wherewithal the king should have little joy." Whereupon King William, in the month of July, when the corn, fruit, and grapes, were most flourishing, entered into France, and set on fire many cities and towns in the west side of France. And lastly, coming to the city of Mantes,[2] where he, burning a woman being as a recluse in a wall enclosed (or as some say, two men anchorites

See Appendix.

(1) Platina, Nauclerus, Sabellicus, Crantzius, Benno, &c.

(2) Foxe erroneously says Meaux, following Fabian and Grafton, who add "he fired it, and brent a part thereof, with the churche of our Lady, wherein he brente a woman, being closed in the walle of the said churche, as a recluse." Malmesbury says she would not, for devotion, quit "spelæum suum," her cell.--Ed.

enclosed) was so fervent and furious about the fire, that with the heat partly of the fire, partly of the time of year, he fell sick and died. *William the Conqueror.* A.D. 1087.

By the life and acts of this king it may appear true, as stories of him report, that he was wise, but guileful; rich, but covetous; a fair speaker, but a great dissembler; glorious in victory, and strong in arms, but rigorous in oppressing those whom he overcame, and in levying of tasks passing all others; insomuch that he caused to be enrolled and numbered in his treasury every hide of land and owner thereof, what fruit and revenues surmounted of every lordship, of every township, castle, village, field, river, and wood, within the realm of England. Moreover, how many parish churches, how many living cattle there were, what and how much every baron in the realm could dispend, what fees were belonging, what wages were taken, &c.: the tenor and contents of which taskment yet remaineth in rolls. After this tasking or numbering, which was in the year before his death, followed an exceeding murrain of cattle and barrenness of the ground, with much pestilence and hot fevers among the people, so that such as escaped the fever were consumed with famine. Moreover, at the same season, among certain other cities, a great part of the city of London, with the church of St. Paul's, was wasted with fire, A.D. 1085.

Doomsday Book.

Pestilence in England and murrain of beasts.

London with the church of St. Paul's burnt.

In hunting and in parks the aforesaid king had such pleasure, that in the county of Southampton, for the space of thirty miles, he east down churches and townships, and there made the New Forest; loving his deer so dearly, as though he had been to them a father, making sharp laws for the increasing thereof, under pain of losing both the eyes. So hard he was to Englishmen, and so favourable to his own country, that as there was no English bishop remaining, but only Wolstan of Worcester, he, being commanded of the king and Lanfranc to resign his staff, partly for inability, partly for lack of the French tongue, refused to resign it, except to him that gave it, and so went to the tomb of King Edward, where he thought to resign it, but was permitted to enjoy it still; so likewise in his days there was almost no Englishman that bare office of honour or rule in the land, insomuch that it was half a shame at that time to be called an Englishman. Notwithstanding he a good deal favoured the city of London, and granted unto the citizens the first charter that ever they had, written in the Saxon, sealed with green wax, and contained in few lines.

Wolstan, bishop of Worcester.

Among his other conditions, this in him is noted, that so given he was to peace and quiet, that any maiden being laden with gold or silver, might pass through the whole realm without harm or resistance. This William in his time builded two monasteries, one in England, at Battle in Sussex, where he wan the field against Harold, called the abbey of Battle; another beside, named the abbey of Caen, in his country of Normandy.

England peaceable from thieves.

The abbies of Battle and Caen in Normandy. *See Appendix.*

After the life and story of King William, thus briefly described, with the acts and order of battle between him and King Harold (although much more might have been written of that matter, if the book had come sooner to my hands, which afterwards I saw), now remaineth in the end of this story to describe the names of such barons and nobles of Normandy, as entered with him into

William the Conqueror. A.D. 1087.

this land, as well of them who were embarked with him; and also the slain, as appeareth, in the battle; as also of those who were planted and advanced, by the said conqueror, in the lands and possessions of English lords, whom he either expelled, or else beheaded: the names of which Normans here follow underwritten.

Out of the Annals of Normandy, in French, whereof one very ancient book in parchment remaineth in the custody of the writer.

The day after the battle, very early in the morning, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, sung mass for those that were departed. The duke, after that, desirous to know the state of his battle, and what people he had therein lost and were slain, he caused to come unto him a clerk who had written their names when they were embarked at St. Valeries, and commanded him to call them all by their names, who called them that had been at the battle, and had passed the seas with Duke William. And hereafter follow their names.

THE NAMES OF THOSE THAT WERE AT THE CONQUEST OF ENGLAND.

Odo, bishop of Bayeux.
Robert, conte de Mortaign. These two were brethren unto Duke William by their mother.
Baudwin de Builon,
Roger, conte de Beaumont, surnamed 'With the Beard,' of whom descended the line of Meullent.
Guillaume Malet,
Le sire de Monfort sur Rille,
Guillaume de Viexpont,
Neel de S. Sauveur le viconte,
Le sire de Fougiers,
Henry seigneur de Ferieres,
Le sire Daubemare,
Guillaume, sire de Rommare,
Le sire de Lithehare,
Le sire de Touque,
Le sire de la Mare,
Le sire de Neauhou,
Le sire de Pirou,
Robert, sire de Beaufou,
Le sire Danou,
Le sire de Soteuille,
Le sire de Margneville,
Le sire de Tancarville,
Eustace Dambleville,
Le sire de Marngneville,
Le sire de Grantmesnil,
Guillaume Crespin,
Le sire de S. Martin,
Guillaume de Moulins,
Le sire de Pus,
Geoffray, sire de Mayenne,
Auffroy de Bohon,
Auffroy et Maugier de Cartrait,
Guillaume de Garrennes,
Hue de Gournay, sire de Bray,
Le conte Hue de Gournay,
Euguemont de l'aigle,
Le viconte de Touars,
Richard Dauverénchin,
Le sire de Biars,
Le sire de Solligny,
Le bouteiller Daubigny,
Le sire de Maire,
Le sire de Vitry,
Le sire de Lacy,
Le sire du val Dary,
Le sire de Tracy,
Hue, sire de Montfort,
Le sire de Piquegny,
Hamon de Kayeu,
Le sire de Despinay,
Le sire de Port,
Le sire de Torcy,
Le sire de Jort,
Le sire de Riviers,
Guillaume Moyonne,
Raoul Tesson de Tingueleiz,
Roger Marmion,
Raoul de Guel,
Avenel des Byars,
Paennel du Monstier Hubert,
Robert, Bertran le Tort,
Le sire de Seulle,
Le sire de Dorival,
Le sire de Breval,
Le sire de S. Jehan,
Le sire de Bris,
Le sire du Homme,
Le sire de Sauchoy,
Le sire de Cailly,
Le sire de Semilly,
Le sire de Tilly,
Le sire de Romelli,
Marq. de Basqueville,
Le sire de Preaulx,
Le sire de Gonis,
Le sire de Sanceaulx,
Le sire de Moulloy,
Le sire de Monceaulx.

The Archers du val du Ruel, and of Bretheul, and of many other places.

Le sire de S. Saen, i. de S. Sydonio,
Le sire de la Kiviere,
Le sire de Salnarville,
Le sire de Rony,
Eude de Beaugieu,
Le sire de Oblie,
Le sire de Sacie,
Le sire de Nassie,
Le Visquaius de Chaymes,
Le sire du Sap,
Le sire de Glos,
Le sire de Mine,
Le sire de Glanville,
Le sire de Breençon,
Le Vidam de Partay,
Raoul de Morimont,
Pierre de Bailleul, sire de Fiscamp,
Le sire de Beausault,
Le sire de Tillieres,
Le sire de Pacy,
Le seneschal de Torcy,
Le sire de Gacy,
Le sire de Doully,
Le sire de Sacy,
Le sire de Vacy,
Le sire de Tourneeur,
Le sire de Praeres,
Guil. de Coulombieres,
Hue, sire de Bollebec,
Richard sire Dorbeck,
Le sire de Bonneboz,
Le sire de Tresgoz,
Le sire de Montfiquet,
Hue le Bigot de Maletot,
Le sire de la Haye,
Le sire de Mombray,

Le sire de Saye,
Le sire de la Ferte,
Boutevillain,
Troussebout,
Guillaume Patric de la Laund,
Hue de Mortemer,
Le sire Danvillers,
Le sire Donnebaut,
Le sire de S. Cler.
Rob. le filz Herneys, duc d'Orleans,
Le sire de Harecourt,
Le sire de Crevecœur,
Le sire de Deyncourt,
Le sire de Brimetot,
Le sire Combray,
Le sire Daunay,
Le sire de Fontenay,
Le conte Deureux,
Le sire de Rebelchil,
Alain Fergant, conte de Bretaigne,
Le sire de S. Vallery,
Le conte Deu,
Gualtier Gifford, conte de Longeville,
Le sire Destouteville,
Le conte Thomas Daubmalle,
Guill., conte de Hoymes et Darques,
Le sire de Bereville,
Le sire de Breante,
Le sire de Freanville,
Le sire de Pavilly,
Le sire de Clere,
Toustan du Bec,
Le sire Maugny,
Roger de Montgomery,
Amaury de Touars:—

William the Conqueror. A.D. 1087.

Over and besides the great number of knights and esquires that were under them; in the same battle between the said William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, on the one part, and King Harold, on the other part, there were slain on King Harold's side, of Englishmen, 66,654; and on Duke William's side, there were slain 6,013 men, as is to be found in the Chronicle of St. Peter of Westminster, besides those that were drowned in the river Thames.

When the abovenamed and many other great lords were so called, some of them appeared, and others did not, for some of them were slain there in the field, and others so wounded, that they could not come forth to show themselves. Then gave the duke commandment that the dead should be buried, and those that were sick comforted, and eased the best that might.

Out of the ancient Chronicles of England, touching the names of other Normans who seemed to remain alive after the battle, and who were advanced to the seigniories of this land.

John de Maundevile,
Adam Undevile,
Bernard de Frevile,
Richard de Rochvile,
Gilbard de Frankvile,
Hugo de Dovile,
Symond de Rotevile,
R. de Evyle,
B. de Knevuile,
Hugo de Morvile,
R. de Colevile,
A. de Warvile,
C. de Karvile,
R. de Rotevile,
S. de Stotevile,
H. Bonum,
J. Monum,
W. de Vignoum,
K. de Vispount,
W. Bailbeof,
S. de Baleyne,
H. de Marreys,
J. Aguleyne,
G. Agilon,
R. Chamburlayne,
N. de Vendres,
H. de Verdon,
H. de Verto,
C. de Vernon,
H. Hardul,
C. Cappan,
W. de Camvile,
I. de Cameyes,
R. de Rotes,
R. de Boys,
W. de Waren,
T. de Wardboys,
R. de Boys,
W. de Audeley,
K. Dynham,
R. de Vaures,
G. Vargenteyn,
I. de Hastings,
G. de Hastank,
L. de Burgee,
R. de Butuileyn,
H. de Malebranche,
S. de Malemain,
G. de Hautevile,
H. Hauteyn,
R. de Morteyn,
R. de Mortimere,
G. de Kanovile,
E. de Columb,
W. Paynel,
C. Panner,
H. Pontrel,
I. de Rivers,
T. Revile,
W. de Beauchamp,
R. de Beaupale,
E. de Ou,
F. Lovel,
S. de Troys,
I. de Artel,
John de Montebrugg,
H. de Mounteserel,
W. Trussebut,
W. Trussel,
H. Byset,
R. Basset,
R. Molet,
H. Malovile,
G. Bonet,
P. de Bonvile,
S. de Rovile,
N. de Norbee,
I. de Corneux,
P. de Corbet,
W. de Mountague,
S. de Mountfychet,
I. de Genevyle,
H. Gyffard,
I. de Say,
T. Gilbard,
R. de Chalons,
S. de Chauward,
H. Feret,
Hugo Pepard,
J. de Harecourt,
H. de Haunsard,
J. de Lamare,
P. de Mautrevers,
G. de Ferron,
R. de Ferrers,
I. de Desty,
W. de Werders,
H. de Bornevyie,
J. de Saintenys,

William the Conqueror.

A.D. 1087.

S. de Seucler,
R. de Gorges,
E. de Gemere,
W. de Feus,
S. de Filberd,
H. de Turbervyle,
R. Troblenuer,
R. de Angon,
T. de Morer,
T. de Rotelet,
H. de Spencer,
E. de Saintquinten,
I. de Saint Martin,
G. de Custan,
Saint Constantin,
Saint Leger et Saint Med.
M. de Cromn et de St. Viger,
S. de Crayel,
R. de Crenker,
N. Meynell,
I. de Berners,
S. de Chumli,
E. de Charers,
J. de Grey,
W. de Grangers,
S. de Grangers,
S. Baubenyn,
H. Vamgers,
E. Bertram,
R. Bygot,
S. Treoly,
I. Trigos,
G. de Feues,
H. Filiot,
R. Taperyn,
S. Talbot,
H. Santsaver,
T. de Samford,
G. de Vandien,
C. de Vautort,
G. de Mountague,
Thomas de Chambernon,
S. de Montfort,
R. de Fernevaux,
W. de Valence,
T. Clarel,
S. de Clervaus,
P. de Aubemarle,
H. de Saint Arvant,
E. de Auganuteys,
S. de Gant,
G. de Malearbe,
H. Mandut,
W. Chesun,
L. de Chandut,
B. Filzurs,
B. vicount de Low,
G. de Cantemere,
T. de Cantlow,
R. Breaunce,
T. de Broxeboof,
S. de Bolebec,
B. Mol de Boef,
J. de Muelis,
R. de Brus,
S. de Brewes,
J. de Lylle,
T. de Bellyle,
I. de Watervile,
G. de Nevyle,
R. de Neuburgh,
H. de Burgoyne,
G. de Bourgh,
S. de Lymoges,
L. de Lyben,
W. de Helyoun,
H. de Hildrebron,
R. de Loges,
S. de Seintlow,
I. de Maubank,
P. de Saint Malow,
R. de Leoferne,
J. de Lovotot,
G. de Dabbevyle,
H. de Appetot,
W. de Percy,
H. de Lacy,
C. de Quincy,
E. Tracy,
R. de la Souche,
V. de Somery,
I. de Saint John,
T. de Saint Gory,
P. de Boyly,
Richard de Saint Valery,
P. de Pinkeni,
S. de Pavely,
G. de Monthaut,
T. de Mountchesy,
R. de Lymozy,
G. de Lucy,
J. de Artoys,
N. de Arty,
P. de Grenvyle,
I. de Greys,
V. de Cresty,
F. de Courcy,
T. de Lamar,
H. de Lymastz,
J. de Monbray,
C. de Morley,
S. de Gorney,
R. de Courtenay,
P. de Gourney,
R. de Cony,
I. de la Huse,
R. de la Huse,
V. de Longevyle,
P. Longespye,
J. Pouchardon,
R. de la Pomercy,
J. de Pountz,
R. de Pontlarge,
R. Estraunge,
Thomas Savage.

Hirman the first bishop of Salisbury.

A little above, mention was made of the bishop's see of Sherborne, translated from thence to Salisbury. The first bishop of Salisbury was Hirman, a Norman, who first began the new church and minster of Salisbury. After him succeeded Osmund, who finished the work, and replenished the house with great living, and much good singing. This Osmund first began the ordinary, which was called 'Secundum usum Sarum.' an. 1076, the occasion whereof was this, as I find in an old story-book, entitled 'Eulogium.'[1] A great contention chanced at Glastonbury between Thurstan the abbot, and his convent, in the days of William the Conqueror. This Thurstan the said William had brought out of Normandy from the abbey of Caen, and placed him abbot of Glastonbury. The cause of this contentious battle was, for that Thurstan, contemning their choir-service, then called 'The use of St. Gregory,' compelled his monks to 'The use of William,' a monk of Féscam, in Normandy. Whereupon came strife and contentions amongst them, first in

Tho use and order of Sarum, how and when devised. *See Appendix*

(1) "Ordinale ecclesiastici officii secundum usum Sarum." Ex Euloglo Histor. lib. iii.

words, then from words to blows, after blows then to armour. The abbot, with his guard of harnessed men, fell upon the monks, and drave them to the steps of the high altar, where two were slain, and eight were wounded with shafts, swords, and pikes. The monks, then driven to such a strait and narrow shift, were compelled to defend themselves with forms and candlesticks, wherewith they did wound certain of the soldiers. One monk there was, an aged man, who instead of his shield took an image of the crucifix in his arms for his defence, which image was wounded in the breast by one of the bowmen, whereby the monk was saved. My story addeth more, that the striker, incontinent upon the same, fell mad, which savoureth of some monkish addition besides the text. This matter being brought before the king, the abbot was sent again to Caen, and the monks, by the commandment of the king, were scattered in far countries. Thus, by the occasion hereof, Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, devised that ordinary, which is called, 'The use of Sarum,' and was afterward received in a manner through all England, Ireland, and Wales. And thus much for this matter, done in the time of this King William. *William Rufus.* A.D. 1087.

This William, after his death, by his wife Matilda, or Maud, left three sons, Robert Courtsey, to whom he gave the duchy of Normandy; William Rufus, his second son, to whom he gave the kingdom of England; and Henry, the third son, to whom he left and gave treasure, and warned William to be to his people loving and liberal, Robert to be to his people stern and sturdy.

Example of God's judgment upon a bishop, who being unmerciful to the poor was eaten by rats and mice.

In the history called 'Jornalensis,' it is reported of a certain great man, who about this time of King William was compassed about with mice and rats, and flying to the midst of a river, yet when that would not serve, came to the land again, and was of them devoured. The Germans say that this was a bishop, who dwelling between Cologne and Mentz, in time of famine and dearth, having store of corn and grain, would not help the poverty crying to him for relief, but rather wished his corn to be eaten up of mice and rats. Wherefore, being compassed with mice and rats, by the just judgment of God, to avoid the annoyance of them, he built a tower in the midst of the river Rhine, which yet to this day the Dutchmen call 'Rat's Tower;' but all that would not help, for the rats and mice swam over to him in as great abundance as they did before, of whom at length he was devoured.

WILLIAM RUFUS.[1]

William Rufus, the second son of William the Conqueror, began his reign A.D. 1087, and reigned thirteen years, being crowned at Westminster by Lanfranc; who, after his coronation, released out of prison, by the request of his father, divers English lords, who before had been in custody. It chanced that, at the death of William the Conqueror, Robert Courtsey, his eldest son, was absent in Almany, who, hearing of the death of his father, and how William, his younger brother, had taken upon him the kingdom, was therewith A.D. 1087.

(1) Edition 1583, p. 184. Ed. 1596, p. 166. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 207.—Ed.

William Rufus. greatly moved; insomuch that he laid his dukedom to pledge unto his brother Henry, and with that good gathered unto him an army, and so landed at Hampton, to the intent to have expelled his brother from the kingdom. But William Rufus, hearing thereof, sent to him fair and gentle words, promising him dedition and subjection, as to the more worthy and elder brother; this thing only requiring, that seeing he was now in place and possession, he might enjoy it during his life, paying to him yearly three thousand marks, on condition that which of them overlived the other should enjoy the kingdom. The occasion of this variance between these brethren wrought a great dissension between the Norman lords and bishops, both in England and in Normandy, insomuch that all the Norman bishops within the realm almost rebelled against the king, taking part with Duke Robert, except only Lanfranc, and Wolstan, bishop of Worcester, above-mentioned, an Englishman; who, for his virtue and constancy, was so well liked and favoured of his citizens, that emboldened with his presence and prayer, they stoutly maintained the city of Worcester against the siege of their enemies, and at last vanquished them with utter ruin. But Duke Robert, at length, by the advice of his council (hearing the words sent unto him, and wagging his head thereat, as one conceiving some matter of doubt or doubleness), was yet content to assent to all that was desired, and so returned shortly after into Normandy, leaving the bishops, and such others, in the briars, who were in England, taking his part against the king.

A.D. 1087.

Worcester stoutly defended.

This Rufus was so ill liked of the Normans, that between him and his lords was oft dissension; wherefore well near all the Normans took part against him, so that he was forced of necessity to draw to him the Englishmen. Again, so covetous he was, and so immeasurable in his tasks and takings, in selling benefices, abbies, and bishoprics, that he was hated of all Englishmen.

A D.1090. Death of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury.

In the third year of this king died Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, from whose commendation and worthiness, as I list not to detract any thing (being so greatly magnified of Polydore, his countryman) so neither do I see any great cause why to add any thing thereunto. This I think, unless that man had brought with him less superstition, and more sincere science into Christ's church, he might have kept him in his own country still, and have confuted Berengarius at home. After the decease of Lanfranc, the see of Canterbury stood empty four years.

After the council of Lanfranc above mentioned, wherein was concluded for translating of bishops' sees from villages into head cities, Remigius, bishop of Dorchester, who, as ye heard, accompanied Lanfranc to Rome, removed his bishop's see from Dorchester to Lincoln, where he builded the minster, situated upon a hill within the said city of Lincoln. The dedication of that church Robert, archbishop of York, did resist, saying, that it was builded within the ground of his precinct; but afterwards it had his Romish dedication by Robert Bleuet, next bishop that followed. By the same Remigius, also, was founded the cloister or monastery of Stow, &c.

Lincoln minster builded.

Stow abbey builded.

A.D.1091. In the fourth year of this king great tempests fell in sund[illegible]

William Rufus. A.D. 1091.

places in England, specially at Winchcombe, where the steeple was burned with lightning, the church wall burst through, the head and right leg of the crucifix, with the image of our Lady on the right side of the crucifix, thrown down, and such a stench left in the church, that none might abide it. In London the force of the weather and tempest overturned six hundred houses. In the same tempest the roof of Bow church was hurled up in the wind, and by the vehemency thereof was pitched down a great deepness into the ground.

Six hundred houses blown down with wind. The roof of Bow church overthrown.

King William, as ye have heard, an exceeding pillager, or ravener rather, of church goods, after he had given the bishopric of Lincoln to his chancellor, Robert Bleuet, above mentioned, began to cavil; avouching the see of Lincoln to belong to the see of York, till the bishop of Lincoln had pleased him with a great sum of money, of five thousand marks, &c.

Robert Blevet paid five thousand marks for his bishopric.

As nothing could come in those days without money from the king, so Herbert Losinga, paying to the king a piece of money, was made bishop of Thetford, as he had paid a little before to be abbot of Ramsey; who, likewise, at the same time, removing his see from Thetford to the city of Norwich, there erected the cathedral church, with the cloister, in the said city of Norwich, where he furnished the monks with sufficient living and rents of his own charges, besides the bishop's lands. Afterward, repenting of his open and manifest simony, he went to Rome, where he resigned into the pope's hands his bishopric, but so that immediately he received it again. This Herbert was the son of an abbot called Robert, for whom he purchased of the king to be bishop of Winchester, whereof run these verses:

Norwich minster builded by Herbert Losinga.

> "Filius est præsul, pater abba, Simon uterque:
> Quid non speremus si nummos possideamus?
> Omnia nummus habet, quod vult facit, addit, et aufert.
> Res nimis injusta, nummis fit præsul et abba."

Ye heard a little before of the death of Pope Hildebrand, after the time of which Hildebrand the German emperors began to lose their authority and right in the pope's election, and in giving of benefices. For next after this Hildebrand came Pope Victor III., by the setting up of Matilda and the duke of Normandy, with the faction and retinue of Hildebrand, who likewise showed himself stout against the emperor. But God gave the shrewd cow short horns, for Victor being poisoned, as some say, in his chalice, sat but one year and a half. Notwithstanding the same imitation and example of Hildebrand continued still in them that followed after. And, like as the kings of Israel followed for the most part the steps of Jeroboam, till the time of their desolation; so, for the greatest part, all popes followed the steps and proceedings of this Hildebrand, their spiritual Jeroboam, in maintaining false worship, and chiefly in upholding the dignity of the see, against all rightful authority, and the lawful kingdom of Sion. In the time of this Victor began the order of the monks of Charterhouse,[1] through the means of one Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, and of Bruno of Cologne, canon of Rheims.[2]

Pope Victor poisoned in his chalice.

A comparison between Hildebrand, pope of Rome, and Jeroboam, king of Israel.

The order of Charter monks began.

Next to Victor sat Urban II., by whom the acts of Hildebrand were confirmed, and also new decrees enacted against Henry the emperor.

See Appendix.

(1) Chartreuse.—Ed. (2) See Cave's Hist. Litt. v. Bruno Carthusianus.—Ed.

William Rufus. A. D. 1095.

In this time were two popes at Rome, Urban and Clement III., whom the emperor set up. Under Pope Urban came in the white monks of the Cistercian order, by one Stephen Harding, a monk of Sherborne, an Englishman, by whom this order had its beginning in the wilderness of Citeaux, within the province of Burgoin, as witnesseth Cestrensis. Others write that this Harding was the second abbot of that place, and that it was first founded by the means of one Robert, abbot of Molesme, in Citeaux, a forest in Burgundy, A.D. 1098, persuaded perchance by Harding; and afterwards, A.D. 1135, it was brought into England by a certain man called Espek, who builded an abbey of the same order called Rievale.[1] In this order the monks did live by the labour of their hands; they paid no tithes nor offerings; they wore no fur nor lining; they wore red shoes, their cowls white, and coats black; they were all shorn save a little circle; they ate no flesh but only on their journey. Of this order was Bernard.

Two popes in Rome.

The order of Cistercian or white monks began.

See Appendix.

Council of Rome.

This Urban held divers councils; one at Rome, where he excommunicated all such lay persons as gave investure of any ecclesiastical benefice, also all such of the clergy as subjected themselves to be underlings or servants to lay persons for ecclesiastical benefices, &c.

A.D.1095. Council of Clermont.

Another council he held at Clermont[2] in France, A.D. 1095, where among other things, the bishop made an oration to the lords there present, concerning the voyage and recovery of the Holy Land from the Turks and Saracens. The cause of this voyage first arose through one Peter, a monk or hermit, who, being in Jerusalem, and seeing the great misery of the Christians under the pagans, made thereof declaration to Pope Urban, and was therein a great solicitor to all christian princes. By reason of this, after the aforesaid oration of Pope Urban, thirty thousand men, taking on them the sign of the cross for their cognizance, made preparation for that voyage, whose captains were Godfrey duke of Lorrain, with his two brethren, Eustace and Baldwin, the bishop of le Puy, Bohemund duke of Apulia, and his nephew Tancred, Raymund earl of St. Gilles, Robert earl of Flanders, and Hugh le Grand, brother of Philip the French king:[3]

The voyage unto the Holy Land.

(1) See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) The first crusade arose out of the deliberations of a council held at Placentia, in March, A. D. 1095, and from the one here mentioned held in November following, at Clermont, at which Pope Urban presided. The origin of these destructive and chimerical undertakings appears to be this: The infidels in a few years had obtained possession of above one half of the empire of the East; churches and monasteries had been plundered, and priests, monks, and christian laity, cruelly massacred; while unoffending pilgrims, who from feelings of real piety, or superstition, were accustomed to visit the holy city, suffered the most cruel oppression, slavery, and death.—[See William, Archb. of Tyre's Hist. of the Holy Wars, book i. c. 9. A. D. 1095.] Three hundred thousand men from France, Italy, and Germany, commenced their march to the East; but as the object of their undertaking was to extirpate the enemies of the christian faith, Jews as well as infidels fell a sacrifice to their fury. At Verdun, Spires, Worms, Cologne, and Mentz, the most horrible atrocities were committed against those unhappy outcasts, whose only chance of safety consisted in professing themselves Christians, and renouncing their religion.—[Bertold. in Chron. ad ann. 1096.] Such unholy conduct, however, on the part of the crusaders, induced the inhabitants of the countries through which they passed, who were continually the victims of their plunder, to resent the injuries which they suffered. So effectual was the opposition which they offered, that by the 1st of August in the same year, on the arrival of the last division of the army under Peter the Hermit at Constantinople, he was scarcely able to add twenty thousand men to the two divisions which had already arrived in an equally enfeebled condition. This army, after committing the most unjustifiable excesses upon their friends the Greeks, crossed the Hellespont, and in two divisions were defeated and cut to pieces by the Turks. In A. D. 1099, another better disciplined army assembled at Constantinople, which, after crossing the Hellespont, amounted to about five hundred thousand foot, and one hundred thousand horse. After a most severe, although victorious campaign, with a very reduced force, Jerusalem was taken by scalade, on Friday, the 15th July, 1099. Twenty thousand Turks were massacred, and after eight days devoted to processions and religious ceremonies, Godfrey of Bouillon, who was the second to scale the wall, was unanimously elected king of Jerusalem. Pope Urban II., however, did not live to hear of these successes; he died on the 29th day of July in the same year, and the news of the victory had consequently not reached Rome; this was communicated to Paschal II. who succeeded him in the papal chair.—Ed

(3) See Appendix.—Ed.

to whom also was joined Robert Courthoyse, duke of Normandy, with divers other noblemen, with the aforesaid Peter the Hermit, who was the chief cause of that voyage. *William Rufus.* A. D. 1096.

At that time many of the said noblemen put their lands and lordships to mortgage, to provide for the aforenamed voyage; as Godfrey, duke of Lorrain, who sold the dukedom of Bouillon to the bishop of Liege for a great sum of money.[1] Also Robert Courthoyse, duke of Normandy, laid his dukedom to pledge to his brother William, king of England, for ten thousand pounds, &c. *See Appendix.*

Thus, the Christians, who passed first over the Bosphorus, having for their captain Peter the Hermit, a man perchance more devout than expert to guide an army, being trapped of their enemies, were slain and murdered in great numbers among the Bulgarians, and near to the town called Civita. A.D.1096. *See Appendix.*

When the nobles and the whole army met together at Constantinople, where Alexius was emperor, passing over by the Hellespont, going to Jerusalem, they took the cities of Nice, Heraclea, Tarsus, and subdued the country of Cilicia, appointing the possession thereof to certain of their captains. The acts of the Christians in their voyage to win Jerusalem.

Antioch was besieged, and in the ninth month of the siege it was yielded to the Christians, by one Phirouz, about which season were fought many strong battles, to the great slaughter and desolation of the Saracens, and not without loss of many christian men. The governance of this city was committed to Bohemund, duke of Apulia, whose martial knighthood was often proved in time of the siege thereof. And not long after Kerboga, master of the Persian chivalry, was vanquished and slain, with a hundred thousand infidels. In that discomfiture were taken fifteen thousand camels. Antioch taken by the Christians. *See Appendix.* A.D.1098. The slaughter of the Persian infidels.

Jerusalem, on the nine and thirtieth day of the siege, was conquered by the Christians, and Robert, duke of Normandy, was elect to be king thereof.[2] Howbeit, he refused it, hearing of the death of King William Rufus of England; wherefore he never sped well in all his affairs after the same. Then Godfrey, captain of the christian army, was proclaimed the first king of Jerusalem. At the taking of the city there was such a murder of men that blood was congealed in the streets the thickness of a foot. Then after Godfrey reigned Baldwin, his brother; after him Baldwin the second, his nephew. Then Gaufrid, duke of Gaunt; and after him Gaufrid, his son, by whom many great battles were fought there against the Saracens, and all the country thereabout subdued, save Ascalon, &c. And thus much hitherto touching the voyage to the Holy Land: now to our own land again. Jerusalem conquered by the Christians. *See Appendix.*

About this time, as Matthew Paris writeth, the king of England favoured not much the see of Rome, because of the impudent and insatiable exactions which they required; neither would he suffer any of his subjects to go to Rome, alleging these words, "Because they follow not the steps of Peter, hunting for rewards; neither have they the power and authority of him, whose holiness they declare themselves not to follow."[3] The king of England's judgment against the pope.

(1) See Appendix.—Ed. (2) Ex Hen. lib. vii.

(3) "Quod Petri non inhærent vestigus, præmiis inhiantes, non ejus potestatem retinent, cujus sanctitatem probantur non imitari."—Ex Matt. Paris.

William Rufus. By the same Urban, the seven hours, which we call 'septem horas canonicas,' were first instituted in the church.

A. D. 1098. Item, By this pope it was decreed, that no bishop should be made but under the name and title of some certain place.

Decrees of Pope Urban. Item, That matins and hours of the day should every day be said.[1]

See Appendix. Item, That every Saturday should be said the mass of our Lady, and that all the Jews' Sabbath should be turned to the service of our Lady, as in the council of Tours, to the which service was appointed the anthem, "Ora pro populo, interveni pro clero, intercede pro devoto fæmineo sexu."[2]

Item, That all such of the clergy as had wives should be deprived of their order.[3]

Item, That it should be lawful for subjects to break their oath of allegiance, with all such as were by the pope excommunicated.

See Appendix. Item, That it should not be lawful for husband and wife to stand sponsors in baptism to the same child both together; with many more matters.[4]

Example of God's righteous judgment in punishing murder. In the sixth year of this king's reign, Malcolm king of Scots, who four times before had made great slaughter of old and young in the north parts, as is before showed, burst into Northumberland, with all the power he could make; and there, by the right judgment of God, was slain with his son Edward, and also Margaret his wife, sister to Edgar Etheling, above minded, a virtuous and devout lady, within three days after.

The same year he gave the archbishopric of Canterbury, after that he had detained the same in his own hands four years, to Anselm, abbot of Bec, in Normandy.

See Appendix. This Anselm was an Italian, born in the city of Aosta, and brought up in the abbey of Bec, in Normandy; where he was so strict a follower of virtue, that, as the story recordeth, he wished rather to be without sin in hell, than in heaven with sin. Which saying and wish of his, if it were his, may seem to proceed out of a mind, neither speaking orderly according to the phrase and understanding of the Scripture, nor yet sufficiently acquainted with the justification of a christian man.[5] Further, they report him to be so far from singularity,[6] that he should say, it was the vice which thrust the angels first out of heaven, and man out of paradise.

Of this Anselm it is, moreover, reported, that he was so illwilling to take the archbishopric, that the king had much ado to thrust it upon him; and he was so desirous to have him take it, that the city of Canterbury, which before Lanfranc did hold but at the king's good will and pleasure, he gave now to Anselm wholly, which was about A.D. 1093. But as desirous as the king was then to place the said Anselm, so much did he repent it afterward, seeking all manner means to defeat him if he might: such strife and contention arose between them two for certain matters, the ground and occasion whereof first was this.

Strife and contention between the king and Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury.

After that Anselm had been thus elected to the see of Canterbury, before he was fully consecrated, the king communed with him,

(1) Vid. John Stella. (2) Vid. Nauclerus. (3) Dist. 31. Eos qui. 15. q. 6. Juratos.
(4) By the same pope thus many chapters stand written in the canon law, dist. 70. Sanctorum. dist. 32. Eos qui. 1. q. 1. Si qui. dist. 56. Presbyterorum. 11. q. 3. quibus. 15. q. 6. Juratos. 16. q. 2. Congregato. 19. 2. Statuimus. 23. q. 8. Tributum. 30. q. 4. quod autem. 32. q. 2. de neptis, &c.
(5) See Appendix.—Ed. (6) "Peculiaritatis vitium." Mamesb.—Ed. See Ap.

assaying by all gentle manner of words to entreat him, that such lands and possessions of the church of Canterbury as the king had given and granted to his friends since the death of Lanfranc, they might still enjoy as their own lawful possessions through his grant and permission. But to this Anselm in no case would agree. Whereupon the king, conceiving great displeasure against him, did stop his consecration a great season, till at length in long process of time the king, enforced by the daily complaints and desires of his people and subjects, for lack of an archbishop to moderate the church, was constrained to admit and authorize him unto them. Thus Anselm, with much ado, taking his consecration, and doing his homage to the king, went to his see of Canterbury; and not long after the king sailed over to Normandy.

William Rufus. A.D. 1095.

About this time there were two striving in Rome for the popedom, as is afore-noticed, Urban and Guibert,—divers realms diversely consenting, some to the one, some to the other. England, taking with their king, was rather inclined to Guibert, called Clemens III.; but Anselm did fully go with Urban, making so his exception with the king on entering his bishopric. After the king was returned again from Normandy, the archbishop cometh to him, and asketh leave to go to Rome to fetch his pall of Pope Urban; which when he could not at first obtain, he maketh his appeal from the king to the pope. Whereat the king, being justly displeased, chargeth the archbishop with breach of his fealty, contrary to his promise made; that is, if he, without his license, should appeal either to Urban or to any other pope. Anselm answereth again, that it was to be referred unto some greater council, where it should be disputed whether this be to break a man's allegiance to a terrene prince, if he appeal to the vicar of St. Peter. And here much arguing and contending was on both sides. The king's reason proceedeth thus: "The custom," saith he, "from my father's time hath been in England, that no person should appeal to the pope without the king's license. He that breaketh the customs of the realm, violateth the power and crown of the kingdom. He that violateth and taketh away my crown, is a traitor and enemy against me," &c. To this Anselm replieth again, "The Lord," saith he, "easily discusseth this question, briefly teaching what fidelity and allegiance we ought to give unto the vicar of St. Peter, where he saith, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church,' &c.: and, 'To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind in earth, it shall be bound in heaven; and, whatsoever thou loosest in earth, shall be loosed in heaven,' &c. Again, to them all in general he saith, 'He that heareth you, heareth me; and whoso despiseth you, despiseth me.' And in another place, 'He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye.' On the other side, what duty we owe to the king, he showeth also: 'Give,' saith he, 'to the emperor, what belongeth to the emperor, and to God, that which to God belongeth.' Wherefore, in such things as belong to God I will yield, and must yield by good right and duty, my obedience to the vicar of St. Peter, and in such things as belong again to terrene dignity of my prince, in those I will not deny to him my faithful help and counsel, so far as they can extend."

Urban and Clement striving for the papacy.

Anselm charged for a traitor. *See Appendix.*

Custom of England from William the Conqueror's time, not to appeal to the pope. Anselm here ignorantly calleth the pope the vicar of St. Peter, whereas the canon law calleth him but the successor of Peter, and vicar of Christ.

William Rufus. A.D. 1096.

Thus have ye the grounded arguments of this prelate to stand so stiffly against his prince, whereunto peradventure was joined also some piece of a stubborn heart. But in this conclusion none of his fellow-bishops durst take his part, but were all against him; namely, William, bishop of Durham, to whom Anselm thus protesteth, saying, "Whosoever he were that would presume to prove it any breach of allegiance or fealty to his sovereign, if he appealed to the vicar of St. Peter, he was ready to answer at all times to the contrary." The bishop of Durham answereth again, "That he who would not be ruled by reason, must with force be constrained," &c. The king, having on his part the agreement of the bishops, thought both to deprive the archbishop of his pastoral see, and to expel him out of the realm. But he could not perform his purpose; for Anselm, as he was ready to depart the realm, said, wheresoever he went, he would take his office and authority with him, though he took nothing else; whereupon that matter was deferred till a longer time. In the mean season the king had sent privily two messengers to Pope Urban, to entreat him to send his pall to the king, for him to give it where he would: which messengers by this time were returned again, bringing with them from Rome Walter, bishop of Albano, the pope's legate, with the pall to be given unto Anselm. This legate, first landing at Dover, from thence came privily (unknown to Anselm) to the king, declaring and promising, that if Urban was received pope in England, whatsoever the king required to be obtained, he, by his privilege from the apostolical see, would ratify and confirm the same, save only, that when the king required of the legate that Anselm might be removed, the legate thereunto would not agree, saying, "that it was impossible to be obtained, that such a man as he, being lawfully called, should be expelled without manifest cause." In conclusion, so it followed, that although he could not obtain his request of the legate, yet the legate so wrought with the king, that Urban was proclaimed lawful pope throughout all the realm.

All the bishops of the realm on the king's side against Anselm.

Walter the pope's legate cometh to England.

The pope taketh this as no fault, for a subject to resist his king.

Then were sent to Anselm certain bishops to move and prove his mind, declaring what charges and pains the king had been at in his behalf, to procure the pall for him from Rome, which otherwise would have stood him in a great expense, and that all this the king had done for his sake, wherefore it were good reason and convenient, that he, to gratify the king, should somewhat condescend to his request again. But with all this Anselm, the stout archbishop, would not be moved. Wherefore the king, seeing no other remedy, was compelled to grant unto him the full right of his archbishopric. And so on the day appointed,[1] when the pall should be brought to Canterbury, it being carried with all solemnity in a thing of silver, the archbishop, with a great concourse of people, came forth barefoot with his priestly vestments, after a most goodly manner, to meet the same; and so being brought in, it was laid upon the altar, while Anselm, spreading over his shoulders his popish vestments, proceeded unto his popish mass.

The manner of bringing Anselm's pall into Canterbury.

Thus agreement being made between the king and the bishop, so long as it would hold, it happened, in the year following, that the king with his army entered into Wales, to subdue such as there rebelled against him. After the victory gotten, the king returned

See Appendix.

(1) "Dies Dominica, 4 Idus Junii" (Eadmer and Malmesbury), *i.e.* June 10th, A.D. 1095.—Ed.

home again with triumph; to whom Anselm thought to have come to congratulate him on his prosperous success. But the king prevented him by messengers, laying to the bishop's charge both the small number and the evil service of his soldiers sent to him at his need. At the hearing hereof, all the hope of Anselm was dashed, who at the same present had thought to have obtained and done many great matters with the king touching the state of the church; but here all turned contrary to his expectation, insomuch that he was charged, against the next court of parliament, to make his answer, which he avoided by appealing to Rome; wherefore he made his suit and friends to the king for license to go to the pope. To that suit the king answered, that he should not go, neither was there any cause for him so to do; for that both he knew him to be of so sound a life, that he had done no such offence, whereof he needed to crave absolution at Rome, neither was there any such lack of science and knowledge, that he needed to borrow any counsel there: "insomuch," saith the king, "that I dare say Pope Urban hath rather to give place to the wisdom of Anselm, than Anselm to have need of Urban. Wherefore, as he hath no cause to go, so I charge him to tarry. And if he continue in his stubbornness still, I will assuredly seize upon his possessions, and convert his archbishopric unto my coffers, for that he transgresseth and breaketh his fidelity and obeisance, having solemnly promised before to observe all the customs of my kingdom. Neither is it the fashion in this realm, that any of my nobles should go to Rome without my sending. And therefore let him swear unto me that he will never for any grievance appeal hereafter to the see of Rome, or else let him void my realm."

William Rufus.

A.D. 1096.

Another quarrel of the king against Anselm, who appealeth to Rome.

No prelate or nobleman to go to Rome without the king's sending.

Against these words of the king, Anselm thinking not best to reply again by any message, but by word of mouth, coming himself personally to the king, placeth himself, after his order, on the right hand of the prince, where he made his reply unto the message sent to him by the king.

Anselm's answer to the king. *See Appendix.*

"Whereas you say, I ought not to go to Rome, either in regard of any trespass, or for any lack of counsel and knowledge in me, albeit I grant to neither of them as true, yet what the truth is therein, I refer it to the judgment of God. And whereas ye say that I promised to keep and observe your customs; that I grant, but with a condition, so far to keep them, and such of them to observe, as were consonant to the laws of God, and ruled with right and equity. Moreover, whereas ye charge me with breach of my fidelity and allegiance, for that contrary to your customs I appeal to the see apostolic, (my reverence and duty to your sovereignty reserved) if another would say it, that is untrue. For the fidelity and obeisance that I owe to thee, O king, I have it of the faith and fidelity of God, whose vicar St. Peter is, to whose seat I do appeal. Further, whereas, as ye require me to swear that I shall for no cause hereafter at any time appeal to Rome, I pronounce openly that a christian prince requireth such an oath of his archbishop unjustly, for if I should forswear St. Peter, I should deny Christ. And when I shall at any time deny Christ, then shall I be content and ready to stand to the satisfaction of my transgression to you, for asking license to go to Rome. And peradventure, when I am gone, God will so order, that the goods of the church shall not long serve your temporal desires and commodities as ye ween for."

Note the high reasons of Anselm.

At these words of the bishop, the king and his nobles were not a little incensed, they defending again, that in his promise of observing the king's customs, there was neither condition nor any clause put

William Rufus. A.D. 1097.

in, either of God or right. "There was not!" said Anselm. "If so be that in your customs was neither mention made of God nor of right, of what was there mention then? For God forbid that any Christian should be bound to any customs which go contrary to God and to right." Thus on both sides passed much altercation between them.

See Appendix.

The bishops leave Anselm alone.

At length the king, after many threatening words, told him he should carry nothing out of the realm with him. "Well," said the bishop, "if I may neither have my horse nor garments with me, then will I walk on foot;" and so addressed him toward his journey, all the other bishops forsaking him, whereof none would take his part; but if he came to them for counsel, they said he was wise enough, and needed not their counsel, as who for his prudence knew best what was to be done, as also for his holiness was willing and able to prosecute the same that he did know. As for them, they neither durst nor would stand against the king, their lord, whose favour they could not lack, for the peril that might happen both to themselves and their kindred; but for him, because he was both a stranger, and void of such worldly corruption in him, they willed him to go forward as he had begun; their secret consent he should have, but their open voice they would not give him. Thus Anselm, remaining at Dover fifteen days, tarrying for wind, at last sped him toward his passage; but his packing being secretly known in the court, the king's officer, William Warlwast, prevented his purpose, searching, by the king's commandment, all his trusses, coffers, satchels, sleeves, purse, napkin, and bosom, for letters and for money; and so let him pass. Anselm, sailing into France, first rested a while at Lyons, and from thence came to Rome to complain to Pope Urban,[1] according to the tenor and form of a certain epistle of his, wherein, among many other things in the same epistle contained, these words he writeth to Pope Paschal, the third year after his banishment, after the death of Urban, and a little before the death of the king.

See Appendix.

Anselm flying out of England.

Anselm searched by the king's officer for letters and money.

See Appendix.

> To the Lord and Reverend Father Paschal, high bishop, Anselm, servant of the church of Canterbury, offereth due subjection from his heart, and prayers, if they can stand in any stead, &c. &c.[2]

A fragment or portion of a letter.

I saw in England many evils, whose correction belongeth to me, and which I could neither amend, nor suffer without mine own fault. The king desired of me, that under the name of right, I should consent to his pleasures, which were against the law and will of God. For he would not have the pope received nor appealed unto in England without his commandment; neither that I should send a letter unto him, or receive any from him, or that I should obey his decrees. He suffered not a council to be kept in his realm now these thirteen years since he was king. In all these things, and such like, if I asked any counsel, all my suffragan bishops of his realm denied to give me any counsel, but according to the king's pleasure. After that I saw these and such other things that are done against the will and law of God, I asked license of him to go to Rome, unto the see apostolical, that I might there take counsel for my soul, and the office committed unto me. The king said, that I offended against him for the only asking of license; and propounded to me, that either I should make him amends for the same as a trespass, (assuring him never to ask his license any more to appeal to the pope at any time hereafter,) or else that I should quickly depart out of his land. Wherefore, choosing rather to go out of the

The king would not have the pope received nor appealed unto in England.

(1) Ex Legenda Anselmi, autore Eadmero. (2) Ex Epist. Anselm. 36, paulo post initium.

land than agree to so wicked a thing, I came to Rome, as you know, and declared the whole matter to the lord pope. The king, by and by, as soon as I went out of England, invaded the whole archbishopric, and turned it to his own use, giving the monks only bare meat, drink, and clothing. The king being warned and desired of the lord pope to amend this, contemned the same, and yet continueth in his purpose still. And now is the third year since I came thus out of England, and more. Some men, not understanding, demand why I do not excommunicate the king. But the wiser sort, and such as have understanding, counsel me that I do not this thing; because it belongeth not unto me both to complain and to punish. To conclude, I was forewarned by my friends that are under the king, that my excommunication (if it should be done) would be laughed to scorn and despised," &c.

William Rufus. A. D. 1098.

Anselm complaineth of the king and of his suffragan bishops. The king contemneth the pope's warning.

By these here above prefixed, appeareth how Anselm the archbishop, coming unto Rome, made his complaint to Pope Urban of the king; and how the pope writing unto the king in behalf of Anselm, his letters and commandments were despised. And now to our story. In the mean time, while the pope's letters were sent to the king, Anselm was bid to wait about the pope to look for answer back, who perceiving, at length, how little the king reputed the pope's letters, began to be weary of his office, desiring the pope that he might be discharged thereof; but the pope in no case would thereto consent, charging him upon his obedience, that wheresoever he went, he should bear with him the name and honour of the archbishop of Canterbury. Whereunto Anselm again said, his obedience he neither durst nor would refuse, as who for God's cause was ready to suffer whatsoever should happen, yea, though it were death itself, as he thought no less would follow thereof. "But what should we think," saith he, "is there to be done, where justice not only taketh no place, but is utterly oppressed? And whereas my suffragans do not only not help, for dread, the righteous cause, but also for favour do impugn the same?" "Well," saith the pope, "as touching these matters, we shall sufficiently provide at the next council to be holden at Bari, whereat I will you the same time and place to be present."

Council of Bari, Oct. 1st.

When the time of the council was come, Anselm, amongst others, was called for, who, first sitting on an outer side of the bishops, afterwards was placed at the right foot of the pope, with these words, "Includamus hunc in orbe nostro, tanquam alterius orbis papam." Whereupon the same place after him was appointed to the successors of the see of Canterbury, in every general council, by the decree of Pope Urban, to sit at the right foot of the pope. In this said council great stir and much reasoning there was against the Grecians, concerning the matter and order of proceeding of the Holy Ghost. Here is to be noted, that the Greek[1] church hath of long time dissented from the Latin church in many and sundry points, to the number of twenty, or almost twenty-nine articles, as I have them collected out of the register of the church of Hereford; whereof, as occasion hereafter may serve (God willing) for a further and more ample tractation to be made; so here, by the way, partly I mean to touch some. The first is—

Anselm and his successors of Canterbury, placed at the right foot of the pope in his general councils.

De processione spiritus sancti.

(1) This dispute commenced in the seventh century; suspended for a time, it was revived in 1053. Gregory IX., in 1232, endeavoured to effect a reconciliation, nor was this attempt abandoned till the death of Urban IV., in 1264. The subject was revived in the fifteenth century at the council of Basil. Again, in the eighteenth century, the church of Rome attempted to make proselytes from the Greek church, but without success, and they remain, to this day, separate communions.—Ed.

William Rufus. A.D. 1098.

Articles and Opinions wherein the Greek Church differeth from the Latin.

The articles wherein the Greek church altereth from the Latin or Romish church, are these:[1]—

The difference between the Greek and the Latin churches.

I. They are not under the obedience of the church of Rome, because the church of Constantinople is not subject, but equal, to the same.

II. They hold that the bishop of the apostolic see of Rome hath not greater power than the four patriarchs; and whatsoever the pope doth beside their knowledge, or without their approbation, it is of no validity.

III. Also, they say whatsoever hath been done or concluded, since the second general council, it is of no full authority; because from that time they recount the Latins to be in error, and to be excluded out of the holy church.

IV. Item, "Dicunt eucharistiam consecratam per Romanam ecclesiam non esse verum corpus Christi." That is, they hold the eucharist consecrated by the church of Rome not to be the very body of Christ. Also, where the Romish church doth consecrate in unleavened bread, they consecrate in bread leavened.

V. Further, they say that the Romish church doth err in the words of baptism, for saying, "I baptize thee;" when they should say, "Let this creature of God be baptized," &c.

VI. They hold moreover that there is no purgatory, and that the suffrages of the church do not avail the dead, either to lessen the pain of them that be destined to hell, or to increase the glory of them that be ordained to salvation.

VII. Also, they hold that the souls out of the bodies departed (whether they have done good or evil) have not their perfect pain or glory, but are reserved in a certain place till the day of judgment.

VIII. Also, they condemn the church of Rome for mixing cold water in their sacrifice.

IX. Also, they condemn the church of Rome, for that as well women as priests anoint children (when they baptize them) on both shoulders.

X. Item, "Dicunt panem nostrum panagiam." That is, they call our bread *panagia*.

XI. Further, they blame the church of Rome for celebrating their mass on other days beside Sundays and certain other feasts appointed.

XII. Also, in this the Greek church varieth from the Latin; for they have neither cream nor oil, nor sacrament of confirmation.

XIII. Neither do they use extreme unction, or annoiling after the manner of the Roman church, expounding the place of St. James of the spiritual infirmity, and not corporal.

XIV. Also, they enjoin no satisfaction for penance, but only that they show themselves to the priests, anointing them with simple oil in token of remission of sins.

XV. Also, only on Maunday Thursday they consecrate for the sick, keeping it for the whole year after, thinking it to be more holy upon that day consecrated than upon any other: neither do they fast any Saturday through the whole year, but only on Easter-even.

XVI. Also, they give but only five orders, as of clerks, subdeacons, deacons, priests, and bishops; whereas the Roman church giveth nine orders, after the nine orders of angels.

XVII. Moreover, the Grecians in their orders make no vow of chastity, alleging for them the fifth canon,[2] "Ego, presbyter vel diaconus, uxorem causa honestatis non rejiciam," &c.; that is, "I, N. priest or deacon, will not forsake my wife for honesty' sake." *See Appendix.*

XVIII. Also, every year the Grecians use, on certain days, to excommunicate the church of Rome, and all the Latins as heretics.

XIX. Also further, among the said Grecians they are excommunicated that beat or strike a priest; neither do their religious men live in such priestly chastity as the Roman priests do.

(1) "Quod sunt extra obedientiam Romanæ ecclesiæ, pro eo quod ecclesia Constantinopolitana non est subjecta, sed ei æqualis. Dicunt dominum apostolicum non habere majorem potestatem, quam quatuor patriarchæ. Et quicquid fit præter scientiam eorum per papam, vel sine eorum approbatione, nullius est valoris," &c.—Ex Registro Eccles. Herefordiensis.

(2) My copy here seemeth to want somewhat. [See Appendix.—Ed.]

XX. Also, their emperor amongst them doth ordain patriarchs, bishops, and others of the clergy, and deposeth the same at his pleasure; also, he giveth benefices to whom he listeth, and retaineth the fruits of the same benefices, as pleaseth him. *William Rufus.* A. D. 1098.

XXI. Item, they blame the Latin church because they eat no flesh, eggs, and cheese on Fridays, and do eat flesh on Saturdays.[1]

XXII. Item, they hold against the Latin men for celebrating without the consecrated church, either in the house or in the field, and for fasting on the Sabbath-day; also for permitting menstruous women to enter into the church before their purifying; and for suffering dogs and other beasts to enter into the church.

XXIII. The Grecians use not to kneel in all their devotions, not even to the body of Christ, (as the register termeth it,) but one day in the whole year; saying and affirming that the Latins be goats and beasts, for they are always prostrating themselves upon the ground in their prayers.

XXIV. The Grecians, moreover, permit not the Latins to celebrate upon their altars. And if it chance that any Latin priest do celebrate upon their altar, by and by they wash their altar, in token of abomination and false sacrifice; and diligently they observe, that, whensoever they do celebrate, they do but one liturgy or mass upon one altar or table that day.

XXV. Further, they dissent from the church of Rome touching the order and manner of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost.

These articles, wherein is declared the difference between the east and west church, of the Grecians and Romans, as I found them articulated and collected in an ancient and authentic register of the church of Hereford, so I thought here to insert them, and leave them to the consideration of the reader. Other four articles more in the same register be there expressed concerning simony and usury, not with them forbidden; and touching also their emperor; and how they teach their children to hurt or damnify, by any manner of way, the Latin priests, &c.; which articles, for that either they seem not truly collected out of their teachings, or else not greatly pertinent to the doctrine of religion, I overpass them. To the purpose now of our story again.

Anselm a stout champion against the Grecians.

When certain of these above prefixed were moved in the aforesaid council to be discussed, namely concerning the assertion of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, and concerning leavened bread in the ministration of the Lord's supper, Anselm, as is above said, was called for, who, in the tractation of the same articles, so bestirred him in that council, that he well liked the pope and them about him, as mine author recordeth. Whereupon, touching the matter of unleavened bread, how indifferently he seemed there to reason, and what he writeth to Waltram, or Valerame, bishop of Naumburg, thereof ye shall hear by a piece of his letter sent to the said bishop, the copy whereof here ensueth.

Anselm, servant to the church of Canterbury, to Waltram, bishop of Naumburg.[2]

As concerning the sacrifice in which the Grecians think not as we do, it seemeth to many reasonable Catholic men, that which they do not to be against the christian faith; for both he that sacrificeth unleavened and leavened, sacrificeth bread. And where it is read of our Lord (when he made his body of bread) that he took bread and blessed, it is not added unleavened or leavened. Yet it is certain that he blessed unleavened bread, peradventure not because the

(1) This article seemeth not to be rightly collected out of the Grecians.
(2) Ex Epist Anselm. 325, post initium. [See note in Appendix on p. 155.—Ed.]

William Rufus. A. D. 1098.

thing that was done required that, but because the supper in which this was done did give that. And where in another place he calleth himself and his flesh bread, because that as man liveth temporally with this bread, so with that bread he liveth for ever—he saith not unleavened nor leavened, because both alike are bread; for unleavened and leavened differ not in substance, as some think: like as a new man before sin, and an old man rooted in the leaven of sin, differ not in substance. For this cause only, therefore, he might be thought to call himself and his flesh bread, and to have made his body of bread, because that this bread, unleavened or leavened, giveth a transitory life; and his body giveth everlasting life, not for that it is either leavened or unleavened. Although it be a commandment in the law to eat unleavened bread in the Passover, where all things are done in a figure, that it might be declared that Christ, whom they looked for, was pure and clean; and we that should eat his body were admonished to be likewise pure from all leaven of malice and wickedness: yet now after we are come from the old figure to the new truth, and eat the unleavened flesh of Christ, that old figure in bread, of which we make that flesh, is not necessary for us. But manifest it is, to be better sacrificed of unleavened than of leavened, &c.

Bread in the communion to be unleavened is not necessary.

To this letter I have also adjoined another epistle of his to the said Waltram, appertaining to matters not much unlike; wherein the variety and divers usages of the sacraments in the church are treated of; whereby such as call and cry so much for uniformity in the church, may note, peradventure, in the same something for their better understanding.

Part of another Letter of Anselm to the said Waltram, Bishop of Naumburg.[1]

To the reverend father and his friend Waltram, by the grace of God, the worshipful bishop of Naumburg, Anselm, the servant of the church of Canterbury, greeting, &c.

Your worship complaineth of the sacraments of the church, that they are not made every where after one sort, but are handled in divers places after divers sorts. And truly if they were ministered after one sort, and agreeing through the whole church, it were good and laudable. Yet, notwithstanding, because there be many diversities which differ not in the sum of the sacrament, in the strength of it, or in the faith, or else can be gathered into one custom, I think that they are rather to be borne with in agreement of peace, than to be condemned with offence: for we have this from the holy fathers, that if the unity of charity be kept in the catholic faith, the diversity of customs hurteth nothing. But if it be demanded whereof this diversity of customs doth spring, I perceive no other cause thereof but the diversity of men's wits, which, although they differ not in strength and truth of the thing, yet they agree not in the fitness and comeliness of the ministering: for that which one judgeth to be meeter, oftentimes another thinketh less meet; wherefore, not to agree in such diversities, I think it not to swerve from the truth of the thing, &c.

Diversity of usages in the church to be borne with peace, rather than condemned with offence.

Then in the story it followeth, after long debating and discussing of these matters in the council, when they had given forth their determination upon the same, and the pope had blasted out his thundering excommunications against the Grecians, and all that took their part, at length were brought in the complaints and accusations against the king of England, upon the hearing whereof, Pope Urban, with his adherents, was ready to proceed in excommunication against the king; but Anselm, kneeling before the pope, after he

Excommunication denounced against the Grecians; also threatened against King William.

(1) Ex Epist. Anselm. 327.

had first accused his king, then afterwards obtained for him longer time to be given upon further trial. *William Rufus.*

A.D. 1099.

Thus the council breaking up, the pope returned again to Rome, directing down his letters to the king, and commanding him that Anselm, with all his partakers, in speedy wise should be revested again in his archbishopric, and all other possessions thereunto appertaining. To this the king sendeth answer again by messengers, who, coming to the pope, declared in the king's behalf on this wise, That the king, their master, did not a little marvel what came into his mind to command Anselm to be revested and reseized again into his former archbishopric; seeing he told him before plainly, that if he went out of England without his leave, he would so do unto him. "Well," saith the pope, "have ye no other matter against Anselm but only this?" "No," quoth they. "And have ye taken all this travail," saith the pope, "to come hither so far to tell me this, that the primate of your country is therefore dissezed and dispossessed, because he hath appealed to the see and judgment apostolical? Therefore, if thou lovest thy lord, speed thee home and tell him, if he will not be excommunicated, that he quickly revest Anselm again in all that he had before. And lest I make thee to be hanged for thy labour, look to thy term, and see that thou bring me answer again from him into this city against the next council, the third week after Easter." The messenger, or speaker, being somewhat astonied at the hearing of this so tragical answer, thinking yet to work something for his king and master, came secretly to the pope, saying, that he would confer a certain mystery from his king privately with his holiness, between them two. What mystery that was, or what there passed from the king to the pope and the court of Rome, mine author does not show; but so cunningly that mystery was handled, that, with a full consent, both of the pope and all the court of Rome, a longer day was given, from Easter to Michaelmas; and the pope's choleric heat so assuaged, that when the council came, which then was holden at St. Peter's church in Rome, albeit great complaints were then denounced against the king, yet such favour was found, that he took no harm; only the sentence of excommunication was there pronounced against such lay persons as gave investiture of churches, and them that were so invested; also, against them that consecrated such, or which gave themselves in subjection to laymen for ecclesiastical livings, as is before touched.

First break his head, and then give him a plaster.

See Appendix.

A loud crack of thunder, but without a thunderbolt.

See Appendix.

A bribing mystery handled at Rome.

Optimus Causidicus nummus. Acts of the Council of Rome

This council being finished, the archbishop, seeing the unstedfastness of the pope, which pleased him but little, took his journey to Lyons, where he continued his abode a long time, till the death, first of Pope Urban, and then of the king.

Of this King William many things be diversely recorded, some to his commendation, and some to his discommendation; whereof this is one which some will ascribe to hardiness, but I rather to rashness in him. As this king upon a time was in his disport of hunting, suddenly word came to him that Le Mans, a city in Normandy, was besieged. The king, without longer tarrying or advisement, took the straight way toward the sea-side, sending to his lords that they should follow after. They, being come to his presence, advised him to stay till the time his people were assembled; but he would

The hardiness, or rather rashness, of King William.

William Rufus. A.D. 1100.

not be stayed, saying, that such as him loved, he knew, would follow him shortly; and so went to take ship. The shipmaster, seeing the weather so dark and cloudy, was afraid, and counselled the king to tarry till the wind did turn about, and the weather was more favourable.

A saying of King William.

But the king, persisting in his journey, commanded him to make all the speed he might for his life; saying, that he never heard that any king yet was ever drowned; and so passed the sea in safety, and came to Normandy.

The thirteenth year of his reign, the said King William, having the same time in his hand three bishoprics—Canterbury, Winchester, and Sarum, also twelve abbies in farm, as he was in his disport of hunting in the New Forest, by glancing of an arrow shot by a knight named Walter Tyrrell, was wounded to death, and so, speechless, was carried to Westminster, and there was buried. Here also is to be noted, that Richard, the cousin-german of King William, and son to Duke Robert his brother, was likewise slain in the aforesaid forest. See the just hand of God upon kings usurping wrongfully upon other men's grounds, as did William the Conqueror, their father, in making this new forest, plucking down divers churches and townships for the compass of thirty miles about. Here therefore appeareth, that although men cannot revenge, yet God revengeth, either in them or in their posterity. This king, as he always used concubines, so left he no issue legitimate behind him. His life was such, that it is hard for a story that should tell the truth to say whether he was more to be commended or reproved. Among other vices in him, especially is to be rebuked in him unmeasurable and unreasonable covetousness; insomuch that he coveted, if he might, to be every man's heir. This one example of a liberal and princely nature I find in him, that upon a time when a certain abbot of a place was dead, there came to his court two monks of the same house, who before had gathered much money, and made their friends to the king, and offered large offers, both of them to be promoted to that dignity. There was also a third monk of the same place, who of meekness and humility followed the other two, to the intent that upon him whom the king had admitted for abbot, he should give attendance, and as his chaplain with him return. The king called before him the two monks severally, of whom the one outproffered the other. As the king cast his eye aside, he espied the third monk standing by, supposing that his coming had been also for the like cause. Then the king, calling him, asked what he would do, whether he would give more than his brethren had offered to be abbot. He answered the king, and said, that he neither had, nor would (if he might) offer any penny for it by any such unlawful means. When the king had well pondered this third monk's answer, he said that he was best worthy to be abbot, and to have the rule of so holy a charge: and so gave unto him that benefice without taking any penny.

The death of William Rufus.

Example of God revenging the faults of kings in their posterity.

Covetousness of King William.

Urban, bishop of Rome, who, as is said, succeeded after Victor, ruled the church of Rome about the space of eleven years; and amongst his other acts he excommunicated the emperor, Henry IV., as a man not much devout to that see of Rome. But yet a worthy and victorious prince he was, in whom, albeit some vice perchance might be noted, yet none such wherefore any prelate or minister of

Christ ought to excite his subjects to rebel against public authority of God appointed. This emperor Henry IV. was by four popes severally excommunicate—by Hildebrand, Victor, Urban, and Paschal; which excommunication wrought so in the ignorant and blind hearts of the people, that many, as well of the nobles as of the multitude, contrary to their sworn allegiance, rebelliously conspired against their king and emperor; in the number of whom among the rest was one certain earl, named Louis, to whom Waltram, bishop of the church of Naumburg (a godly and faithful man, as appeareth) doth write letters of fatherly admonition, exhorting and instructing him in the office of obedience; unto the which letters he likewise doth answer again by cavilling sophistication, and by mere affection, rather disposed to discord, than seeking sincerity of truth. And forasmuch as in these two letters the argument of christian obedience on both sides is so debated by proofs and reasons as may be profitable for the reader to peruse and understand, I thought therefore not to defraud the English reader of the same, whereof peradventure some utility might be taken. The tenor of the bishop's letter to the earl here followeth.

William Rufus. A. D. 1100.

Henry IV. excommunicated by four popes.

Earl Louis rebels against the emperor. *See Appendix.*

The Epistle of Waltram, bishop of Naumburg, to Earl Louis, Landgrave of Thuringia, exhorting to concord and obedience.[1]

Waltram, by the grace of God being that he is, to the most serene prince, Louis, together with his earnest prayers offereth himself in all things his most devoted servant. To every realm concord is advantageous, and justice desirable; for this virtue is the mother of goodness and the preservation of all honesty. But whoever goeth about sowing civil dissension, and inciteth others to the shedding of men's blood, he is, in fact, himself a bloody man, and a partaker with him who, thirsting for our blood, continually "walketh about seeking whom he may devour." Do thou, therefore, most glorious prince, considering how that God is a God of peace and not of dissension, "as much as in you lieth, live peaceably with all men." "God is love;" the devil is hatred. On love "hangeth all the law, and the prophets:" but he that hateth his brother is a murderer, and hath no part in the kingdom of Christ and of God." These are the sayings, partly of the Truth himself and partly of him who was the Truth's disciple; who from the breast of his Lord having drunk deeply of Gospel truth, the more abundantly "gladdeneth the city of God with the streams of that river." [Psalm xlvi. 4.] But that "chosen vessel," who, being "caught up to the third heaven, not by man, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ," learned his Gospel, he saith, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God. But he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God" [Rom. xiii. 1, 2]: as some of our friends are doing, who dream and teach among seely women[2] and the simple multitude, that we are not bound to be subject to kingly power, and that therefore it is false to assert, that "every soul ought to be subject to the higher power." But can the Truth itself lie? or do we seek a proof of him who spake in the apostle, even Christ? Do we provoke the Lord to jealousy? Be we stronger than he? Yet what else doth he, but think himself stronger than the Lord, who resisteth his ordinance? for "there is no power but of God." But what saith the prophet?—"Confounded be all that fight against thee, O Lord, and the men shall perish who strive with thee." [Is. xli. 11.] Rodolph, Hildebrand, Egbert, with innumerable other princes, resisted the ordinance of God in the person of Henry the emperor; and lo! they are now perished as though they had never been: and as their end was very evil, so their beginning could not have been good.

Concord and just obedience necessary in a commonwealth.

Disobedience punished by God. *See Appendix.*

Now, therefore, forsomuch as they who are opposed to us have hitherto only fenced with us at a distance with their reasonings, let us meet your

(1) Waltramus, Dei gratia id quod est, Ludovico, serenissimo principi, cum instantia orationum semetipsum ad omnia devotissimum. Omni regno utilis est concordia, desiderabilis est justitia," &c.—Ex [Dodechini] Appendice ad Marianum Scotum. [See the Appendix.—Ed.]

(2) "Mulierculas."—Ed.

William Rufus. A. D. 1100.

judgment in close encounter, wherever (even in your own judgment) it may be proper, only let it not be "in their own hired lodging" [Acts xxviii. 30], but let us use the testimony of Christ and the ancient fathers. And that it be not refused, let this be the law of our contest, either that I shall adopt the popular opinion, or by my victory gain you to our lord the emperor. Also let that saying be attended to, "If any man preach any other gospel than that which is preached unto you, let him be accursed." [Gal. i. 8.] This curse doth not proceed from the "hired lodging" of profane novelty, but is thundered from the third heaven. But of them who, "being ignorant of God's righteousness and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God" [Rom. x. 3], of such I may confidently say, "Let them curse, but bless thou; when they arise let them be ashamed; but let thy servant rejoice" [Psalm cix. 28]: for (as thou sayest, O Lord) "Without me ye can do nothing" [John xv. 5]: nor wilt thou condemn the just when he is judged; "Who then art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth." [Rom. xiv. 4.]

See Appendix.

The railing Answer of Earl Louis to the former Letter of Bishop Waltram.

The Earl Louis to the Lord Waltram, whatever is due to such a name. "As a good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth good, so doth an evil man out of the evil treasure bring forth evil." Whence hath such excessive arrogancy possessed you, to provoke my indignation with such injurious contumelies? For my lords and spiritual fathers, who strengthen me in the way of righteousness, you obliquely call bloody men, like unto Satan; and the wholesome lessons which they teach, you call dreams for seely women and the rude vulgar. Hath God any need of your judgment, that you should speak leasings for him? Iniquity hath taught your mouth, and you imitate the tongue of blasphemers; so that the prophet rightly saith of you, "He hath left off to be wise and to do good; he deviseth mischief upon his bed." [Psalm xxxvi. 3, 4.]

Although, therefore, being froward thou didst speak froward things, yet we determined "to set a watch upon our mouth, while the ungodly was before us." But the word of God exciteth us, saying, "Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit." [Prov. xxvi. 5.] Shall folly cry out, and wisdom hold her peace? Shall falsehood speak, and truth keep silence? Shall "darkness cover the earth, and the Lord not arise and shine?" Yea, rather, "the light shineth in darkness, but the darkness comprehendeth it not." While I was considering hereof "my heart grew hot within me; and while I was musing the fire kindled." [Psalm xxxix. 3.] We therefore now speak, yea cry, and (as much as in us lieth) will drive away "the little foxes which are destroying the Lord's vines" [Cant. ii. 15]; fearing that threatening prophecy—"Ye have not withstood our adversaries, neither have ye made a bulwark for the defence of the house of Israel, to stand in the battle in the day of the Lord." [Ezek. xiii. 5.] Hear me, then—not thou "who hast ears and hearest not, eyes and seest not; who hast made the very light that is in thee darkness;" but—such as are wise, and "have ears to hear" withal; let such, I say, hear how profoundly ignorant thou art, or pretendest to be, what ye say and whereof ye affirm! Thou invitest us to be subject to the Lord Henry, whom they call the emperor, and (as far as we can understand thee) thou wouldst lay a necessity upon us of being subject to him in all things, and that by an argument seemingly drawn from the apostle, saying, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; he therefore that resisteth, resisteth the ordinance of God." Which sentence of the apostle, we assert that you do ill understand, and still worse interpret. For if every power be of God, as you understand it, what meaneth this that the Lord speaketh of certain by the prophet, "They reigned, but not by me; they were made princes, and I knew them not." [Hos. viii. 4.] If every power be of God, as you understand it, what meaneth this that the Lord saith, "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee?" For what is a power, if the eye be not? Certainly Augustine, in his exposition of this passage of the apostle—"Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers," saith, "But if the power should command any thing which is contrary to God, there hold the power in contempt; yet continuing to fear the power in other respects."[1] or

Well said: when you are not able to withstand his wisdom, call him a fool.

Note how the earl here calleth light darkness, and darkness light.

He hath uttered more reason than you are able ever to answer to.

Whether every power is to be obeyed or no.

(1) See Appendix.—Ed.

William Rufus.

A. D. 1100.

Is there iniquity with God? Is Christ the minister of sin? God forbid. What do we say, then? Doth the apostle preach contrary to the prophet? Augustine saith, "By no means. One breath filleth many pipes of divers tones." Therefore let us hear the apostle reconciling and expounding himself, and destroying the enemy and avenger. "There is no power," he saith, "but of God." What followeth? Thou sayest—"He therefore that doth resist the power," &c. No such thing—that doth not follow: but what doth follow? "But the powers which be, are ordained of God." Truly, that is the very thing we want. O crafty tongue! O heart imagining mischief! O breath that goeth forth, but shall not return! Why hast thou lied to the Holy Ghost? Let thine own conscience accuse thee. Behold, the wicked fleeth when none pursueth! Why would you suppress the truth, on purpose to deceive? Why have you stolen away the marrow and soul of this passage? For if these last-cited words be taken out of the middle of the apostle's sentence, it will lie incoherent and lifeless. The word of the Lord is herein fulfilled, "He that diggeth a pit for his neighbour, shall fall therein himself." [Prov. xxvi. 27.] Verily, thou canst not avoid either the guilt or the punishment of theft. What, O unhappy man, what wilt thou answer the Judge when he cometh to take account of his servants whom he put in trust, seeing thou shalt then be arraigned and proved a peculator of thy Lord's property? Why didst thou not fear the judgment and execution of a traitor, and lest like guilt should be followed by like punishment? The apostle, through the Holy Ghost, did foresee that you, and such heretics as you are, should arise in the church, who should call good evil and evil good, and put darkness for light and light for darkness, and should take occasion by sentences of truth to bring in error: and therefore, having premised "There is no power but of God," on purpose to prevent any wrong-headed inference therefrom he addeth, "But the powers which be, are ordained of God." Give us then an ordained power, and we will not resist the same, nay, we will forthwith do homage.

If every power that offendeth his subjects is to be cast out, then hath this earl made a fair argument.

How lively these papists describe themselves in their own colours! But Paul judged the emperor to be an ordinary power when he appealed to him.

But I marvel, that, if there be but a single drop of blood in thee, thou dost not blush to call the Lord Henry "king," or allow him to have order in his favour. Doth it seem to thee order, to give place to wickedness, and to confound good and evil, God's laws and man's devices? Doth it seem to thee order, for a man to sin against his own body, as for example, (O atrocious wickedness!) to make a harlot of his own wife—a villany never before heard of since the world began? Doth it seem to thee order, when the Lord saith, "Defend the widow," then to go and prostitute widows to shameful defilement, even when appealing for equity of justice? Orestes,[1] in his madness even, protesteth that he must be out of his senses who would assert such things to be orderly or well done. Until these most wretched times, nature hath always loved secrecy; but your king, given up to a reprobate mind, hath thrown aside the veil and exposed to public gaze that which natural shame would conceal. To say nothing of innumerable atrocities, such as burning of churches, spoiling, murders, burnings, mutilations, and the like, the number whereof he knoweth, not we—let us point out those things chiefly wherein the church of God is aggrieved. Hear, then, things true and not coloured; hear what are serious matters, and no jest. Every one that selleth spiritual dignities is a heretic. But the Lord Henry, whom they call "king," selleth both bishoprics and abbacies; for assuredly he sold for money the bishoprics of Constance, Bamberg, Mentz, and many others; the bishoprics of Ratisbon, Augsburgh, and Strasburgh, he sold for a sword; the abbacy of Fulda, for adulterous intercourse; the bishopric of Munster (shocking both to tell and to hear!) for Sodomitic indulgence. Which things if you will impudently deny in the face of heaven and earth, even the poor silly idiots, taken from the smithy, will conclude, "The Lord Henry then is a heretic." For the which atrocious crimes being excommunicated by the apostolic see, he cannot now govern his kingdom nor exercise any power over us who be catholics. And whereas thou chargest us with hatred of our brethren, understand, that we intend not to hate any from mere dislike, but from considerations of piety. God forbid, that we should allow Henry worthy to be accounted a christian brother, who, by so often refusing to hear the reproofs of the church, is become to us as "a heathen man and a publican:"

This is likely, that the emperor would make his own wife a harlot!

Evil will never said well. *See Appendix.*

(1) The writer seems to refer to Orestes, who, having committed the most fearful murders, is said to have been tormented to madness, by the Furies. Æschyl. in Eumen. Agam.—Ed.

William Rufus.

A.D. 1100.

the hatred of whom we offer unto God as a great sacrifice, saying with the Psalmist, "Do not I hate them that hate thee, O Lord? and am not I grieved with thine enemies? I hate them with perfect hatred, I count them mine enemies." [Psalm cxxxix. 21, 22.] The Truth himself, commending the worthiness of this hatred, doth say, "If any man hate not father and mother, and brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life also, for my sake, he cannot be my disciple." [Luke xiv. 26.] We are not, therefore, justly upbraided with hatred, seeing we are commanded to hate even our own life if we wander from God's way, and to hate father and mother, and every natural affection, which hindereth us from walking in God's way. Thence is it, that we use our study and endeavour to guard against the enemies of the church as our own enemies also, and hate them; yet, not as being our enemies, but as being God's enemies. Further, whereas you urge us "to maintain peace with all men," you should remember that the apostle premiseth, "If it be possible:" but it is impossible that we should maintain peace with those that are contrary to God. But who is ignorant, that the Lord our Saviour not only commendeth peace, when he saith, "My peace I give unto you, peace I leave with you;" but also that he himself is that peace, as saith the apostle, "He is our peace, who hath made both one." What then doth our Peace himself say, while speaking in commendation of peace? "Think not," saith he, "that I came to send peace on the earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword." What meaneth this? Why doth Peace threaten a sword? or why doth Peace proclaim war?—to destroy, forsooth, the peace of the devil; for the devil also hath his peace, whereof the Lord saith, "When a strong man, armed, keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace." [Luke xi. 21.] Oh how strongly doth the devil keep his palace at this moment by you his guards! who, protected by the shield of falsehood and the helmet of perfidy, so defend him, that you will not allow the arrows of truth or the darts of faith to pierce him. Nevertheless, our Lord being the "stronger man armed, coming upon your strong man, is able to overcome him and take from him all his armour, wherein he trusteth." [ibid.] We are not, therefore, rightly blamed, if we protest against that peace, more cruel than any war, which the Truth himself condemneth, weeping over Jerusalem and saying, "Truly in this day the things which belong to thy peace" [Luke xix. 42]; and which the Psalmist envied in the wicked, when he saw the peace of sinners. Whereas you condemn Pope Gregory, king Rodolph, and the Marquis Egbert, as men who have died wretched deaths, and count your lord blessed because he doth outlive them, it plainly appeareth that you are void of all spiritual consideration. Is it not more blessed to die well, than to live ill? for "blessed are they who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake." You might as well esteem Nero, Herod, and Pontius Pilate blessed, for that they severally outlived Peter and Paul, and James the apostle, and the Lord Jesus Christ—an opinion, than which nothing can be more foolish and absurd. Wherefore refrain thy babbling tongue from this blasphemy; unless thou wouldst place thyself among the number of those, who, beholding the end of the righteous to be glorious, and themselves too late and in vain "repenting, and groaning for anguish of spirit, shall say, These be they whom we had sometimes in derision, and a proverb of reproach. We fools accounted their life madness, and their end to be without honour. How are they numbered among the children of God, and their lot is among the saints. Therefore have we erred from the way of truth, and the light of righteousness hath not shined unto us, and the Sun of righteousness rose not upon us. What hath pride profited us, or what good hath riches, with our vaunting, brought us? All those things are passed away like a shadow." [Wisdom v. 3—9.] Which words we registering in imperishable remembrance, despise every imagination that shall exalt itself against the truth of God; and, glorying as we do in tribulations, we may be falsely accused, accursed, banished, yea, and finally slain, but we cannot yield or be conquered. Moreover (as thou thyself wouldst have felt once, when a beardless boy and a gay youth, and not yet a tough-hearted old man) we do rejoice with great exultation in the memory of our fathers, who, despising the commandments of princes, merited everlasting rewards.

A zeal, but far from knowledge.

And when they shall slay you, they shall think they do God great service.

Yea true, if he had compelled you to forsake the name of Christ, which he never did.

Oh, how craftily doth Satan here shape himself to an angel of light!

There is a certain chronicle in old English metre, which, among other matters speaking of William Rufus, declareth him to be so

sumptuous and excessive in pompous apparel, that he not being contented with a pair of hose[1] at a low price, which was three shillings, caused a pair to be bought at a mark, whereupon his chamberlain, procuring a pair much worse than the other before, said, *Henry I.* A.D. 1100.

> "That they costen'd a mark, and unneth he them so bought:
> Yea, Belamy (quoth the king) these are well bought!"

Whereby is to be noted what difference is to be seen between the hose of princes then, and the hose of serving-men now.

Appendix Historiæ.

After the time of this King William, the name of King ceased in the country of Wales among the Britons, since King Ris, in the reign of this king, A. D. 1093, was slain in Wales.[2] Kings ceased in Wales. *See Appendix.*

HENRY THE FIRST.[3]

HENRY I., the third son of William the Conqueror, succeeding his brother Rufus, began his reign in England A. D. 1100, who, for his knowledge and science in the Seven Liberal Arts, was surnamed Clerk, or Beauclerk. In this prince may well appear how knowledge and learning do greatly conduce to the government and administration of any realm or country. At the beginning he reformed the state and condition of the clergy, released the grievous payments, and reduced again King Edward's laws, with emendation thereof; he reformed the old and untrue measures, and made a measure after the length of his arm; he greatly abhorred excess of meats and drinks; many things misused before his time he reformed, and used to vanquish more by counsel than by sword. Such persons as were nice and wanton he secluded from his court. This man, as appeareth, little favoured the usurped power of the bishop of Rome. Soon after he was king, he married Matilda, or Maud, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scots, and of Margaret his wife, daughter of Edward the Outlaw, as is before specified, being a professed nun at Winchester, whom, notwithstanding, and without the pope's dispensation, he married by the consent of Anselm, by the which Maud he received two sons, William and Richard, and two daughters, Matilda and Mary, which Matilda afterwards was married to the emperor, Henry V.[4] A.D. 1100. Henry Beauclerk, king of England. *See Appendix.* The measure of England made after the length of King Henry's arm. *See Appendix.*

In the second year of his reign, Robert, his elder brother, duke of Normandy, being occupied in the christian wars against the Turks, and being elected, as you heard, king of Jerusalem, hearing of the death of Rufus, refused the kingdom thereof; for the which, as is thought, he never sped well after. Thus the said Robert, leaving off the Lord's business, and returning into Normandy, made there his preparations, and came over into England with a great host to challenge the crown; but, by mediation of the lords, it was agreed A.D. 1101. Example, what it is to leave off the Lord's business. *See Appendix.*

(1) This anecdote is told with great life and spirit by Malmesbury. "One morning," says he, "as he was putting on a pair of new boots, he asked his gentleman of the bedchamber, in waiting, what they cost? he was answered 'three shillings.' 'Away, base fellow,' said the king, 'did you ever hear of a king wearing such pitiful boots as those? go, bring a pair of a mark of silver.' The bedchamber-man went and brought a pair much worse, but told his master they cost what he had ordered. 'Ay,' replied William, 'these are boots fit for a king to wear;' and so put them on."—ED.

(2) Ex continuatione Roger Hoved.

(3) Edition 1563, p. 30. Ed. 1583, p. 191. Ed. 1596, p. 173. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 216.—ED.

(4) Ex Mat. Paris. Flor. Hist.

Henry I. A. D. 1102. that Robert should have yearly, during his life, three thousand marks, as were likewise promised him before by King Rufus, his brother; and that whether of them outlived the other, should be the other's heir. On this Robert departed again into Normandy, to the great discontent of his lords there; but, in a few years after, the aforenamed tribute of three thousand marks, through the means of Queen Matilda, was released to the king his brother. In process of time, variance happening between King Henry and the said Robert his brother, at length Robert in his wars was taken prisoner, and brought over into England, and was put into the castle of Cardiff in Wales, where he continued as a prisoner while he lived.

Duke Robert taken prisoner.

The hospital of Bartholomew founded.

In this time, as about the third year of this king, the hospital of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield was founded, by means of a minstrel belonging unto the king, named Rayer, and it was afterwards finished by Richard Whittington, alderman and mayor of London. This place of Smithfield was at that day a laystall of all ordure or filth, and the place where the felons and other transgressors of the king's laws were put to execution.

See Appendix. Divers strict laws were by this king provided, especially—

Against thieves and felons, That whoso should be taken in that fault, no money should save him from hanging.

Item, That whoso should counterfeit false money, should have both his eyes put out, and the nether parts of his body cut off.

Item, In the same council was decreed an order for priests to be sequestered from their wives, which before were not forbidden.[1]

Item, It was then decreed that monks and priests should bear no rule over lay persons.

Item, It was decreed concerning broidering of hair, and wearing of garments.

Item, That a secret contract of marriage between a young lad and a young maid should not stand: with other things concerning the excommunication of those guilty of sodomy.

See Appendix In the story of William Rufus before was declared how Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, departing out of the realm, went to the pope, who, after the death of King William, was sent for again by the aforesaid King Henry, and so returned again, and was at the council of the king at Westminster; where the king, in the presence of the lords, as well temporal as spiritual, ordained and invested two bishops, Roger bishop of Salisbury, and Roger bishop of Hereford. During that parliament or council of the king, Anselm in his convocation deposed and displaced divers abbots and other prelates from their rooms and dignities, either for that they lawfully came not by them, or uprightly did not administer the same.

See Appendix. The king ordains and invests bishops without the pope.

After this council and the other before set forth by Anselm, Herbert, bishop of Norwich, had much ado with the priests of his diocese, for they would neither leave their wives, nor yet give over their benefices. On this he wrote to Anselm, the archbishop, for counsel what was to be done therein, who required him, as he did others at the same time by writing, to persuade the people of Norfolk and Suffolk, that as they professed Christianity, they should subdue them as rebels against the church, and utterly drive both them and

Anselm cruel and fierce against married priests.

(1) The words of mine author are these: "Anselmus prohibuit uxores sacerdotibus Anglorum ante non prohibitas. Quod quibusdam mundissimum visum est, quibusdam periculosum, ne dum mundicias viribus majores appeterent, in immundicias horribiles ad Christiani nominis summum dedecus incideren," &c.—Ex Hen. Hunt. lib. vii Anselm.

their wives out of the country, placing monks in their room, as by the epistles of the said Anselm doth appear;[1] whereof certain parcels shall hereafter, by the grace of Christ, ensue, for the better evidence of this and his other acts above recited.

The like business also had Gerard, the archbishop of York, in depriving the priests of his province of their wives; which thing, with all his excommunications and thunderings, he could hardly bring about. Upon this ruffling of Anselm with married priests, were rhyming verses made to help the matter withal, when reason could not serve, which verses, for the folly thereof, I thought here to annex.[2]

A.D.1102, A strife between King Henry and Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury. *See Appendix.*

About the end of the second year of this king, which was by computation A.D. 1102, a variance happened between King Henry and Anselm, the occasion whereof was this:—Ye heard a little before how Henry, the aforesaid king, had, of his own authority, invested two bishops, one Roger, who was chancellor, bishop of Salisbury, and another, bishop of Hereford. Besides them divers also he invested, and divers other like things took he upon him in the ecclesiastical state, which he might lawfully do, God's word allowing well the same; but because he was restrained by the bishop of Rome, and forbidden so to do, this Anselm swelled, fretted, and waxed so mad, that he would neither consent to it, nor yet confirm them, nor communicate nor talk friendly with those whom the king had instituted and invested; but opprobriously called them abortives, or children of destruction, disdainfully rebuking the gentle king as a defiler of religion, and polluter of their holy ceremonies; as witnesseth Polydore. With this uncomely outrage the king was much displeased, as he might full well, and required Gerard, the archbishop of York, as he owed him allegiance, to consecrate them; who, without delay, did so, well performing the same, saving that one William Gifford, to whom the king had given the bishopric of Winchester, refused to take his consecration by the hands of the archbishop of York, for which cause the king, worthily with him offended, deprived him both of bishopric and goods, and banished him the realm.

Gifford, bishop of Winchester, refused to be consecrated by the archbishop of York.

Moreover, the king required of Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, to do unto him homage, after the manner of his ancestors, as witnesseth Malmesbury.[3] Also it was asked of the said Anselm, whether he would be with the king in giving investitures, as Lanfranc, his predecessor, was with his father. To whom Anselm said, that he promised not at any time that he would enter into this order to keep the law or custom of his father, as Lanfranc did. Moreover, as concerning homage to be done to the king, that he refused; alleging the censures of the pope's excommunication, who, in his council of Rome a little before,[4] had given forth open sentence of excommunication upon all such lay persons, whatsoever they were, that should from henceforth confer or give any spiritual promotions, and also

Acts of the Roman council against laymen giving any spiritual promotions. *See Appendix.*

(1) Ex Epist. Ansel. 176.

(2) "O male viventes, versus audite sequentes.
Uxores vestras, quas odit summa potestas,
Linquite propter eum, tenuit qui morte trophæum.
Quod si non facitis, inferna claustra petetis.
Christi sponsa jubet, ne Presbyter ille ministret,
Qui tenet uxorem, Domini quia perdit amorem:
Contradicentem fore dicimus insipientem:
Hæc non ex rancore loquor, potius sed amore."
Versus male feriati, ex Bibliis Ramsay.

(3) Ex Guliel. Malmesb. lib. i. de Gestis Pontif. Anglo.

(4) See p. 153.—Ed.

Henry I. A.D. 1102.

upon them that received them at their hands, either yet should consecrate any such receivers. Moreover, he accursed all them that for benefices or other ecclesiastical promotions should subject themselves under the homage or service of any great man, king, prince, duke, or earl of the laity. For it was unseemly, said the pope, and a thing very execrable, that the hands which were converted into so high a working as was granted to no angel (that is, to create him with their crosses, who created all, and to offer up the same before the sight of the Father for the salvation of the whole world), should be brought to such a slavery as to be subject to those filthy hands, which both day and night are polluted with shameful touchings, robberies, and bloodshed, &c.[1] This decree of Pope Urban Anselm alleging for himself, denied to subject himself to the king's homage, fearing, as he said, the pope's excommunication. Upon this, messengers were sent to Rome on both parts unto the pope, then Pope Paschal, who, stoutly standing to the steps and determinations of Urban, his predecessor, would in no case yield to the king's investing.[2]

No spiritual person to be under subjection to a lay personage.

Anselm refuseth to do homage to his king. *See Appendix.*

In the mean time, while there was long disputation on both sides for investing, the nobles of the realm contended, that investings did belong to the king's dignity: wherefore the king, calling for Anselm again, required him either to do homage to him, or else to void his kingdom. To whom Anselm replying again, required the pope's letters to be brought forth, and, according to the tenor thereof, so the matter to be decided; for now the messengers were returned from Rome, with the pope's answer, altogether siding with Anselm. Then said the king, "What have I to do with the pope's letters? I will not forego the liberties of my kingdom for any pope." Thus the contention continued between them. Anselm saith, he would not out of the realm, but depart home to his church, and there see who would offer him any violence: and so he did. Not long after, message came from the king to Anselm, requesting him, after a gentle sort, to repair to the king's presence again, to put an end to the controversy, whereunto Anselm yielded and came. Then were new ambassadors sent again to the pope, that he would something qualify and moderate, or rather abolish, the strictness of the Roman decree beforementioned. On the part of Anselm went two monks, Baldwin of Bec and Alexander of Canterbury. On the king's behalf were sent two bishops, Robert, bishop of Lichfield, and Herbert, bishop of Norwich, with the king's letters written unto the pope, containing in form as followeth.[3]

The king hath nothing to do with the pope's letters.

Messengers sent again to Rome. *See Appendix.*

Letter of King Henry I *See Appendix.*

To the reverend father Paschal, the chief bishop, Henry, by the grace of God king of England, greeting. For this your promotion unto the see of the holy

(1) Ex Jornalensis Bibliothecæ Historia.

(2) Ex Matthæo Paris. Ex Guliel. Malmesb. lib. i. de Gestis Pont. Ang.

(3) "Patri venerabili Paschali, summo pontifici, Henricus, Dei gratia rex Anglorum, salutem. Promotioni vestræ in sedem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ plurimum congaudeo, petens ut amicitia quæ patri meo cum antecessoribus vestris fuit, inter nos quoque illibata permaneat. Unde, ut dilectio et benignitas a me videatur sumere initium, beneficium quod ab antecessoribus meis beatus Petrus habuit, vobis mitto: eosque honores et eam obedientiam quam tempore patris mei antecessores vestri in regno Angliæ habuerunt, tempore meo ut habeatis volo, eo videlicet tenore, ut dignitatis usus et consuetudines, quas pater meus tempore antecessorum vestrorum in regno Angliæ habuit, ego tempore vestro in eodem regno meo integre obtineam. Notumque habeat sanctitas vestra, quod me vivente (Deo auxiliante) dignitates et usus regni Angliæ non minuentur. Et si ego (quod absit) in tanta me dejectione ponerem, optimates mei (imo totius Angliæ populus) id nullo modo paterentur. Habita igitur (charissime pater) utiliori deliberatione, ita se erga nos moderetur benignitas vestra, ne quid invitus faciam, et a vestra me cogatis recedere obedientia."

church of Rome, as I am heartily glad, so my request is to you, that the friendship and amity, which hath been heretofore between my father and your predecessors in times past, may now also between us in like manner continue undiminished; and, that love and gentleness may first begin on my part, here I send to you that gift that St. Peter had in former time of my predecessors. And likewise the same honours and obedience which your predecessors have had in the realm of England before in the time of my father, I will you to have the same in my time also: on the understanding, however, that the prerogatives, usages, and customs, which my father hath had in this realm of England in the time of your ancestors, I in like ample manner also now, in your time, may fully enjoy the same in this the said realm of England. Thus, therefore, be it known to your holiness, that during this life of mine (God Almighty abling me to the same) these above-named prerogatives, usages, and customs of this realm of England, shall in no part be lessened. Yea, and if that I (as God forbid I should) would so much deject myself unto such cowardness, yet my nobles, yea, the whole people of England, in no case would suffer it. Wherefore, dear father, using with yourself a better deliberation in this matter, let your gentleness so moderate itself toward us, lest ye compel me, which I shall do against my will, to recede and depart utterly from your obedience.

Henry I. A. D. 1102.

Spoken like a king.

The king is at a point to leave the pope's obedience.

At the same time, also, he sent another letter or epistle to the said pope, craving of him the pall for Gerard, archbishop of York, the form whereof here also followeth:[1]—

Another letter of King Henry I. to the pope.

To the reverend and well-beloved father universal, Pope Paschal, Henry, by the grace of God king of England, greeting. The great love which I bear to you, and the no less gentleness in you, which not a little beautifieth your doings, ministereth to me boldness to write. And whereas I thought to have retained still this Gerard with me, and to have craved your pall for him by letters; yet, notwithstanding, when his desire could not otherwise be satisfied, but he would needs present himself before your presence, by his own heart to crave of you the same, I have sent him up unto you, desiring your benign fatherhood in this behalf, that he, obtaining the pall at your hands, may be sent home again to me. And thus, requiring the assistance of your prayers, I pray the Lord long to preserve your apostleship.

This second letter of the king in sending for the pall was well taken of all the court of Rome, which (as mine author saith) procured such favour to Gerard, archbishop of York, and bringer thereof, that no complaint of his adversaries afterwards could hurt him with the pope. Notwithstanding, he was accused grievously for divers things, and specially for not standing to the consecration of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury.

A place of Polydore Virgil found faulty.

Polydore, in his eleventh book of his English history, affirmeth, that Anselm also went up to Rome with Gerard about the same cause. But both the premises and sequel of the story argue that to be untrue, for what need the two monks to be sent up on Anselm's side, if he had gone up himself?[2] Again, how could the pope write down by the said messengers to Anselm, if he had been present there himself? for so proceedeth the story by the narration of Malmesbury and others.

The pope loath to go against his own profit.

After the ambassadors, thus on both sides sent up to Rome, had laboured their cause with instant suit one against the other, the pope, glad to gratify the king, yet loath to grant his request, being against his own profit, and therefore more inclining to Anselm's side,

(1) "Reverendo et diligendo patri universali papæ Paschali Henricus, Dei gratia rex Anglorum, salutem. Amor quem plurimum erga vos habeo, et benignitas quæ multum vestros actus exornat," &c.

(2) Ex Guliel. Malmesb. lib. viii. de Pont. Ang.

Henry I. sendeth down his letters to the said Anselm, signifying that he would
A.D. 1103. not repeal the statutes of his holy fathers for one man's pleasure; charging him, moreover, not only not to yield in the cause of investing, but constantly to adhere to the aforesaid decreement of Pope Urban, his predecessor, &c. Besides this letter to Anselm, he directed also another to the king himself, which, mine author saith, the king suppressed and did not show, only declaring, by word of mouth, what the ambassadors had said unto him from the pope, which was, that he permitted unto him the license of investing, upon condition that in other things he would execute the office of a good prince, &c. To this, also, the testimony of the three bishops above minded did accord, which made the matter more probable. But the two monks on the other side replied, bringing forth the letter of Anselm to the contrary, &c. To them it was answered, that more credit was to be given to the degree and testimony of the bishops, than to theirs; and that as for monks, they had no suffrage nor testimony in secular matters, and therefore they might hold their peace. "But this is no secular matter," said Baldwin, the monk of Bec. Whereunto, again, the nobles of the king's part answered, saying, that he was a good man, and of such demeanour, that they had nothing to say against him, neither so would, if they might; but that both human and divine reason taught them to yield more credit and confidence to the testimony of three bishops, than to that of two monks: whereby may well appear, that Anselm at that time went not with them. Then Anselm, seeing how the king and his peers were bent, and hearing also the testimony of the three bishops, against whom he saw he could not prevail, and also having the pope's seal, which he saw to be so evident on the contrary side, made his answer again, that he would send to Rome for more certainty of truth: adding, moreover, that he neither would, nor durst give over his cause, though it should cost him his life, to do or proceed against the determination of the church of Rome, unless he had a perfect warrant of absolution from thence for his discharge. Then was it agreed by the king and his nobles, that he should not send, but go himself to Rome, and much entreaty was made that he would take that journey himself, in his own person, to present himself to the pope for the peace of the church and of his country. And so, at length, by persuasion, he was content to go to Rome and speak with the pope. In a short time after followeth also the king's ambassador, William Warlwast, the newly elected bishop of Exeter, who there pleading on the king's side for the ancient customs of the realm, and for the king's right of investing, &c., first declared, how England, of a long continuance, had ever been a province peculiar to the church of Rome, and how it payed duly its yearly tribute unto the same; inferring, moreover, how the king, as he was of nature very liberal, so also of courage he was a prince stout and valiant. Then what a shame would he think it to be to him, as it would indeed be, if he, who in might and dignity far exceeded all his progenitors, should not defend and maintain the liberties and customs by them procured. Wherefore he desired the pope to see to the matter, so that it might stand both with the king's honour, and also with his own profit and advantage, who, otherwise, no doubt should lose a great piece of

See Appendix.

He meaneth beside the two bishops Gerard, who made the third.

See Appendix.

See Appendix

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

The oration of William Warlwast at the pope's court.

money out of the realm, unless he did remit something of the severity of his canons and laws decretal. *Henry I.* A. D. 1103.

With these and such other like persuasions to the same effect, the court of Rome was well contented, agreeing that the king's request ought with all favour to be granted. But the pope and Anselm sat still marking their doings. The ambassador, supposing their silence to be half a yielding unto him, added moreover and said; that the king, no not for the crown of his realm, would lose the authority of investing or admitting his prelates within his dominion.[1] Whereunto the proud pope answering again, burst out in these words: "Nor I," said he, "for the price of his head, as thou sayest, will lose the giving of spiritual promotions in England;" and, confirming it with an oath, "before God," saith he, "I speak it; know it for a certainty,* for the whole price of his head, I will not permit it unto him, neither shall he have it.*[2] Then it followeth in the story of Malmesbury, that with this word of the pope the minds of the rest were changed, saying, "Benedicta sit cordis tui constantia, benedicta oris tui loquela." The king's attorney also was therewith dashed, who, notwithstanding, brought it to pass, that certain of the king's customs, used before of his father, were released unto him. At that time, in the same court, it was decreed,—the king only, who had invested them, being excepted,—that the others who were invested by the king should be excommunicated; the absolution and satisfaction of whom were left to Anselm, the archbishop. A proud answer of the pope. Excommunication abused.

Thus Anselm, being dismissed from Rome, took his journey towards England: but the ambassador, pretending to go to St. Nicholas, remained behind, to see whether he could win the pope's mind to the king's purpose; but when he saw it would not be, he overtaketh Anselm by the way, at Placentia, and openeth to him the king's pleasure. "The king," saith he, "giveth to you in charge and commandment, that if you will come to England, and there behave yourself to him, as your predecessors did to his father, you should be received and retained in the realm accordingly; if not, you are wise enough to know what I mean, and what will follow."[3] And so, with these words parting from him, he returned again to the king. Anselm remained at Lyons a year and a half, writing divers letters to the king, after this effect, and in words as followeth:— *See Appendix.* *See Appendix.*

To his reverend Lord, Henry, king of England, Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, faithful service with prayers.[4]

Although ye understand by William Warlwast what we have done at Rome, yet I shall shortly show you that which belongeth to me. When I came to Rome, I declared the cause wherefore I came to the lord pope. He answered that he would not swerve from the statutes of his predecessors. Furthermore, he commanded me that I should have no fellowship with those who received investings of churches at your hands, after the knowledge of this prohibition, unless they would do penance, and forsake that which they had received, without hope of recovery; and that I should not communicate with the other bishops who had consecrated such men, except they would present themselves to the judgment of the apostolic see. The aforesaid William can be a witness of all these *See Appendix*

(1) Ex Guliel. Malmesb. de Gestis Pont. lib. i. Ex. Matth. Paris. lib. iii.
(2) These words are inserted from Edition 1563, p. 31.—Ed.
(3) Ex Radulph. Londinensi. (4) Epist. 224

Henry I. A.D. 1106.

things if he will. This William, when we departed asunder, reckoning up in your behalf the love and liberality which you have had always towards me, warned me as your archbishop, that I should show myself such an one, that if I would come into England, I might be with you as my predecessor was with your father, and ye might treat me with the same honour and liberty that your father treated my predecessor. By which words I understand, that except I should show myself such an one, you would not have me come into England. For your love and liberality I thank you; but that I should be with you as my predecessor was with your father, I cannot do it, for I dare not do homage to you, nor do I dare communicate with those who take investings of churches at your hands, because of the aforesaid inhibition made, I myself hearing it. Wherefore, I desire you to send me your pleasure herein, if it please you, whether I may return into England, as I said, with your peace and the power of mine office.

The proud stoutness of a prelate in a wrong cause.

In the mean while, great business there was, and much posting went to and fro between the king, the archbishop, and the pope, but nothing was done; for neither would the pope agree to the king, nor would the king condescend to the archbishop. At last the archbishop, seeing that by no means he could prevail against the king, thought to revenge himself by excommunication, and so went about the same. The king, having word thereof by the Countess Adela, his sister, desireth her to come to him into Normandy, and bring Anselm with her: whereupon, by the means of the countess, reconcilement was made, and the archbishop was restored to his former possessions; only his return into England was deferred, because he would not communicate with those whom the king had invested. So the king took his passage over into England, and Anselm made his abode at the abbey of Bec.

See Appendix. Reconcilement made between the the king and Anselm.

Then were ambassadors again directed unto Rome, namely, William Warlwast, and Baldwin, above named, the monk of Bec; who, at length, concluded the long controversy between the king and the pope upon this agreement: that the king should take homage of the bishops elect, but should not deal with investing them by staff and ring. While the ambassadors were thus in their suit at Rome, divers complaints were daily brought from England to Anselm against the priests and canons, who, in his absence, contrary to the late council holden at London, received their wives into their houses again, and so were permitted by the king, paying him certain money for the same.[1] Anselm, the sore enemy against lawful marriage, grieved therewith, addresseth his letters unto the king, requiring him to refrain from any more taking of such exactions, declaring, moreover, and affirming, that the offences of all such ecclesiastical ministers must be corrected at the instance of bishops, and not of laymen. To this the king answereth gently again by letters, tempering himself, how he purposed shortly to come over into Normandy, and if he had done any thing amiss, either in these or other things, he would reform it by his obedience.

See Appendix.

See Appendix. Priests received their wives again in the absence of Anselm.

The faults of ecclesiastical ministers belong to none but to bishops to correct, quoth Anselm.

It was not long after, the messengers being now returned from Rome, but the king, as he had promised, sped him into Normandy, where he, warring against his brother Robert, brought both him and the country of Normandy at last under his subjection. But first, meeting with Anselm at the abbey of Bec, he convented and agreed with

See Appendix.

The king brought under the archbishop.

(1) Guliel. Malmesb. lib. i. de Gestis Pontif.

him in all such points as the archbishop required. As first, that all his churches, which before were made tributary unto King William, his brother, now should remain free from all tribute. Item, that he should take none of the revenues of any of the churches, in the time of their being vacant.[1] Moreover, concerning such priests and ministers as had given money to the king for their company with their wives, it was agreed that they should surcease from all ecclesiastical function for the space of three years, and that the king should take no more after such manner. Item, that all such goods, fruits, and possessions, as had been taken away before from the archbishopric, should be restored at his coming again into England, &c.

Henry I. A. D. 1107.

Lawful matrimony punished.

This Anselm, the stout champion of popery and superstition, after this victory gotten upon the king, for the which he so long fought, with joy and triumph saileth into England, having all his popish requests obtained; where first he flieth like a lion upon the married priests, contrary to the word of God, divorcing and punishing that by man's authority, which the eternal and almighty God had coupled. Next, he looketh to them who did hold any church by farm under the king. Against simony likewise, and against them that married within the seventh degree, he proceedeth with his full pontifical authority.

Priests driven again from their wives. *See Appendix.*

Shortly after, as King Henry had finished his war in Normandy, and with victory had returned again into England, in the seventh year of his reign, Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, by the permission of the king, assembled a great council at Westminster, in London, of the clergy and prelates of England, in the which, by the bishop of Rome's authority, he so wrought with the king, that at length, albeit, as the story saith, not without great difficulty, it was newly confirmed and enacted, that no temporal man after that day should make investiture with cross or with ring, or with pastoral hook. In another council, sundry and divers injunctions were given forth to priests and deacons, as divers other synodal acts also by the same Anselm had been concluded in other councils before. And because here falleth in mention of the acts synodal concluded in the time of this Anselm, I thought good to pack them all in one general heap together, as I find them in Malmesbury, and in other sundry authors scatteringly recited.[2]

A.D.1107. *See Appendix.* Aug. 1st. *See Appendix.*

The first thing decreed by this Anselm in his synodal councils, was touching the fault of simony, for which divers, both bishops and abbots (as is aforesaid) were at the same time deposed. Laymen, also, were forbidden to confer any ecclesiastical promotion.

Also, it was decreed, that bishops should not officiate (officium suscipiant) in secular pleas, and that such should not go apparelled as the laymen did, but should have their vestures decent, and meet for religious persons, and that in all places they should never go without some to bear witness of their conversation.[3]

A.D.1102.

Item, That no archdeaconries should be let out to farm.

Item, That no archdeacon should be under the degree of a deacon.

Item, That no archdeacon, priest, deacon, or canon, should from thenceforth marry a wife, nor yet keep her, if he had been married to one before: Item, That every subdeacon, who is not a canon, after the profession of chastity marrying a wife, should be subject to the same rule.

They ordained also, that a priest keeping company with a woman, should

See Appendix.

(1) The foregoing sentence is corrected from Malmesbury.—Ed.

(2) Ex lib. Guliel. Malmesb. de Gestis Pontif. lib. i. [Script. post Bedam, p. 228.] Ex [Eadmero,] Jornalensi et aliis. [Whence the above translation is revised.—Ed.]

(3) See vol. i. p. 193.—Ed.

Henry I. A. D. 1102.

not be reputed priest, and that he should say no mass, and if he said mass, he should not be heard.

They charged that none should be admitted to orders from that time forward, from the degree of a subdeacon and upwards, unless he did profess chastity.

That priest's sons should not claim by heritage the benefices of their fathers.

How then was Stephen Gardiner lord chancellor in Queen Mary's time?

Item, That no spiritual person should sit in any secular office; or be procurators or judges of blood.

Item, That priests should not resort to taverns or banquets, nor sit drinking by the fire-side.[1]

That the garments of priests should be of one colour, and that their shoes should be decent (ordinata).

Item, That monks, or any others of the clergy, if they forsook their order, either should come back again, or be excommunicated.

Item, That the clergy should wear their crowns broad-shaved (patentes).

Item, That no tithes should be given but to the churches.

Item, That no churches or prebends should be bought.

That no new chapels should be made without consent of the bishop.

That no church should be hallowed, before the necessary provision were made for the priest and for the church to be maintained.

See Appendix.

That abbots should make no knights (milites), and that they must both sleep and eat in the same house with their monks, unless some great necessity do let.

Item, That monks do enjoin no penance to any man without the consent of the abbot; and that their abbots give no license therein, but only touching such persons toward whom they have a cure of souls.

That no monks should be godfathers, or nuns godmothers.

That monks should have no lordships to farm.

Item, That monks should take no churches but by the bishop, neither should so spoil of their fruits the churches given unto them, that sufficient be not left for maintaining the churches and the officiating ministers of the same.

That privy contracts of marriage between man and woman without witness should not stand, but be frustrated, if either party do go from the contract.

See Appendix.

Item, That such persons as did wear long hair should be so rounded, that part of their ears appear, and that their eyes be not covered.

Item, That there be no marriage between parties akin to the seventh generation, and that it do not continue if they be married, but that the marriage be broken. And that if any one privy to that incest do not detect the same, he to be held guilty of the same crime.

Item, That no corpses be carried forth to burial out of their own parish, so that the priest thereof do lose that which to him is due.

Item, That no man, upon any rash desire of novelty, do attribute any opinion of holiness or pay reverence to dead men's bodies, to fountains, or to any other thing, as the use hath been in time past, without authority of the bishop.

Item, That the infamous traffic of buying and selling of men like brute animals, be no longer used in England.

Also, after the restraint of priests' marriage, when unnatural crimes began to come in consequence thereof, they were forced to make another act, which was this, passed in this council.

"With a grievous curse we condemn both those that occupy unnatural vice, and those also that willingly assist them or be wicked doers with them in the same; till such time as they may deserve absolution by penance and confession.

"But whosoever shall be noised or proved to be of this wickedness, if he be of a religious order, he shall from thenceforth be promoted to no degree of honour, and he shall be deposed from any which he hath.

"If he be a lay person, he shall be deprived of his quality within the land, and be no better than a foreigner.

"And if he be a secular, let none but the bishop presume to absolve him.

"Be it also enacted, that the said curse be published on every Sunday, in every parish church of England."

See Appendix.

(1) "Ut presbyteri non eant ad potationes, nec ad pinnas bibant." See Appendix.—Ed.

But mark in this great matter what followed; for, as Ranulphus Cestrensis witnesseth, this grievous general curse was soon called back again by the suit of certain who persuaded Anselm, that the publication, or opening of that vice, gave kindlings to the same in the hearts of lewd persons, ministering occasion of more boldness to them to do the like:[1] and so, to stop the occasion of this vice, the publication thereof was taken away; but the forbidding and restrainment of priests' lawful marriage, which chiefly was the cause thereof, remained still. And thus, ever since, this horrible crime remained among the clergy, both for lack of marriage being more used, and for lack of publication less punished. †

Henry I. A. D. 1108.

Besides all these synodal acts above comprehended, and given out by Anselm in his councils before, at another council, held in London at Whitsuntide in the eighth year of this king [May 24th, A.D. 1108], he also directed other new injunctions to the priests.

See Appendix.

Penalties and forfeits against priests that keep their wives.

First, That the priests, deacons, and subdeacons, should live chastely, and retain no woman in their house, unless they were of their next kin.

Item, That they who had retained their wives, or taken new ones, against the council of London,[2] should never more meet them in one house, nor should their wives dwell in the church territory.

Item, That such as had dissevered themselves from the society of their wives, and yet, for some honest cause, had to communicate with them, might do so if it were without door, and with at least two lawful witnesses.

In the latter days shall come false teachers forbidding marriage and eating of meats, &c.

Item, If any one of them should be accused by two or three witnesses of breaking this statute, and could not purge himself again by six able men of his own order, if he be a priest, or if he be a deacon by four, or if he be a subdeacon by two, then he should be judged a transgressor of the statute, deprived of his office and benefice, and not be admitted into the quire, but be treated as infamous.

Item, He that rebelled, and in contempt of this new statute held still his wife, and presumed to say mass, upon the eighth day after, if he made not due satisfaction, should be solemnly excommunicated.

Item, All archdeacons and deacons to be strictly sworn not to wink or dissemble at their meetings, or to bear with them for money. And if they would not be sworn to this, then to lose their offices without recovery.

Purification of priests that had been married.

Item, Such priests, as forsaking their wives were willing to serve still, and remain in their holy order, first must cease forty days from their ministration, setting vicars for them in the mean time to serve, and taking such penance upon them, as by their bishop should be enjoined them.

Thus have ye heard the tedious treatise of the life and doings of Anselm, how superstitious in his religion, how stubborn against his prince he was, what occasion of war and discord he would have ministered by his complaints, if they had been taken, what zeal without right knowledge, what fervency without cause he pretended, what pains without profit he took; who, if he had bestowed that time and travel in preaching Christ at home to his flock, which he took in gadding to Rome, to complain of his country, in my mind, he had been better occupied. Moreover, what violent and tyrannical injunctions he set forth of investing and other things, ye have heard; but especially against the lawful and godly marriage of priests. What a vehement adversary he was, in that respect, may appear by these minutes or extracts of letters, which we have here annexed; in form and effect as followeth:—

(1) Ranulph. Cestrensis, lib. vii. (2) See suprà, pp. 160, 166.

Henry I.

A. D. 1108.

A Letter of Anselm.

Anselm, archbishop, to his brethren and dearest sons, the lord prior and others at Canterbury.[1]

King Henry permitted priests to have both churches and wives.

As concerning priests, of whom the king commanded that they should have both their churches and their women as they had in the time of his father, and of Lanfranc, archbishop: both because the king hath revested and reseized the whole archbishopric, and because so cursed a marriage was forbidden in a council in the time of his father and of the said archbishop: boldly I command, by the authority which I have by my archbishopric, not only within my archbishopric, but also throughout England, that all priests, who keep wives, shall be deprived of their churches and ecclesiastical benefices.

A Letter of Pope Paschal to Anselm.

Pascal, bishop, servant of God's servants, to his reverend brother Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, greeting and apostolical blessing.[2]

Pope Paschal hath so decreed it at Rome. Ergo, priests must have no wives. If profit of the church may come by priests' children, what hurt then were it to the church for priests to have wives?

We believe your brotherhood is not ignorant what is decreed in the Romish church concerning priests' children. But because there is so great a multitude of such within the realm of England, that almost the greater and better part of the clerks are reckoned to be on this side, therefore we commit this dispensation to your care; for we grant these to be promoted to holy offices by reason of the need at this time, and for the profit of the church (such as learning and life shall commend among you), so that, yet notwithstanding, the prejudice of the ecclesiastical decree be taken heed to hereafter, &c.

Another Letter of Anselm for Investing.

To the Reverend Lord and loving Father Paschal, high bishop, Anselm, servant of Canterbury church, due subjection and continual prayers.

King Henry and his nobles ready to forsake the Romish church.

After I returned to my bishopric in England I showed the apostolical decree, which I being present heard in the Romish council. 1. That no man should receive investing of churches at the king's hand, or any lay person's, or should become his man for it, and that no man should presume to consecrate him that did offend herein. When the king and his nobles, and the bishops themselves, and others of the lower degree, heard these things, they took them so grievously, that they said, they would in no case agree to the thing, and that they would drive me out of the kingdom, and forsake the Romish church, rather than keep this thing. Wherefore, reverend father, I desire your counsel by your letter, &c.

Another Letter of Anselm.

Anselm, archbishop, to the Reverend Gudulph, bishop, and to Arnulph, prior, and to William, archdeacon of Canterbury, and to all in his diocese, greeting.[3]

Against priests receiving again their wives. Priests excommunicated for receiving again their wives.

William, our archdeacon, hath written to me, that some priests that be under his custody (taking again their women that were forbidden) have fallen unto the uncleanness from the which they were drawn by wholesome counsel and commandment. When the archdeacon would amend this thing, they utterly despised, with wicked pride, his warning and worthy commandment to be received. Then he, calling together many religious men and obedient priests, excommunicated worthily the proud and disobedient, who beastly despised the curse, and were not afraid to defile the holy ministry, as much as lay in them, &c.

Unto these letters above prefixed, I have also adjoined another of the said Anselm, touching a great case of conscience, of a monk's whipping himself. Wherein may appear both the blind and lamentable superstition of those religious men, and the judgment of this Anselm in the same matter.

(1) Ex epist. Ansel. 77 et 377. (2) Ex epist. 33. (3) Ex epist. 37

Another Letter of Anselm.

Anselm, archbishop, to Bernard, monk of the abbey of St. Warburg, greeting and prayer.[1]

A. D. 1108.

Whether is more merit for a monk to cause himself in the chapter to be whipped, or to suffer obediently the whipping of his abbot

I heard it said of your lord abbot, that thou judgest it to be of greater merit, when a monk either beats himself, or desireth himself to be beaten of another than when he is beaten (not of his own will) in the chapter, by the commandment of the prelacy. But it is not as you think, for that judgment which any man commandeth to himself, is kingly; but that which he suffereth by obedience in the chapter, is monkish. The one is of his own will; the other is of obedience, and not of his own will. That which I call kingly, kings and rich proud men commanded to be done to themselves; but that which I call monkish, they take not commanding, but obeying. The kingly is so much easier, by how much it agreeth to the will of the sufferer; but the monkish is so much the more grievous, by how much it differeth from the will of the sufferer. In the kingly judgment, the sufferer is judged to be his own; in monkish he is proved not to be his own: for although the king, or rich man, when he is beaten, willingly showeth himself humbly to be a sinner; yet he would not submit himself to this humbleness at any other's commandment, but would withstand the commander with all his strength. But when a monk submitteth himself to the whip humbly in the chapter at the will of the prelate, the truth judgeth him to be of so much greater merit, by how much he humbleth himself more and more, and more truly than the other. For he humbleth himself to God only, because he knoweth his sins, but this man humbleth himself to man for obedience. But he is more lowly that humbleth himself both to God and man for God's cause, than he which humbleth himself to God only, and not to God's commandment. Therefore, if he that humbleth himself shall be extolled, ergo, he that more humbleth himself, shall be more exalted. And where I said, that when a monk is whipped, it differeth from his will, you must not so understand it, as though he would not patiently bear it with an obedient will, but because by a natural appetite he would not suffer the sorrow. But if ye say, I do not so much fly the open beating for the pains (which I feel also secretly), as for the shame; know then that he is stronger that rejoiceth to bear this for obedience' sake. Therefore be thou sure, that one whipping of a monk by obedience is of more merit than innumerable whippings taken by his own mind. But whereas he is such that he always ought to have his heart ready without murmuring obediently to be whipped, we ought to judge him then to be of a great merit, whether he be whipped privily or openly, &c.

The judgment of Anselm on the case.

And thus much concerning Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, whose stout example gave no little courage to Thurstin and Becket, his successors, and others that followed after, to do the like against their kings and princes, as in process hereafter by the grace of Christ shall appear.

About this time, two famous archbishops of Mentz, being right virtuous and well-disposed prelates, were cruelly and tyrannously dealt withal, and treated by the bishop of Rome. Their names were Henry and Christian. This Henry, having intelligence that he was complained of to the pope, sent a learned man, a special friend of his, to excuse him, named Arnold; one for whom he had done much, and whom he had promoted to great livings and promotions. But this honest man Arnold, instead of an excuser, became an accuser, bribing the two chiefest cardinals with good gold; by which means he obtained of the pope, those two cardinals to be sent as inquisitors and only doers in that present case. They, coming to Germany, summoned the said Henry, and deposed him from his archbishopric in spite of all he could do either by law or justice, substituting in his place the aforesaid Arnold, in hope, truly, of the

See Appendix.

Judges corrupted.

(1) Ex epist. 255.

Henry I. A.D. 1101. ecclesiastical gold. Whereupon that virtuous and honourable Henry, as the story telleth, spake unto those his perverse judges on this wise: "If I should appeal unto the apostolic see for this your unjust process had against me, perhaps the pope would attempt nothing more therein than ye have, neither should I win any thing by it, but only toil of body, loss of goods, affliction of mind, care of heart, and missing of his favour. Wherefore I do appeal unto the Lord Jesus Christ, as the most high and just judge, and cite you before his judgment, there to answer me before the high Judge; for neither justly nor godly, but by corruption as it pleaseth you, you have judged." Whereunto they scoffingly answered: "Go you first, and we will follow." Not long after, as the story goes, the said Henry died, whereof the said two cardinals having intelligence, said one to the other jestingly: "Behold, he is gone before, and we must follow according to our promise." And verily, they said truer than they were aware of; for within a while they died both in one day. For the one, sitting upon a jakes to ease himself, voided out all his entrails into the draught, and miserably ended his life; the other gnawing off the fingers of his hands, and spitting them out of his mouth, all deformed in devouring himself, died. And in like wise, not long after the end of these men, the aforesaid Arnold most horribly in a sedition was slain; and three days, lying stinking above the ground unburied, was open to the spoil of every rascal and harlot. The historiographer[1] in declaring hereof crieth upon the cardinals in this manner: "O ye cardinals, ye are the beginning and authors hereof. Come hither, draw out now, and bear unto your master the devil, and together with that money which you have gulped down, offer him yourselves also."

A terrible example for corrupt judges to beware.

A.D. 1100. About the same time and year in which King Henry began his reign, Pope Paschal entered his papacy, succeeding Urban, about A.D. 1100, nothing swerving from the steps of Hildebrand, his superior. This Paschal, being elected by the cardinals, after the people had cried thrice, "St. Peter hath chosen good Rainerus;" he then putting on a purple vesture, and a tiara upon his head, was brought upon a white palfrey into Lateran, where a sceptre was given him, and a girdle put about him having seven keys, with seven seals hanging thereupon for a recognisance or token of his sevenfold power, according to the sevenfold grace of the Holy Ghost, of binding, loosing, shutting, opening, sealing, resigning, and judging. After this Paschal was elected pope, Henry IV., the aforesaid emperor (of courage most valiant, if the time had served thereto,) thought to come up to Italy to salute the new pope; but, understanding the pope's mind bent against him, he changed his purpose. In the mean time, Paschal, to show himself inferior to Hildebrand in no point, began first to depose all such abbots and bishops as the emperor had set up. Also he banished Albert, Theodoric, and Maginulph, striving at the same time for the papacy. I spake before of Guibert, whom Henry, the emperor, had made pope against Hildebrand. Paschal made out an army against this Guibert, who, being put to flight, not long after departed.

The pope's attire.

The sevenfold power of the pope.

Anti-christ born and manifest.

About the same time, A.D. 1101, the bishop of Florence[2] began to teach and to preach of antichrist then to be born and to be manifest,

See Appendix.

(1) Conradi Chron. Moguntiacum. See Appendix.—Ed. (2) See vol. iii. p. 105.—Ed.

as Sabellicus testifieth; whereupon Paschal assembling a council at Florence put to silence the said bishop, and condemned his books. In his council at Troyes, priests that were married were condemned for Nicolaitans: Item, according to the decree of Hildebrand, all such of what degree or estate soever they were (being laymen) who gave any ecclesiastical dignities, were condemned of simony: Furthermore, the statute of priests' tithes he there renewed, counting the selling away thereof as a sin against the Holy Ghost. Concerning the excommunication and other troubles, that Hildebrand wrought against Henry IV. the emperor, it is declared sufficiently before.[1] This excommunication Paschal, the pope, renewed afresh against the said Henry; and not only that, but also conventing the princes of Germany unto a general assembly, he set up his own son against him, causing the bishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Worms, to deprive him of his imperial crown, and to place his son Henry V. in his father's kingdom; and so they did.[2] Coming to the palace at Ingelheim, first they required from him his diadem, his purple, his ring, and other ornaments pertaining to the crown. The emperor demanded the cause, being then excommunicated and void of friends. They pretended again, I cannot tell what, —the selling of bishopries, abbacies, and other ecclesiastical dignities for money; also alleging the pope's pleasure and that of other princes. Then required he first of the bishop of Mentz, and likewise of the other two, whom he had preferred to their bishopries before, asking them in order, if he had received of them any penny for his promoting them to their dignities. This when they could not deny to be so, "Well," saith he, "and do you requite me again with this?" with divers other words of exhortation, admonishing them to remember their oath and allegiance to their prince. But the perjured prelates, neither reverencing his majesty, nor moved with his benefits, nor regarding their fidelity, ceased not for all this, but first plucked from him, sitting on his throne, his crown imperial, and then disvestured him, taking from him his purple and his sceptre. The good emperor, being left desolate and in confusion, saith to them: "Videat Deus et judicet:" that is, "Let God see and judge." Thus leaving him, they went to his son to confirm him in his kingdom, and caused him to drive his father out; who then being chased of his son, and having but nine persons about him, did flee by way of the dukedom of Limburgh, where the duke being then hunting, and perceiving and hearing of him, made after to follow him. The emperor fearing no other than present death, for he had displaced the same duke before out of his dukedom, submitted himself, craving of him pardon, and not revenge. The duke, full of compassion, and pitying his estate, not only remitted all his displeasure, but also received him to his castle. Moreover, collecting his soldiers and men of war, he brought him to Cologne, and there he was well received. His son hearing this, besieged that city. But the father, by night escaping, came to Liege, where resorted to him all such as were men of compassion and constant heart, insomuch that his power, being strong enough, he was now able to pitch a field against his enemies, and so he did, desiring his friends, that if he had the victory, they would spare his son. In fine, the battle joined, the father had the victory,

Henry I. A. D. 1106.

The bishop of Florence a martyr.

A council at Troyes, A.D.1107. *See Appendix.*

A tragical history of Pope Paschal, setting the son against the father. *See Appendix.*

The prelates set the son against the father.

A grateful example of a good and thankful duke.

(1) See pp. 125—134.—Ed. (2) Ex Historia Helmoldi.

Henry I. A.D. 1112. the son being put to flight, and many slain on both sides. But shortly after, the battle being renewed again, the son prevailed, and the father was overcome and taken; who then, being utterly dispossessed of his kingdom, was brought to that exigency, that coming to Spires, he was feign to crave of the bishop there, whom he had done much for before, to have a prebend in the church: and for that he had some skill in his book, he desired to serve in our Lady's quire; yet could he not obtain so much at his hand, who swore by our Lady, he should have nothing there.[1] Thus the woeful emperor, most unkindly handled, and repulsed on every side, came to Liege, and there for sorrow died, after he had reigned forty years; whose body Paschal, after his funeral, caused to be taken up again, and to be brought to Spires, where it remained five years unburied.[2]

The unkindness of a proud prelate.

See Appendix.

The emperor five years without burial.

After the decease of this emperor Henry IV., his son Henry V. reigned the space of twenty years. This prince coming to Rome to be crowned of the pope, could not obtain it, before he would fully assent to have this ratified, that no emperor should have any thing to do with the election of the Roman bishop, or with other bishoprics.[3] Besides that, about the same time, such a stir was made in Rome by the said bishop, that if the emperor had not defended himself with his own hands, he had been slain. But as it happened, the emperor having victory, amongst many other Romans slain or taken in the same skirmish, taketh also the pope and leadeth him out of the city; where he indenteth with him upon divers conditions, both of his coronation, and of recovering again his right and title in the election of the pope and of other bishops: whereunto the pope assenting agreed to all. So the emperor, being crowned of Paschal, returned again with the pope of Rome.

See Appendix.

A.D. 1107. Henry emperor.

See Appendix.

The pope taken prisoner.

All the conditions between the emperor and the pope, so long as the emperor remained at Rome, stood firm and ratified; but as soon as the emperor was returned again to Germany, forthwith the pope, calling a synod, not only revoked all that he had agreed to before, but also excommunicated Henry, the emperor, as he had done his father before, reproving the former 'privilegium' for 'pravilegium.' The emperor, returning from Rome to France, there married Matilda, daughter to King Henry; who then hearing what the pope had done, (grieved not a little,) with all expedition marched to Rome, and putteth the pope to flight, and finally placeth another in his stead. In the mean time the bishops of Germany, the pope's good friends, slacked not their business, incensing the Saxons all that they might against their Cæsar; insomuch that a great commotion was stirred up, and it grew at length to a pitched field, which was fought in the month of February, by the wood called Sylva Catularia.

See Appendix.

War raised by the pope and his papists.

Peace concluded between the emperor and the pope.

The emperor seeing no end of these conflicts, unless he would yield to the pope, was fain to give over, and forego his privilege, falling to a composition, not to meddle with matters pertaining to the pope's election, nor with investing, nor such other things belonging to the church and churchmen; and thus was the peace between them concluded, and proclaimed to the no small rejoicing of both the armies, then lying by Worms, near the river Rhine.

(1) Ex Helmoldo, et Gotfrido Viterbiensi. (2) Ex Helmoldo,
(3) Ex Chronico Carionis. lib. iii.

In the time of this Paschal lived Bernard, called Abbot of Clairvaux, A.D. 1108, of whom sprang the Bernardine monks. *Henry I.* A. D. 1119.

About this time the city of Worcester was almost consumed with fire.

All this while Henry the emperor had no issue, having to wife Matilda, the daughter of Henry I., king of England, and that by the just judgment of God, as it may appear; for as he, having a father, persecuted him by the pope's setting on, contrary to the part of a natural son; so God's providence did not suffer him to be the father of any child, naturally to love him, or to succeed him.

Bernardine monks come in. The city of Worcester almost all consumed with fire. The Lord's just retribution and judgment.

After the death of Paschal, A.D. 1118, succeeded Pope Gelasius, chosen by the cardinals, but without the consent of the emperor, whereupon rose no little variance in Rome; and at length another pope was set up by the emperor, called Gregory VIII., and Gelasius was driven away into France, and there died. After him came Calixtus II., chosen likewise by a few cardinals, without the voice of the emperor, who, coming up to Rome to enjoy his seat, first sent his legate into Germany to excommunicate the emperor Henry; who then, having divers conflicts with his fellow pope Gregory, at length, drave him out of Rome. At this time, by this occasion, great disputation and controversy arose between the emperor and the pope's court, whether of them in dignity should excel the other; whereof reasons and arguments on both sides were alleged, which in the verses below are comprehended.

Two popes striving together. The pope excommunicateth the emperor.

Allegatio imperatoris contra papam.

Cæsar lex viva stat regibus imperativa,
Legeque sub viva sunt omnia jura dativa:
Lex ea castigat, solvit, et ipsa ligat.
Conditor est legis, neque debet lege teneri,
Sed sibi complacuit sub lege libenter haberi:
Quicquid ei placuit, juris adinstar erat.
Qui ligat ac solvit Deus ipsum protulit orbi,
Divisit regnum divina potentia secum,
Astra dedit superis, cætera cuncta sibi.

Responsio Romanæ curiæ contra imperatorem.

Pars quoque papalis sic obviat imperiali.
Sic regnare damus, quòd Petro subjiciaris:
Jus etenim nobis Christus utrumque parit.
Spiritus et corpus mihi sunt subjecta potenter,
Corpora terrena teneo, cœlestia mente,
Unde, tenendo polum, solvo ligoque solum.
Æthera pandere, cœlica tangere, papa videtur.
Nam dare, tollere, nectere, solvere cuncta meretur,
Cui dedit omne decus lex nova, lexque vetus:
Annulus et baculus, quamvis terrena putentur,
Sunt de jure poli: quæ significare videntur,
Respice jura Dei: mens tua cedat ei. &c.

In conclusion, the emperor being overcome so much with the vain reasons of the pope's side, and fearing the dangerous thunderbolt of his curse, (talking with princes, and persuaded with his friends,) was

Henry I. A.D. 1109. fain to condescend to the unreasonable conditions of the pope: first, to ratify his election, notwithstanding the other pope (whom the said emperor had set up) was yet alive; secondly, that he should resign his right and title in matters pertaining to the election of the pope, and investure of bishops.

This being done and granted, and the writings thereof set up in the church of Lateran, for a triumph over the emperor thus subdued, the pope maketh out after Gregory, his fellow-pope, being then in a town called Sutrium; which being besieged and taken, Gregory also was taken;[1] whom, Calixtus the pope, setting him upon a camel, with his face to the camel's tail, brought him thus through the streets of Rome, holding the tail in his hand instead of a bridle; and afterward, being shorn, he was thrust into a monastery.

Gregory brought into Rome by the pope, his face to the camel's tail.

Amongst many acts done by this glorious pope, first he established the decrees of the papal see against this emperor. He brought in the four quarter fasts, called Ember days.[2]

The Ember days; by whom they were brought in, and when.

By the same Calixtus the order of monks, called Præmonstratenses, was brought in.

The order of monks, Præmonstratenses.

Further, by him it was decreed to be judged for adultery, if any person, during his lifetime, had put from him either bishopric or benefice; grounding upon this scripture of St. Paul to the Romans, "The wife is bound to the law of her husband, so long as the husband liveth; after he is dead she is loosed from the law of her husband," &c.

Scripture clerkly applied by the pope.

Item, the same Calixtus, holding a general council at Rheims, decreed that priests, deacons, and subdeacons, should put away their concubines and wives; and that whosoever was found to keep his wife, should be deprived of benefice, and all other ecclesiastical livings: whereupon a certain English writer made these verses following:—

Priests and ministers compelled to leave their wives. *See Appendix.*

"O bone Calixte, nunc omnis clerus odit te:
Quondam presbyteri poterant uxoribus uti,
Hoc destruxisti, postquam tu papa fuisti," &c.

That is, word for word,—

"The hatred of the clergy hast thou, good Calixtus,
For sometimes priests might use their wives right;
But that thou hast rejected, since pope thou wast elected."

A.D. 1109. And thus much of the Roman matters. Now to our country story again. After the death of Anselm beforementioned, who deceased 1109, after he had been in the see fifteen years, the church of Canterbury stood void five years; and the goods of the church were spent to the king's use. When he was prayed to help the church that was so long without a pastor, he in his answer pretended that as his father and brother had been accustomed there to set the best tried and approved men that might be found, so to the intent that he might do the same, in choosing those who either should equal the former examples of them before, or at least follow their footsteps as near as they could, he took therein the more time and leisure. And so with shift of answer he dallied out the time, while

(1) Ex Platina, Vincentio, Stella, &c. (2) Dist. 76, cap. Jejunium.

he had filled his coffers with the commodities of that benefice. The same year, after the death of Anselm, the king converted the abbey of Ely to a bishopric, which before was under the bishopric of Lincoln; placing there Henry, bishop of Bangor, as the first bishop of that see. And, as of late years before this, divers wonders were seen, as stars falling from heaven so thick that they could not be numbered, at the setting forth of the Christians to the Holy Land;[1] a blazing star over Constantinople; a spring boiling out blood, seen at Finchamstead, in Berkshire, three weeks together, A. D. 1090.[2] After that, the firmament appeared so red, as if it had been all on fire; also two full moons appeared together, one in the east, the other in the west, on Maunday Thursday; with a blazing star, in the same year, appearing about the taking of Duke Robert, having a white circle enclosing it; A. D. 1106.[3] Also with an eclipse of the sun darkened after that. So likewise about this present year, A. D. 1110, was seen the flood of Trent, about Nottingham, so dried up from morning to three of the clock at afternoon, that men might go over it dry shod.[4] Also in Shrewsbury a great earthquake happened; and after that followed a sharp winter, great murrain of beasts and pestilence of men, as Gualter Gisburn recordeth.[5] Moreover the same author mentioneth, that about the same year the like vading of water also happened in the flood of Medway; and in the Thames, between the bridge and the Tower, and under the bridge, from midnight to the next evening, was so great an ebb, that an innumerable sort of people and children waded over, scarcely knee deep in the water, the sea withdrawing his tide ten miles from his accustomed course.[6] In this year also, as the said authors and Jornalensis do testify, the city of Worcester by casualty was consumed with fire; also the city of Chester, A. D. 1114.[7]

Henry I.

A.D. 1115.

The bishopric of Ely first planted.

A.D.1110 Trent dried up.

An earthquake, murrain, and pestilence.

A.D.1113. Worcester consumed with fire

A.D.1114 Dissension between Thurstin, of York, and Rodulph, archbishop of Canterbury, for subjection.

The same year (A.D. 1114) Rodolph, bishop of Rochester, an Englishman, was promoted to be archbishop of Canterbury; and Thurstin, the king's chaplain, was elected archbishop of York; who, being content to receive his benediction or consecration of the see of Canterbury, yet, because he refused to make his profession of obedience to the same see, was by the king deprived of his dignity.

Then Thurstin, by the instigation of certain of his clerks at York, took his journey to Rome; who, there making his complaint to Pope Paschal, brought with him a letter from the pope to the king, where, among other words was contained as followeth:[8] "We hear and understand, that the archbishop elect of the church of York, a discreet and industrious man, is sequestered from the church of York; which standeth against both divine justice and the institution of the holy fathers. Our purpose is, that neither the church of Canterbury should be impaired, nor again that the church of York should suffer any prejudice, but that the same constitution, which

A.D.1115.

The letter of Paschal to King Henry. *See Appendix.*

(1) Jornalensis. (2) Gisburn. (3) Jornalensis. (4) Gisburn.
(5) Gisburn. (6) Rog. Hoved, Gisburn, &c. (7) Rog. Hoved.
(8) "Audivimus electum Eboracencis ecclesiæ, virum sapientem et strenuum, sine judicio ab Eboracensi sequestratum ecclesia, quod nimirum divinæ justitiæ et sanct. patrum institutionibus adversatur. Nos quidem neque Cant. ecclesiam minui, neque Eboracensem volumus præjudicium pati, sed eam constitutionem quæ a beato Gregorio, Anglicæ gentis Apostolo, inter easdem ecclesias constituta est, firmam censemus illibatamque servari. Idem ergo electus, ut justitia exigit, ad suam ecclesiam omnibus modis revocetur. Si quid autem quæstionis inter easdem ecclesias nascitur, presentibus utrisque partibus in vestra præsentia pertractetur," &c.—Ex Gualtero Gisburnensi, ex Guliel. Malmesb. de Pontif. lib. iv. Ex Roger. Hoved. Fabian. &c.

Henry I. A.D. 1119. was by blessed Gregory, the apostle of the English nation, set and decreed between those two churches, should remain still in force and effect inviolate. Wherefore, as touching the aforesaid elect, let him be received again by any means, as right and meet it is, into his church. And if there be any question between the aforesaid churches, let it be handled and decided in your presence, both the two parties being there present."

A.D 1116. Assembly of the nobles at Salisbury. *See Appendix.*

Upon occasion of this letter there was a solemn assembly appointed at Salisbury, about the hearing of this controversy. The variance between these two prelates still increased more and more. Rodulph, archbishop of Canterbury, in no case would yield or condescend to give imposition of hands unto him, unless he would make his profession of obedience. Thurstin again said, he would willingly receive and embrace his benediction; but as touching the profession of his subjection, that he would not agree to. Then the king, declaring his mind therein, signified unto Thurstin, that, without his subjection and obedience professed to the archbishop of Canterbury, he should not enjoy his consecration to be archbishop of York. Whereunto Thurstin, nothing replying again, renounced his archbishopric, promising, moreover, to make no more claim unto it, nor to molest those who should enjoy it.

Thurstin refuseth to profess subjection to the archbishop of Canterbury, and to renounce his see.

A.D.1118. Shortly after this, it happened that Pope Paschal died; after whom, as is above-rehearsed, succeeded Pope Gelasius, who lived not a year, and died in France. Whereupon the cardinals, who then followed the said Pope Gelasius unto Clugny, created another pope of their own choosing, whom they called Calixtus II. The other cardinals who were at Rome did choose another pope, called Gregory, of whom mention before is made: about which two popes much stir there was in Christian realms. As this Calixtus was remaining in France, and there calling a general council at Rheims, as ye heard before, Thurstin, the archbishop of York, desired license of the king to go to the council, purposing there to open the cause of his church; which eftsoons he obtained: first promising the king that he would there attempt nothing that should be prejudicial to the church of Canterbury. In the mean time the king had sent secret word unto the pope by Rodulph and other procurators, that in no case he would consecrate Thurstin. Yet, notwithstanding the faithful promise of the pope made to the king, so it fell out, that the said pope, through the suit of his cardinals, whom Thurstin had won to him, was inclined to consecrate him, and gave him the pall. For this deed the king was sorely discontented with Thurstin, and warned him the entry of this land.

See p.176.

Thurstin consecrated archbishop of York by the pope against the king's mind.

Council at Rheims.

In this council at Rheims, abovementioned, where were gathered 434 prelates, these five principal acts were concluded:

1. That no man should either buy or sell any bishopric, abbotship, deanery, archdeaconship, priesthood, prebendship, altar, or any ecclesiastical promotion or benefice, orders, consecration, church-hallowing, seat or stall within the quire, or any office ecclesiastical, under danger of excommunication if he did persist.

2. That no lay person should give investiture of any ecclesiastical possession; and that no spiritual man should receive any such at any layman's hand, under pain of deprivation.

3. That no man should invade, take away, or detain the goods or possessions

of the church; but that they should remain firm and perpetual, under pain of perpetual curse. *Henry I.* A.D. 1119.

4. That no bishop or priest should leave any ecclesiastical dignity or benefice to any by way of inheritance. Adding, moreover, that for baptism, chrism, annoiling, or burial, no money should be exacted.

5. That all priests, deacons, and subdeacons, should be utterly debarred and sequestered from company of their wives and concubines, under pain of exclusion from all christian communion.

The acts sent to the emperor.

The acts thus determined were sent at once to Henry, the emperor, to see and try, before the breaking up of the council, whether he would agree to the canonical elections, free consecration, and investing of spiritual persons, and to other acts of the council. The emperor maketh answer again, that he would lose nothing of that ancient custom which his progenitors had given him. Notwithstanding, because of the authority of the general council, he was content to consent to the residue, save only the investing of ecclesiastical function to be taken from him, to which he would never agree.[1] Upon this, at the next return of the pope to the council, the emperor was appointed to be excommunicated; which thing, when divers of the council did not well like, and therefore did separate themselves from the rest, the pope applying against them the similitude of the seventy disciples who were offended at the Lord, when he taught them of eating of his flesh and blood, and therefore divided themselves from him, declaring, moreover, to them, how they who gathered not with him scattered, and they that were not with him were against him: by these, and such like persuasions, reduced them again to his side; and so, by that council, Henry the emperor was excommunicated.

The emperor agreeth not to the pope's investing.

Henry the emperor excommunicated.

It was not long after that the pope came to Gisors, where Henry, king of England, resorted to him, desiring, and also obtaining of him, that he would send henceforth no legate, nor permit any to be sent from Rome to England, unless the king himself should so require, by reason of some occasion of strife, which else could not be otherwise decided by his own bishops at home. The cause why the king required this of the pope was, for that certain Roman legates had been in England a little before; to wit, one Guido, and another Roman, named Anselm, and another also called Peter, who had spoiled the realm of great treasure, as the accustomed manner of the proud pope's legates is wont to be.[2] Also he required of the pope that he might use and retain all the customs used before by his forefathers in England and in Normandy.

England to have no legate from Rome but the archbishop of Canterbury.

England spoiled by the pope's legates.

All the customs of the realm granted of the pope.

To these petitions the pope did easily consent, requiring again of the king that he would license Thurstin, the archbishop above-named, to return with favour into his realm. But that the king utterly denied, unless he would profess subjection to the church of Canterbury, as his predecessors had done before; and excused himself by his oath which he before had made. To this the pope answered again, that he, by his authority apostolical, both might, and would also, easily dispense with him for his promise or oath. Then the king said that he would talk with his council thereof, and so send him an answer of his mind; which answer was this, That for the love and request of the pope, he was content that Thurstin should re-enter his realm, and quietly enjoy his prelateship, upon this condition, that he would (as

(1) Ex Roger. Hoved. (2) Guliel. Malmesb. de Pont. lib. i.

Henry I. A.D. 1120. his predecessors did) profess his subjection to the church of Canterbury. Otherwise, said he, so long as he was king, he should never sit archbishop of the church of York. And thus ended that meeting between the king of England and the pope for that time.

A.D.1120. The year following, which was A.D. 1120, the aforesaid pope, Calixtus, directeth his letters for Thurstin to the king, and to Rodulph, archbishop of Canterbury; in which epistles, by his full power apostolical, he doth interdict both the church of Canterbury and the church of York, with all the parish churches within the same cities, from all divine service, from the burial also of the dead, except only the baptizing of children, and the absolution of those who lie dying; unless, within a month after the receipt of the same, Thurstin, without any exaction of subjection made, were received and admitted to the see of York, and that the king likewise should doubtless be excommunicated, except he would consent unto the same. Whereupon Thurstin, for fear of the pope's curse, was immediately sent for and reconciled to the king, and was placed quietly in his archiepiscopal see of York.

The king compelled to receive Thurstin for fear of the pope's curse.

A.D.1122. It followed not long after, within two years, that Rodulph, archbishop of Canterbury, departed; in whose see succeeded after him Gulielmus de Turbine. About this time, in the seven and twentieth year of the king's reign, the Grey Friars, by the procuring of the king, came first into England, and had their house first at Canterbury. About the same season, or a little before, the king called a council at London, where the spiritualty of England, not knowing to what purpose it was required, condescended to the king to have the punishment of married priests: by reason of which grant, whereof the spiritualty afterwards much repented, the priests, paying a certain fine to the king, were suffered to retain their wives still, whereby the king gathered no small sum of money.[1] At this time began the first foundation of the monastery called Gisburn, in Cleveland.

The Grey Friars first came into England. A.D.1125.

Priests paid for their wives.

The abbey of Gisburn builded.

It was above touched, how Matilda, or Maud, daughter to King Henry, was married to Henry V. the emperor; who, after the decease of the said emperor, her husband, returned about this time with the imperial crown to her father in Normandy, bringing with her the hand of St. James; for joy whereof the king builded the abbey of Reading, where the said hand was reposed. This Matilda was received by the said council to be next heir to the king, her father, in possession of the English crown, for lack of issue male; and soon after she was sent over to Normandy, to marry Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou, of whom came Henry II., who, after Stephen, was king of England. About this time also was founded the priory of Norton, in the province of Chester, by one William Fitz-Nigelle.

See Appendix.

Saint James's hand.

Reading abbey founded.

Henry II. born of Matilda, the empress.

A.D. 1130. The priory of Norton founded.

In the stories of Polychronicon, Jornalensis, and Polydore, is declared, how King Henry was troubled greatly with three sundry visions appearing unto him by night. The first was of a great multitude of husbandmen of the country, who appeared to fly upon him with their mattocks and instruments, requiring of him his debt which he did owe unto them. In the second, he saw a great number of soldiers and harnessed men coming fiercely upon him. In the third,

Three terrible visions of the king.

(1) Ex Roger. Hoved. 7; et Malmesb. Gisburnens. Hunting. lib. vii.

he saw a company of prelates and churchmen, threatening him with their bishops' staves, and fiercely approaching upon him; whereupon being dismayed, in all haste he ran and took his sword to defend himself, finding there none to strike. Who afterward asking counsel concerning these visions, was monished by one of his physicians named Grimbald, by repentance, alms, and amendment of life, to make some amends to God and to his country, whom he offended. Which three vows thus being made, the next year after he went to England; where he, being upon the seas in a great tempest with his daughter Matilda, remembered there his three vows; and so coming to the land, for performance of the same, first released unto the commons the Dane-gilt which his father and brother before had renewed. Secondly, he went to St. Edmundsbury, where he showed great benefits to the churchmen. Thirdly, he procured justice to be administered more rightly throughout his realm, &c. Also he ordained and erected a new bishopric at Carlisle.

Henry I. A. D. 1125.

Three vows of Henry. A.D.1131.

Dane-gilt released.

In the three and thirtieth year of this king's reign (as witnesseth a certain author) a great part of the city of London, with the church of St. Paul, was burned with fire in Whitsun week.

The city and Paul's church in London burned.

After Calixtus (whose story and time is before discoursed) succeeded Pope Honorius II.; notwithstanding that the cardinals had elected another, yet he, by the means of certain citizens, obtained the papacy, A.D. 1124. About the second year of his induction, as is to be read in Mat. Paris, there was a certain legate of his, called John de Crema, sent down to England from the pope for the redress I cannot well tell whereof; but, indeed, the chief purpose of his coming, as of all others after him in those days, was to fill their pouches with English money, as may further appear by their proceedings. This legate coming then with the pope's letters directed both into England and Scotland, after he had well refreshed himself in bishops' houses, and amongst the abbots, at length resorted to London, where he assembled the whole clergy together, inquiring of priests' concubines, otherwise called their wives, and made thereupon a statute in the said synod of London, after this tenor:[1] "To priests, deacons, subdeacons, and canons, we do utterly inhibit, by authority apostolical, all manner of society and conversation with all kinds of women, except only their mother, sister, or aunt, or such whereof can rise no suspicion. And whosoever shall be found to violate this decree, being convict thereof, shall sustain thereby the loss of all that he hath by his order. Moreover, amongst kindred or such as be joined in affinity, we forbid matrimony unto the seventh generation." But see how God worketh against such ungodly proceedings. The next night after, it happened the same cardinal, ruffling and revelling with his concubines, to be apprehended in the same vice whereof he had so straitly given out precepts the day before, to the no little slander and shame, as Matthew Paris doth write, of the whole clergy.

Honorius II. *See Appendix.*

A Romish statute concerning priests' wives and concubines. *See Appendix.*

Marriage forbidden to the seventh degree. *See Appendix.*

Unto A.D. 1125, lived Henry V. the emperor, after he had reigned twenty years, dying without issue, as is before mentioned. Next after Henry, the imperial crown came unto Lothaire, duke of Saxony.

(1) "Presbyteris, diaconibus, subdiaconibus, et canonicis, uxorum, concubinarum, et omnium omnino fœminarum contubernia authoritate apostolica inhibemus, præter matrem, aut sororem, vel amitam, aut ejusmodi mulieres quæ omnino careant suspicione. Et qui decreti hujus violator extiterit (confessus vel convictus) ruinam ordinis patiatur. Inter consanguineos seu affinitate propinquos, usque ad septimam generationem, matrimonia contrahi prohibemus." [Simeon Dunelm., hoc anno: Wilkins, Conc. Gen. tom i p. 408.—Ed.]

Henry I. A.D. 1128.

Certain historians,[1] as Hugo, Platina, Sabellicus, &c., make mention of one Arnulph, in the time of this Pope Honorius II. Some say he was archbishop of Lyons. Trithemius saith he was a priest, whose history, as it is set forth in Trithemius, I will briefly in English express. About this time, saith he, in the days of Honorius II., one Arnulph, priest, a man zealous and of great devotion, and a worthy preacher, came to Rome, which Arnulph, in his preaching, rebuked the dissolute and lascivious looseness, incontinency, avarice, and immoderate pride of the clergy, provoking all to follow Christ and his apostles in their poverty rather, and in pureness of life. By reason whereof this man was well accepted, and highly liked of the nobility of Rome for a true disciple of Christ; but of the cardinals and the clergy he was no less hated than favoured of the other, insomuch that privily, in the night season, they took him and destroyed him. This his martyrdom, saith he, was revealed to him before from God by an angel, he being in the desert, when he was sent forth to preach at Rome; whereupon he said to them publicly with these words: "I know," saith he, "ye seek my life, and know you will shortly make me away privily: but why? Because I preach to you the truth, and blame your pride, stoutness, avarice, incontinency, with your unmeasurable greediness in getting and heaping up riches, therefore be you displeased with me. I take here heaven and earth to witness, that I have preached to you that I was commanded of the Lord. But you contemn me and your Creator, who by his only-begotten Son hath redeemed you. And no marvel if you seek my death, being a sinful person, preaching unto you the truth, when as if St. Peter were here this day and rebuked your vices, which do so multiply above all measure, you would not spare him neither." And having expressed this with a loud voice, he said moreover: "For my part I am not afraid to suffer death for the truth's sake; but this I say to you, that God will look upon your impurities, and will be revenged; for you, being full of all impurity, play the blind guides to the people committed to you, leading them the way to hell; but God is a God of vengeance." Thus the hatred of the clergy being incensed against him for preaching truth, they conspired against him, and so laying privy wait for him, took him and drowned him.[2] Sabellicus and Platina say they hanged him.

The history of Arnulph, a worthy preacher. *See Appendix.*

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

Arnulph, a martyr. *See Appendix.*

In the second tome of the General Councils, printed at Cologne, is mentioned a certain book called "Opusculum Tripartitum," written, as the collector of the councils supposeth, above four hundred years ago, either of this Arnulph, or just about the same time. In this book, the writer complaineth of many enormities and abuses in the church. First, of the number of holy days, declaring what occasions of vice grew thereby, according unto the common saying of naughty women, who say, they vantage more in one holy day than in fifty other days besides.

A book called Tripartitum, written 400 years ago. *See Appendix.*

Item, he complaineth of the curious singing in cathedral churches, whereby many be occasioned to bestow much good time, yea, many years, about the same, which otherwise they might give to the learning of better sciences.

See Appendix.

(1) This and the next page are translated from Illyricus, cols. 1432, 1448. See Appendix.—Ed.
(2) Ex Trithemio. [Chron. Hirsaug. Ed. Francof. 1601, p. 121, an. 1128: the text has been collated, and some slight corrections introduced.—Ed.]

Likewise he complaineth of the rabble and the multitude of begging friars, and religious men and professed women, showing what great occasion of idle and uncomely life cometh thereof. *Henry I.* A.D. 1130.

Also of the inconsiderate promotion of evil prelates, and of their great negligence in correcting and reforming the evil demeanour of the people.

Item, of the great wantonness and lasciviousness in their servants and families, concerning their excessive wearing of apparel.

Item, he complaineth also of the outrageous and excessive gains that prelates and others under them take for their seal, especially of officials, scribes, and such like; who give out the seal they care not how, nor wherefore, so they may gain money.

He complaineth in like manner, that prelates be so slack and negligent in looking to the residents in their benefices.

Further, he lamenteth the rash giving of benefices to parsons, vicars, and curates, not for any godliness or learning in them, but for favour or friendship, or intercession, or else for hope of some gain, whereof springeth this great ignorance in the church.

After this, he noteth in prelates, how they waste and expend the goods of the church in superfluities; or upon their kinsfolks, or other worse ways, which should rather be spent on the poor.

Next, in the tenth chapter he complaineth, that through the negligence of men of the church, especially of the church of Rome, the books and monuments of the old councils, and also of the new, are not to be found, which should be reserved and kept in all cathedral churches.

Item, that many prelates be so cold in doing their duties. Also he reproacheth the unchaste and voluptuous demeanour of ecclesiastical persons by the example of storks, whose nature is, saith he, that if any of their company, leaving his own mate, joineth with any other, all the rest fly upon him, whether it be he or she, beat him, and pluck his feathers off: "What then," saith he, "ought good prelates to do to such a person of their company, whose filthiness and corrupt life both defile so many, and stinketh in the whole church?"

Again, forasmuch as we read in the first book of Esdras (chap. ix.), that he, purging Israel of strange women, began first with the priests; so now likewise in the purging and correcting of all sorts of men, first the purgation ought to begin with these, according as it is written by the prophet Ezekiel, "Begin first with my sanctuary." Amendment of life first to begin with the priests.

Moreover, seeing that in the time of Philip, king of France, the whole realm was interdicted, for that the king had a woman for his wife, who could not be his wife by law; and again, seeing in these our days the king of Portugal hath been sequestered from his dominion by the authority of the church, being thought not sufficient to govern; —what then ought to be said to the prelate who abuseth other men's wives, and virgins and nuns, who also is found unhable and insufficient to take upon him the charge of souls? The realm of France interdicted. King of Portugal deposed. *See Appendix.*

About A.D. 1128, the order of the knights of the Rhodes, called Johannites, also the order of Templars, rose up. Knights of the Rhodes and Templars.

After Honorius, next in the same usurpation succeeded Pope Innocent II., A.D. 1130. But as it was with his predecessors before

Henry I. A.D. 1135.

him, that at every mutation of new popes, came new perturbations, and commonly never a pope was elected but some other was set up against him, sometimes two, sometimes three popes together, so likewise it happened with this Innocent; for after he was chosen, the Romans elected another pope, named Anacletus. Betwixt these two popes there was much ado, and great conflicts, through the partaking of Roger, duke of Sicily, taking Anacletus's part against Innocent until Lothaire the emperor came; who, rescuing Innocent, drove Roger out of Italy. Our stories record, that King Henry was one of the great helps in setting up and maintaining this Pope Innocent against Anacletus.[1]

Hurly-burly between popes.

Amongst many other things, this pope decreed that whosoever did strike a priest or clerk, being shaven, he should be excommunicated, and not be absolved but only by the pope himself.

Death of King Henry I. A.D. 1135.

About the time of doing these things, A.D. 1135, King Henry, being in Normandy, as some say, by taking there a fall from his horse, or, as others say, by taking a surfeit in eating lampreys, fell sick and died, after he had reigned over the realm of England five and thirty years and odd months, leaving for his heirs Matilda, the empress, his daughter, with her young son Henry to succeed him, to whom all the prelates and nobility of the realm were sworn. But, contrary to their oath made to Matilda, in the presence of her father before, William, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the nobles of the realm, crowned Stephen, earl of Boulogne, and sister's son to King Henry, upon St. Stephen's day, in Christmas week; which archbishop the next year after died, being, as it was thought, justly punished for his perjury. And many other lords, who did accordingly, went not quit without punishment. In the like justice of punishment is numbered also Roger, bishop of Salisbury; who, contrary unto his oath, being a great doer in the coronation of Stephen, was apprehended of the same king, and miserably, but justly, exterminated.

See Appendix.

A certain written English story[2] I have, which addeth more, and saith, that King Stephen, having many foes in divers quarters keeping their holds and castles against him, went to Oxford, and took the bishop of Salisbury, and put a rope about his neck, and so led him to the castle of Vies, that was his, and commanded them to render up the castle, or he would slay and hang their bishop. Which castle being given up, the king took the spoil thereof. The like also he did unto the bishop of Lincoln, named Alexander; whom in like manner he led in a rope to a castle of that bishop's, that was upon Trent, and bade them deliver up the castle, or else he would hang their lord before their gate. Long it was before the castle was given up; yet at length the king obtaining it, there entered and took all the treasure of the bishop, &c. Roger Hoveden[3] and Fabian alleging a certain old author, whom I cannot find, refer a great cause of this perjury unto one Hugh Bigot, sometime steward with King Henry; who, immediately after the death of the said Henry, came into England, and before the said archbishop, and other lords of the land, took wilfully an oath, and swore, that he was present a little before the king's death, when King Henry admitted for his heir, to

The bishop of Sarum and Lincoln taken prisoners. *See Appendix.*

(1) Gisburn. (2) Ex Chron. Angli. incerti autoris.
(3) Roger Hoved. in Vit. Steph. Ex Fab. in Vit. Steph.

be king after him, Stephen his nephew, forasmuch as Matilda his daughter had discontented him. Whereunto the archbishop, with the other lords, gave too hasty credence. But this Hugh, saith he, scaped not unpunished, for he died miserably in a short time after.[1] Albeit all this may be supposed rather to be wrought not without the practice of Henry, bishop of Winchester, and other prelates by his setting on, which Henry was brother to King Stephen. *Stephen.* A.D. 1135.

STEPHEN.[2]

Thus, when King Stephen, contrary unto his oath made before to Matilda, the empress, had taken upon him the crown, as is above said, he swore before the lords at Oxford, that he would not hold the benefices that were voided, and that he would remit the Danegilt, with many other things, which afterwards he little performed. Moreover, because he dreaded the coming of the empress, he gave license to his lords, every one to build upon his own ground strong castles or fortresses, as they liked. All the time of his reign he was vexed with wars, but especially with David, king of the Scots, with whom he was at length accorded: but yet the Scottish king did him no homage, because he was sworn to Matilda, the empress. Notwithstanding this, Henry, the eldest son to King David, did homage to King Stephen. But he, after repenting thereof, entered into Northumberland with a great host, and burnt and slew the people in most cruel wise, neither sparing man, woman, nor child. Such as were with child they ripped up; the children they tossed upon their spears' points; and laying the priests upon the altars, they mangled and cut them all to pieces, after a most terrible manner. But by the manhood of the English lords and soldiers, and through the means of Thurstin, archbishop of York, they were met withal, and a great number of them slain, David their king being constrained to give up Henry, his son, as hostage for surety of peace. In the mean time, King Stephen was occupied in the south countries, besieging divers castles of divers bishops and other lords, and took them by force, and fortified them with his knights and servants, with intent to withstand the empress, whose coming he ever feared. A.D. 1135. Building of castles in England. The cruelty of the Scots towards the Englishmen.

About the sixth year of his reign, Matilda, the empress, came into England out of Normandy, and by the aid of Robert, earl of Gloucester, and Ranulph, of Chester, made strong war upon King Stephen. In the end the king's party was chased, and himself taken prisoner, and sent to Bristol, there to be kept in sure hold. The same day when King Stephen should join his battle, it is said in a certain old chronicle before mentioned, that he being at the mass (which then the bishop of Lincoln said before the king), as he went to offer up his taper, it brake in two; and when the mass was done, (at what time the king should have been houseled) the rope whereby the pix[3] did hang did break, and the pix fell down upon the altar. A.D. 1140. Maud, the empress, came into England against Stephen. Stephen taken prisoner.

(1) Ex Fabian.
(2) Edition 1563, p. 34. Ed. 1583, p. 200. Ed. 1596, p. 182. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 226.—Ed.
(3) The pix is a small box containing the consecrated wafer, which the papists call the host, to which they may be seen paying their adorations.—Ed.

Stephen. A.D. 1143. After this battle, the queen, King Stephen's wife, lying then in Kent, made great labour to the empress and her council, to have the king delivered and put into some house of religion, but could not obtain it. Also the Londoners made great suit to the said empress, to have and to use again St. Edward's laws, and not the laws of her father, which were more strict and strange unto them than the others. When they could not obtain this of her and her council, the citizens of London, being therewith discontented, would have taken the empress; but she having knowledge thereof, fled privily from London to Oxford. But the Kentish-men and Londoners, taking the king's part, joined battle against the empress; when the aforesaid Robert, earl of Gloucester, and base brother to the empress, was taken, and so, by exchange, both the king and earl Robert were delivered out of prison. Then Stephen, without delay gathering to him a strong army, straitly pursued the aforesaid Matilda, or Maud, with her friends, besieging them in the castle of Oxford, in the siege whereof fell a great snow and frost, so hard, that a man well laden might pass over the water; upon which occasion, the empress bethinking herself, appointed with her friends and retinue, clothed in white sheets, and issuing out by a postern gate, went upon the ice over Thames, and so escaped to Wallingford.[1] After this, the king (the castle being gotten), when he found not the empress, was much displeased, and molested the country round about divers ways. In conclusion, he pursued the empress and her company so hard, that he caused them to fly the realm, which was in the sixth year of his reign.

Stephen, and Robert, earl of Gloucester, delivered by exchange

A.D.1143. The second year after this, which was the eighth year of his reign, there was a parliament held in London, to which all the bishops of the realm resorted, and there denounced the king accursed, and all those with him, who did any hurt to the church, or to any minister thereof. Whereupon the king began somewhat to amend his conditions for a certain space, but afterward, as my story saith, was as ill as he was before; but what the causes were, my author maketh no mention.

The decease of Geoffery Plantagenet.

To return again to the story: the empress, compelled, as is said, to fly the realm, returned again into Normandy, to Geoffery Plantagenet her husband, who, after he had valiantly won and defended the duchy of Normandy, against the puissance of King Stephen a long time, ended his life, leaving Henry, his son, to succeed him in that dukedom. In the mean while, Robert, earl of Gloucester, and the earl of Chester, who were strong of people, had divers conflicts with the king, insomuch that at a battle at Wilton, between them, the king was well nigh taken, but yet escaped with much difficulty.

Henry, duke of Normandy, enters England.

It was not long before Eustace, son to King Stephen, who had married the French king's sister, made war on Duke Henry of Normandy, but prevailed not. Soon after, the said Henry, duke of Normandy, in the quarrel of his mother Matilda, with a great puissance entered England, and at the first won the castle of Malmesbury, then the Tower of London, and afterward the town of Nottingham, with other holds and castles, as of Wallingford, and other places. Thus, between him and the king were fought many battles, to the great annoyance of the realm. During that time, Eustace, the king's son, departed; upon which occasion the king caused Theobald, arch-

(1) Ex incerti authoris Chronico.

bishop of Canterbury, who succeeded next after William, above mentioned, to make overtures to the duke for peace, which was concluded between them upon this condition,—that Stephen, during his lifetime, should hold the kingdom, and Henry, in the mean time, be proclaimed heir apparent, in the chief cities throughout the realm. These things done, Duke Henry taketh his journey into Normandy, King Stephen and his son William bringing him on his way, where William, the king's son, taking up his horse before his father, had a fall, and brake his leg, and so was had to Canterbury. The same year, about October, King Stephen, as some say for sorrow, ended his life, after he had reigned nineteen years perjuredly.

Stephen. A.D. 1154.

Peace between King Stephen and Duke Henry.

Death of King Stephen.

As Theobald succeeded William, archbishop of Canterbury, so in York, after Thurstin, succeeded William, who was called St. William of York, and was poisoned in his chalice by his chaplains.

In the time of this king, in the sixteenth year of his reign, Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and legate to the pope, did hold a council in London. In this council first began new-found appellations from councils to the pope, found out by Henry, bishop of Winchester; for, as the words of mine author do record, "In Anglia namque appellationes in usu non erant, donec eas Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus, dum legatus esset, malo suo crudeliter intrusit. In eodem namque concilio ad Romani pontificis audientiam ter appellatum est," &c. That is, "for appellations before were not in use in England, till Henry, bishop of Winchester, being then the pope's legate, brought them cruelly in, to his own hurt. For in that council appeal was thrice made to the bishop of Rome." A. D. 1151.

In the time of King Stephen died Gratian, a monk of Bologna, who compiled a book of papal decrees, called 'Decretum;' also his brother, Peter Lombard, bishop of Paris, who is called 'the Master of Sentences,' compiled his four books of the 'Sentences.' These two brethren were the greatest doers in finding out and establishing this blind opinion of the sacrament, that only the similitude of bread and wine remained, but not the substance of them; and this they call the spiritual understanding of the mystery, and therefore no marvel if the sun in those days were seen black and dim.

Gratian, compiler of the pope's decrees.

Peter Lombard, master of the sentences. *See Appendix.*

Some also affirm, that Petrus Comestor, writer of the Scholastical History, was the third brother to these above-named.

At the same time, and in the reign of the said King Stephen, was also Hugo, surnamed "De Sancto Victore;" about the which time, as Polychronicon reciteth, lived and died Bernard of Clairvaux.

The author of the history called 'Jornalensis,' maketh also mention of Hildegard, the nun and prophetess, in Almain, as having lived in the same age; concerning whose prophecy against the friars, hereafter (by the grace of Christ) more shall be said, when we come to recite the order and number of friars and religious men crept into the church of Christ.

We read, moreover, of one named Johannes de Temporibus, who, by the affirmance of most of our old histories, lived three hundred and sixty-one years, servant once to Charlemagne, and in the reign of Stephen king of England died.[1] *See Appendix.*

In the days also of this king, and by him, was builded the abbey

(1) Polychron. lib. vii. Continuator Henr. Hunt. Jornalensis in Vita Steph. Nichol. Trivet, &c.

Stephen.

A. D. 1154.

of Feversham, where his son and he were buried. He builded the monastery of Furness, and that of Fountains; also the castle of Wallingford, with a number of other castles more.

See Appendix.

The Jews crucified a child at Norwich.

During the time of the said King Stephen, A.D. 1144, the miserable Jews crucified a child in the city of Norwich.[1]

The order of the Gilbertines.

Much about the same time came up the order of the Gilbertines, by one Gilbert, son to Jacoline de Sempringham, a knight of Lincolnshire.

See Appendix.

Mention hath been made before of certain English councils holden in the time of this king, where, in one of them, under Theobald the archbishop of Canterbury, it was decreed that bishops should live more discreetly; should teach their flock more diligently; that reading of Scriptures should be more usual in abbeys; that priests should not be rulers of worldly matters; and that they should learn and teach the Lord's Prayer and Creed in English.[2]

The Lord's Prayer and the Creed in English.

Matthew Paris[3] writeth, how Stephen, king of England, in these days reserved to himself the right and authority of bestowing spiritual livings, and investing prelates. At that time, also, Lothaire, the emperor, began to do the like, in recovering again the right and privilege taken away from Henry, his predecessor, had not Bernard given him contrary counsel, A.D. 1133.

Cursing with book, bell, and candle.

Here came into the church the manner of cursing with book, bell, and candle, devised in the council of London, holden by William, bishop of Winchester, under Pope Celestine, who succeeded after Innocent, A.D. 1144.

Also to Lothaire, succeeded in the imperial crown, Conrad III.,[4] the nephew of Henry V. beforementioned, who alone, of many emperors, is not found to receive the crown at the pope's hand, A.D. 1138.

In the days of this emperor, who reigned fifteen years, were divers popes, as Celestine II., Lucius II., Eugene III., at which time the Romans went about to recover their former old manner of choosing their consuls and senators. But the popes, then being in their ruff, in no case would abide it; whereupon arose many commotions, with much civil war amongst them, insomuch that Pope Lucius, sending for aid to the emperor, who otherwise hindered at that time could not come, armed his soldiers, thinking to invade them, or else to destroy them in their senate-house. But this coming to their knowledge beforehand, the people were all in array, and much ado was among them; Pope Lucius being also among them in the fight, and well pelted with stones and blows, lived not long after. Likewise Pope Eugene after him, pursuing the Romans for the same matter, first did curse them with excommunication; and afterwards, when he saw that would not serve, he came with his host, and so compelled them at length to seek peace, and to take his conditions, which were

Pope Lucius II. warring against the senators.

Spiritual excommunication abused in temporal causes.

(1) Nichol. Trivet. et alii. (2) Malmesb. (3) Matth. Paris, lib. Chron. iv.

(4) In the reign of Conrad, in consequence of some advantages obtained by the Saracens in the East, Bernard of Clairvaux, a learned and eloquent man, whose lecture to the pope may be seen in Dupin's Eccles. Hist. cent. xii., began to rouse the minds of the western nations, and directed their thoughts to the second crusade, A.D. 1146. Conrad III., the emperor of Germany, set forward with a numerous army to the East; but in November, in the same year, he was unexpectedly attacked by the sultan of Iconium, and his army destroyed. We are told that his force consisted of 70,000 coats of mail, besides infantry and light-horse. The emperor escaped, and joined the French king, Louis VII., at Ephesus. Nor was the latter, who appeared at the head of a second armament, more fortunate; in January, the following year, he too, through an error in the movements of his troops, was surprised and defeated, in an impetuous attack of the Saracens; the army was destroyed, and the king and the emperor retired to Jerusalem. Eugene III. was pope at that time.—Ed.

these: — That they should abolish their consuls, and take such senators as he, by his papal authority, should assign them. *Henry II.* A.D. 1154.

Then followed Anastasius IV., and after him Adrian IV., an Englishman, by name called Breakspear, belonging once to St. Alban's. This Adrian kept great stir, in like manner, with the citizens of Rome, for abolishing their consuls and senate, cursing, excommunicating, and warring against them with all the power he could make, till in time he removed the consuls out of their office, and brought them all under his subjection. The like business and rage he also stirred up against Apulia, and especially against the empire, blustering and thundering against Frederic, the emperor, as (the Lord granting) you shall hear anon, after we have prosecuted such matter as necessarily appertaineth first to the continuation of our English story. Pope Adrian an Englishman.

HENRY THE SECOND.[1]

Henry II., the son of Geoffery Plantagenet, and of Matilda, the empress, and daughter of King Henry I., began his reign after King Stephen, and continued five and thirty years. The first year of his reign he subdued Ireland; and not long after, Thomas Becket was made by him lord chancellor of England. This king cast down divers castles erected in the time of King Stephen. He went into the north parts, where he subdued William, king of Scotland, who at that time held a great part of Northumberland, as far as Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and joined Scotland to his own kingdom, from the south ocean to the north isles of Orcades. Also he put under his dominion the kingdom of Wales, and there felled many great woods, and made the ways plain, so that by his great manhood and policy the seigniory of England was much augmented with the addition of Scotland, Ireland, the Orcades isles, Britanny, Poitou, and Guienne. Also he had in his rule Normandy, Gascony, Anjou, and Chinon; also Auvergne and the city of Tholouse he won, and were to him subject. Over and besides, by the title of his wife Eleanor, daughter to the earl of Poictou, he obtained the mount Pyrenee in Spain; so that we read of none of his progenitors who had so many countries under his dominion. A.D. 1154. *See Appendix.* Thomas Becket, chancellor of England.

In England were seen in the firmament two suns, or (as it is in Chronica Chronicorum) in Italy appeared three suns by the space of three hours, in the west; the year following, A.D. 1158, appeared three moons, whereof the middle moon had a red cross athwart the face, whereby was betokened, in the judgment of some, the great schism which afterwards happened among the cardinals, for the election of the bishop of Rome; or else rather the business between Frederic, the emperor, and the popes, whereof partly now incidently occasion giveth us to discourse after that I have first written of Gerhardus and Dulcinus of Novara; against whom it was alleged chiefly, that they did earnestly labour and preach against the church of Rome, defending and maintaining that prayer was not more holy in one place than in another; that the pope was Antichrist; that the clergy and prelates of Rome were reject, and the very whore of Babylon prefigured in the Apocalypse. Peradventure these had received some light of knowledge of the Waldenses: who, at length, with a great number of Gerhardus and Dulcinus, preachers against Antichrist. *See Appendix.*

(1) Edition 1563, p. 35. Ed. 1583. p. 202. Ed. 1596, p. 183. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 228.—Ed.

Henry II. A.D. 1155. their followers, were oppressed and slain by the pope.[1] And although some inconvenient points of doctrine and dishonesty in their assemblies be against them alleged by some, yet these times of ours do teach us sufficiently what credit is to be given to such popish slanders, forged rather through hatred of true religion, than upon any judgment of truth. Illyricus, in his book "De testibus," referreth the time of these two to A.D. 1280; but, as I find in the story of Robert Gisburne, these two, about A. D. 1158, brought thirty with them into England, who by the king and the prelates were all burnt in the forehead, and so driven out of the realm, and afterwards, as Illyricus writeth, were slain by the pope.

Frederic Barbarossa, emperor *See Appendix.*

And now, according to my promise premised, the time requireth to proceed to the history of Frederic I., called Barbarossa, successor to Conrad in the empire, who marched up to Italy, to subdue there certain rebels. The pope, hearing that, came with his clergy to meet him by the way, in a town called Sutrium, thinking by him to find aid against his enemies. The emperor, seeing the bishop, lighteth from his horse to receive him, holding the stirrup to the prelate on the left side, when he should have held it on the right, whereat the pope showed himself somewhat aggrieved. The emperor, smiling, excused himself, by saying, that he was never accustomed to hold stirrups; and seeing it was done only of good will, and of no design, it was the less matter what side of the horse he held. The next day, to make amends to the bishop, the emperor sending for him, received him, holding the right stirrup to the prelate, and so all the matter was made whole, and he the pope's own white son again.

The pope displeased that the emperor did not hold his right stirrup.

The pope's old practice in setting princes together by the ears. *See Appendix.*

After this, as they were come in and sat together, Adrian, the pope, beginneth to declare to him how his ancestors before him, such as sought to the see of Rome for the crown, were wont always to leave behind them some special token or monument of their benevolence for the obtaining thereof, as Charlemagne, in subduing the Lombards; Otho, the Berengarians; Lothaire, the Normans, &c.; wherefore he required some benefit to proceed likewise from him to the church of Rome, in restoring again the country of Apulia to the church of Rome. Which thing if he would do, he, for his part, again would do that which appertained unto him to do; meaning in giving him the crown, for at that time the popes had brought the emperors to fetch their crown at their hands, A. D. 1155.

Frederic, with his princes, perceiving that unless he would of his own proper costs and charges get back Apulia out of Duke William's hands, he could not speed of the crown, was fain to promise all that the pope required, and so the next day after he was crowned. This done, the emperor returneth into Germany, to refresh his army and his other furnitures, for the subduing of Apulia. In the mean while Adrian, not thinking to be idle, first giveth forth censures of excommunication against William, duke of Apulia; and, not content with this, he sendeth also to Emmanuel, emperor of Constantinople, incensing him to war against the aforesaid William. The duke perceiving this, sendeth to the pope for peace, promising to restore to him whatsoever he would. But the pope, through the malignant counsel of his cardinals, would grant no peace, thinking to get more

See Appendix.

War stirred up by the pope, being more gainful than peace. *See Appendix.*

(1) Ex Hist. Gisburnensis.

by war. The duke seeing nothing but war, prepareth himself with all expedition to the same. To be brief, collecting an army out of all Sicily, he arriveth at Apulia, and there putteth the emperor Emmanuel to flight. This done, he proceedeth to the city of Benevento, where the pope and his cardinals were looking for victory. He planting there his siege, so straitly pressed the city, that the pope and his cardinals were glad to entreat for peace, which they refused before. The duke granted to their peace upon certain conditions, that is, that neither he should invade such possessions as belonged to Rome, and that the pope should make him king of both Sicilies. So the matter was concluded, and they departed. The bishop, coming to Rome, was no less troubled there about their consuls and senators, insomuch that when his curses and excommunications could not prevail nor serve, he was fain to leave Rome, and removed to Rimini.

Henry II. A. D. 1155.

The pope driven to treat for peace. *See Appendix.*

See Appendix

The emperor all this while sitting quietly at home, began to consider with himself, how the pope had given Apulia, which of right belonged to the empire, to duke William, and had extorted from the emperors, his predecessors, the investing and endowing of prelates; how he had pilled and polled all nations by his legates, and also had been the sower of seditions through all his empery: he began therefore to require of all the bishops of Germany homage, and oath of their allegiance; commanding also the pope's legates, if they came into Germany without his sending for, not to be received; charging, moreover, all his subjects that none of them should appeal to Rome. Besides this, in his letters he set and prefixed his name before the pope's name; whereupon the pope being not a little offended, directed his letters to the aforesaid Frederic the emperor, after this tenor and form as following.

See Appendix

The godly proceedings of Frederic the emperor against the pope.

Copies of the Letters between Adrian, the pope, and Frederic, the emperor.[1]

Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Frederic, Roman emperor, health and apostolical benediction. The law of God, as it promiseth to them that honour father and mother long life, so it threateneth the sentence of death to them that curse father and mother. We are taught by the word of truth, that every one that exalteth himself shall be brought low. Wherefore, my well-beloved son in the Lord, we marvel not a little at your wisdom, in that you seem not to show that reverence to blessed St. Peter, and to the holy church of Rome, which you ought to show. For why? In your letters sent to us, you prefer your own name before ours, wherein you incur the note of insolency, yea rather, to speak it, of arrogancy. What! should I here recite unto you the oath of your fidelity, which you sware to blessed St. Peter, and to us, and how you observe and keep the same? Seeing you so require homage and allegiance of them that be gods, and all the sons of the High God, and presume to join their holy hands with yours, working contrary to us; seeing also you exclude, not only out of your churches, but also out of your cities, our cardinals, whom we direct as legates from our side; what shall I say then unto you? Amend therefore, I advise you, amend; for while you go about to obtain of us your consecration and crown, and to get those things you have not, I fear much your honour will lose the things you have. Thus fare ye well.

The emperor's name before the pope's.

The Answer of Frederic the Emperor to the Pope.[2]

Frederic, by the grace of God, Roman emperor, ever Augustus, unto Adrian, bishop of the catholic church, wisheth that he may be found to cleave unto

(1) Adrianus Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Frederico imperatori salutem et apostolicam benedictionem, &c. [Given by Illyricus, cols. 1369, 1370, from Nauclerus, Gen. xxxix.—Ed.]
(2) Collated with, and corrected from, the original in Nauclerus.—Ed.

Henry II. A. D. 1155.

those things which Jesus began to do and to teach. The law of justice giveth to every person that which is his. Accordingly we do not derogate from our parents, of whom, according as we have received this our dignity of the imperial crown and governance, so in the same kingdom of ours we do render their due and true honour to them again. And forasmuch as the like duty is to be required in all sorts of men, let us see first in the time of Constantine, what patrimony or regality Silvester, then bishop of Rome, had of his own, due to him, that he might claim. Did not Constantine, of his liberal benignity, give liberty, and restore peace unto the church? and whatsoever regality or patrimony the see of your papacy hath, was it not by the donation of princes given unto them? When we write to the Roman pontiff, therefore, we prefix our name, and allow him to do the same in writing to us. Revolve and turn over the ancient chronicles; if either you have not read, or neglected, that we do affirm, there it is to be found. Of those who be gods by adoption, and hold lordships of us, why may we not justly require their homage, and their sworn allegiance? when as He who is both your Master and ours, who holds nothing of any superior lord, but giveth all good things to all men, paid toll and tribute for himself and Peter unto Cæsar; giving you therein an example to do the like: who saith to you and all men, "Learn of me, for I am meek and humble of heart." Wherefore either render again your lordships and patrimonies which ye hold of us, or else if ye find them so sweet unto you, then give that which is due to God, unto God; and that which is due to Cæsar, unto Cæsar. As for your cardinals, we shut them out both of churches and cities, for that we see them not preachers, but prowlers; not repairers of peace, but rakers for money; not pillars and upholders of the church, but pollers insatiable of the world, and moilers for money and gold. What time we shall see them to be other men, such as the church requireth them to be, makers of peace, shining forth like lights to the people, assisting poor and weak men's causes in the way of equity, then shall they find us prest and ready to relieve them with stipends, and all things necessary. And whereas you put such questions as these, little conducing to religion, before secular men, you incur thereby no little blemish of your humility, which is keeper of all virtues, and of your mansuetude. Therefore let your fatherhood beware and take heed, lest in moving such matters as seem to us unseemly for you, ye lay a stumbling-block before such as depend on your word, giving ear to your mouth, as it were to an evening shower; for we cannot but reply to that we hear, seeing how the detestable beast of pride doth creep into the seat of Peter. Fare ye well, so long as ye provide as much as in you lieth for the peace of the church.

See Appendix.

Upon this Adrian the pope directeth out a bull against Frederic, excommunicating him with public and solemn ceremonies. Moreover conspiring with William, duke of Apulia, he sought all manner of ways to infest the emperor, and to set all men against him, especially the clergy. Amongst many others writing to Hillinus, bishop of Treves, to Arnulph, bishop of Mentz, and to Frederic, bishop of Cologne, he seeketh first to make them of his side. His epistle to them soundeth to this effect.

See Appendix.

A seditious and proud letter of the pope to the bishops of Germany.

The empire of Rome was transferred from the Greeks to the Almains, so that the king of Almains could not be called emperor, before he were crowned of the bishop apostolical. Before his consecration he is a king, afterwards emperor. Whence hath he his empire then, but of us? By the election of his princes he hath the name of a king; by our consecration he hath the name of the emperor, of Augustus, or of Cæsar; ergo, by us he reigneth as emperor. Search ancient authorities. Pope Zacharias promoted Charlemagne and made him a great name, that he was made and called emperor; and after that, the king of Almains was ever named emperor, and advocate to the see apostolical, so that Apulia, conquered by him, was subdued to the bishop of Rome; which Apulia, with the city of Rome, is ours, and not the emperor's. Our seat is at Rome; the seat of the emperor is at Aix la Chapelle, in Ardenne, which is a forest in France.

Well bragged, and like a pope.

The emperor, whatsoever he hath, he hath it of us: as Zacharias did translate the empire from the Greeks to the Almains, so we may translate it again from the Almains to the Greeks. Behold it lieth in our power to give it to whom we

will, being therefore set up of God above Gentiles and nations, to destroy and pluck up, to build and to plant," &c.[1] *Henry II.*

A. D. 1157.

And yet further to understand the ambitious presumption of this proud see of Rome, it so chanced, that this emperor Frederic, at his first coming up to Rome, did behold there, in the palace of Lateran, a certain picture brought forth unto him, how Lothaire II., the emperor, was crowned of the pope, with the inscription of certain verses in Latin, declaring how the aforesaid emperor, coming to Rome, first did swear to the city, after was made the pope's man, and so of him received the crown. Frederic, offended with this picture, desired the pope it might be abolished, that it should be no cause of any dissension hereafter. The pope understanding the intent of the emperor, how loth he was to come under subjection to his see, devised by all crafty ways to bring it to pass; and first taking his occasion by the archbishop of Lunden's being then detained in custody (I cannot tell by whom) sent divers and sharp letters unto him, and yet not so sharp, as proud and disdainful; wherein the first salutation by his legates was this: "Our most blessed father, the pope, greeteth you, and the universal company of the cardinals; he, as your father; they, as your brethren."[2] Meaning thereby that he should understand himself to be subject and underling to the pope, no less than the cardinals were. Moreover, in his letters, objecting divers things against him, he receiteth how many and great benefits he had received of the church of Rome, by the which church he had obtained the fulness of his honour and dignity, &c. The emperor, with his princes, perceiving whereunto the pope by his legates did shoot, being a prince of courage, could not abide such intolerable presumption of a proud message, whereupon much contention fell between the legates and the princes. "And of whom then," say the legates, "receiveth Cæsar the empiry, if he take it not of the pope?" With that word the German princes were so much offended, that, had not the emperor stayed them with much ado, they would have used violence against the legates. But the emperor, not permitting that, commanded the legates away, straightly charging them to make no turn by the way to any person or persons, but straight to depart home. And he, to certify the whole state of the empire, of the truth of the matter, directeth forth these letters that follow.

Scripture well wrested.

See Appendix

See the ambitious presumption of a proud priest.

The tenor of the Emperor's letter sent through all his empire.[3]

Forasmuch as the Providence of God, whereon dependeth all power both in heaven and earth, hath committed to us, his anointed, this our regiment and empire to be governed, and the peace of his churches by our imperial arms to be protected; we cannot but lament and complain to you, with great sorrow of heart, seeing such causes of dissension, the root and fountain of evils, and the infection of pestiferous corruption thus to arise from the holy church, imprinted with the seal of peace and love of Christ.

By reason whereof (except God turn it away), we fear the whole body of the church is like to be polluted, the unity thereof to be broken, and schism and division to be betwixt the spiritual and temporal regiment. For we being alate at Besançon, and there treating busily of matters pertaining as well to the

(1) The Latin copy of this letter appears in the edition of 1563, p. 37.—Ed.

(2) "Salutat vos beatissimus pater noster papa, et universitas cardinalium, ille ut pater, hi ut fratres." Ex Radevico, in appendice [ad Othonem] Frisingensem. [See Appendix.—Ed.] *See Appendix.*

(3) The Latin copy of this letter is also in the edition of 1563, p. 38.—Ed.

Henry II. A.D. 1158.

honour of our empire, as to the wealth of the churches, there came ambassadors of the see apostolical, declaring that they brought a legacy to our majesty of great importance, redounding to the no small commodity of our honour and empire.

Who then, the first day of their coming, being brought to our presence, and received of us (as the manner is) with honour accordingly, audience was given them to hear what they had to say. They forthwith bursting out of the mammon of iniquity, haughty pride, stoutness, and arrogancy, out of the execrable presumption of their swelling heart, did their message with letters apostolical, whereof the tenor was this: That we should always have before our eyes, how that our sovereign lord, the pope, gave us the imperial crown, and that it doth not repent him, if so be we have received greater benefits at his hand. And this was the effect of that so sweet and fatherly legation, which should nourish peace both of the church and of the empire, to unite them fast together in the band of love.

At the hearing of this so false, untrue, and most vain-glorious presumption of so proud a message, not only the emperor's majesty conceived indignation, but also all the princes there present were moved with such anger and rage thereat, that if our presence and request had not stayed them, they would not have held their hands from these wicked priests, or else would have proceeded with sentence of death against them.

Furthermore, because a great number of other letters (partly written already, partly with seals ready signed, for letters to be written according, as they should think good, to the churches of Germany) were found about them, whereby to work their conceived intent of iniquity here in our churches, to spoil the altars, to carry away the jewels of the church, and to flay off the limbs and plates of golden crosses, &c.: to the intent their avaricious meaning should have no further power to reign, we gave them commandment to depart the same way they came. And now, seeing our reign and empire standeth upon the election of princes, from God alone, who in the passion of his Son, subdued the world to be governed with two swords necessary; and, again, seeing Peter, the apostle, hath so informed the world with this doctrine, "Deum timete, regem honorificate:" that is, "Fear God, honour your king:" therefore, who-so saith that we have and possess our imperial kingdom by the benefit of the lord pope, is contrary both to the ordinance of God, and to the doctrine of Peter, and also shall be reproved for a liar.

Note here a courageous heart in a valiant emperor: an example for all princes to follow.

Therefore as our endeavour hath been heretofore to help and to deliver the servile captivity of churches out of the hand, and from the yoke, of the Egyptians, and to maintain the right of their liberties and dignities, we desire you all with your compassion to lament with us this slanderous ignominy inferred to us and our kingdom, trusting that your faithful good-will, which hath been ever trusty to the honour of this empire (never yet blemished from the first beginning of this city, and of religion,) will provide, that it shall have no hurt through the strange novelty and presumptuous pride of such. Which thing rather than it should come to pass, know you this for certain, I had rather incur the danger of death, than suffer such confusion to happen in our days.

This letter of Cæsar fretted the pope not a little, who wrote again to the bishops of Germany, accusing the emperor, and willing them to work against him what they could. They answer again with all obedience to the pope, submitting themselves, and yet excusing the emperor, and blaming him rather, and exhorted him henceforth to temper his letters and legacies with more gentleness and modesty; which counsel he also followed, perceiving otherwise that he could not prevail.

Much trouble had good Frederic with this pope, but much more with the other that followed. For this pope continued not very long, the space only of four years and odd months. About his time rose up the order of the hermits, by one William, once duke of Aquitaine, and afterwards a friar. This Adrian, walking with his

The order of hermits.

cardinals abroad, to a place called Anagnia, or Arignanum, as Volateran calleth it, chanced to be choked with a fly getting into his throat, and so was strangled; who, in the latter time of his papacy, was wont to say, that there is no more miserable kind of life in the earth than to be pope, and to come to the papacy by blood; that is, said he, not to succeed Peter, but rather Romulus, who, to reign alone, did slay his brother. *Henry II* A.D. 1159. The judgment of Pope Adrian. The popes rather successors to Romulus than to Peter.

Although this Adrian was bad enough, yet came the next much worse, one Alexander III., who yet was not elected alone; for beside him the emperor, with nine cardinals, (albeit Sabellicus saith but with three,) did set up another pope, named Victor IV. Between these two popes arose a foul schism and great discord, and long continued, insomuch that the emperor being required to take up the matter, sent for them both to appear before him, that in hearing them both he might judge their cause the better. Victor came, but Alexander, disdaining that his matter should come in controversy, refused to appear. Hereupon the emperor, with a full consent of his bishops and clergy about him, assigned and ratified the election of Victor to stand, and so brought him into the city, there to be received and placed. Alexander flying into France, accurst them both, sending his letters to all Christendom against them, as men to be avoided and cast out of all christian company. Also, to get him friends at Rome, by flattery and money he got on his side the greatest part of the city, both to the favouring of him, and to the setting up of such consuls as were for his purpose. After this, Alexander, coming from France to Sicily, and from thence to Rome, was there received with much favour, through the help of Philip the French king. Alexander curseth the emperor.

The emperor, hearing this rebellion and conspiracy in Rome, removed with great power into Italy, where he had destroyed divers great cities. Coming at length to Rome, he required the citizens that the cause betwixt the two popes might be decided, and that he who had the best right might be taken. If they would so do, he would restore again that which he took from them before. Alexander, mistrusting his part, and doubting the wills of the citizens, and having ships ready prepared for him, from William, duke of Apulia, fetched a course about to Venice. A.D. 1164.

To declare here the difference in histories, between Blondus, Sabellicus, and the Venetian chroniclers, with other writers, concerning the order of this matter, I will overpass. In this most do agree, that the pope being at Venice, and required to be sent by the Venetians to the emperor, they would not send him. Whereupon Frederic the emperor sent thither his son Otho, with men and ships well appointed, charging him not to attempt any thing before his coming. The young man, more hardy than circumspect, joining with the Venetians, was overcome, and so taken, was brought into the city. Hereby the pope took no small occasion to work his feats.

The father, to help the captivity and misery of his son, was compelled to submit himself to the pope, and to entreat for peace: so the emperor coming to Venice, (at St. Mark's church, where the bishop was, there to take his absolution,) was bid to kneel down at the pope's feet.

The proud pope, setting his foot upon the emperor's neck, said *See Appendix.*

Henry II. A.D. 1164.

the verse of the psalm, "Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem:" that is, "Thou shalt walk upon the adder and on the basilisk, and shalt tread down the lion and the dragon." To whom the emperor answering again, said, "Non tibi sed Petro:" that is, "Not to thee, but to Peter." The pope again, "Et mihi et Petro;" "Both to me and to Peter." The emperor, fearing to give any occasion of further quarrelling, held his peace, and so was absolved, and peace made between them. The conditions whereof were these. First, that he should receive Alexander for the true pope. Secondly, that he should restore again to the church of Rome all that he had taken away before. And thus the emperor, obtaining again his son, departed.

Holy scripture abused.

The pope treading on the emperor's neck.

Here as I note in divers writers a great diversity and variety touching the order of this matter, of whom some say that the emperor encamped in Palestine, before he came to Venice, some say, after; so I marvel to see in Volateran, so great a favourer of the pope, such a contradiction, who in his two and twentieth book saith, that Otho, the emperor's son, was taken in this conflict, which was the cause of the peace between his father and the pope. And in his three and twentieth book again saith, that the emperor himself was taken prisoner in the same battle: and so afterwards, peace concluded, took his journey to Asia and Palestine. This pope, in the time of his papacy, which continued two and twenty years, kept sundry councils both at Tours and at Lateran, where he confirmed the wicked proceedings of Hildebrand and others his predecessors, as to bind all orders of the clergy to the vow of chastity; which were not greatly to be reprehended, if they would define chastity aright. "For whoso liveth not a chaste life," saith he, "is not fit to be a minister." But herein lieth an error full of much blindness, and also peril, to think that matrimony immaculate, as St. Paul calleth it, is not chastity, but only a single life, that they esteem to be a chaste life.

See Appendix.

Council of Lateran.

The clergy bound to the vow of chastity.

Now forasmuch as our English pope-holy martyr, called Thomas Becket, happened also in the same time of this Pope Alexander, let us somewhat also story of him, so far as the matter shall seem worthy of knowledge, and to stand with truth: to the end that the truth thereof being sifted from all flattery and lies of such popish writers as paint out his story, men may the better judge of him, both what he was, and also of his cause.

The History of Thomas Becket.

If the cause make a martyr, as is said, I see not why we should esteem Thomas Becket to die a martyr, more than any others whom the prince's sword doth here temporally punish for their temporal deserts. To die for the church I grant is a glorious matter. But the church, as it is a spiritual and not a temporal church, so it standeth upon causes spiritual, and upon a heavenly foundation, as upon faith, religion, true doctrine, sincere discipline, obedience to God's commandments; and not upon things pertaining to this world, as possessions, liberties, exemptions, privileges, dignities, patrimonies, and superiorities. If these be given to the church, I pray God

Becket no martyr.

A.D. 1117.

churchmen may use them well; but if they be not given, the church cannot claim them; or if they be taken away, that standeth in the prince's power. To contend with princes for the same, it is no matter, in my mind, material to make a martyr, but rather is it a rebellion against those to whom we owe subjection. Therefore, as I suppose Thomas Becket to be far from the cause and title of a martyr, neither can he be excused from the charge of being a plain rebel against his prince; yet would I have wished again the law rather publicly to have found out his fault, than the swords of men, not bidden nor sent, to have smitten him, having no special commandment either of the prince, or of the law so to do. For though the indignation of the prince, as the wise prince saith, is death, yet it is not for every private person straightways to revenge the secret indignation of his prince, except he be publicly authorized thereunto; and this had been, as I suppose, the better way, namely, for the laws first to have executed their justice upon him. Certes, it had been the safest way for the king, as it proved after, who had just matter enough, if he had prosecuted his cause against him; and also thereby his death had been without all suspicion of martyrdom, neither had there followed that shrining and sainting of him as there did. Albeit the secret providence of God, which governeth all things, did see this way, percase, to be best and most necessary for those days. And doubtless, to say here what I think, and yet to speak nothing against charity, if the emperors had done the like to the popes contending against them, what time they had taken them prisoners; that is, if they had used the law of the sword against them, and chopped off the heads of one or two, according to their traitorous rebellion, they had broken the neck of much disturbance, which long time after did trouble the church. But for lack of that, because emperors having the sword, and the truth on their side, would not use their sword; but standing in awe of the pope's vain curse, and reverencing his seat for St. Peter's sake, durst not lay hand upon him, though he were never so abominable and traitorous a malefactor: the popes, perceiving that, took upon them, not as much as the Scripture would give, but as much as the superstitious fear of emperors and kings would suffer them to take; which was so much, that it past all order, rule, and measure: and all, because the superior powers either would not, or durst not, practise the authority given unto them of the Lord, upon those inferiors, but suffered them to be their masters.

Henry II A.D. 1117 to 1164.

But, as touching Thomas Becket, whatsoever is to be thought of them that did the act, the example thereof yet bringeth this profit with it, to teach all Romish prelates not to be so stubborn, in such matters not pertaining unto them, against their prince, unto whom God hath subjected them.

Now to the story, which if it be true that is set forth in Quadrilogo, by those four,[1] who took upon them to express the life and process of Thomas Becket, it appeareth by all conjectures, that he was a man of a stout nature, severe, and inflexible. What persuasion or opinion he had once conceived, from that he would in nowise be removed, or very hardly. Threatening and flattery were to him both

Thomas Becket described. *See Appendix.*

(1) Herbertus de Boscham, Johan Charnot, Alanus, abbot of Tewkesbury, William of Canterbury

Henry II. A.D. 1117 to 1164. one; in this point singular, following no man's counsel so much as his own. Great helps of nature there were in him, if he could have used them well, rather than of learning; albeit somewhat skilful he was of the civil law, which he studied at Bologna; in memory excellent good, and also well broken in courtly and worldly matters. Besides this, he was of a chaste and strait life, if the histories be true; although in the first part of his life, being yet archdeacon of Canterbury, and afterwards lord chancellor, he was very civil, courtly, and pleasant, given much both to hunting and hawking, according to the guise of the court; and highly favoured he was of his prince, who not only had thus promoted him, but also had committed his son and heir to his institution and governance. But in this his first beginning he was not so well-beloved, but afterwards he was again as much hated, and deservedly, both of the king, and also of the most part of his subjects, save only of certain monks and priests, and such others as were persuaded by them, who magnified him not a little for upholding the liberties of the church; that is, the licentious life and excess of churchmen. Amongst all others, these vices he had most notable, and to be rebuked; he was full of devotion, but without any true religion: zealous, but clean without knowledge. And, therefore, as he was stiff and stubborn of nature, so (a blind conscience being joined withal) it turned to plain rebellion. So superstitious he was to the obedience of the pope, that he forgot his obedience to his natural and most beneficent king: and in maintaining, so contentiously, the vain constitutions and decrees of men, he neglected the commandments of God. But herein was he most of all to be reprehended, that not only, contrary to the king's knowledge, he sought to convey himself out of the realm, being in that place and calling, but also, being out of the realm, he set matter of discord between the pope and his king, and also between the French king and him, contrary to all honesty, good order, natural subjection, and true Christianity. Whereupon followed no little disquietness after to the king, and damage to the realm, as here, in process and order following, by the grace of Christ, we will declare; first beginning with the first rising up of him, and so consequently prosecuting in order his story, as followeth:—

What cometh of blind zeal destitute of right knowledge.

Polydore mistaketh the mother of Becket. *See Appendix.* And first, to omit here the progeny of him and of his mother, named Rose, whom Polydore Virgil falsely nameth to be a Saracen, when indeed she came out of the parts bordering near to Normandy; to omit also the fabulous vision of his mother, mentioned in Robert of Cricklade, of a burning torch issuing out of her body, and reaching up to heaven; his first preferment was to the church of Branfield, which he had by the gift of St. Alban's.[1] After that, he entered into the service of the archbishop of Canterbury, by whom he was then preferred to be his archdeacon; and afterwards, by the said Theobald, he was put, as a man meet for his purpose, to King Henry, to bridle the young king, that he should not be fierce against the clergy; whom in process of time the king made lord chancellor, and then he left playing the archdeacon, and began to play the chancellor. He fashioned his conditions like to the king's both in weighty matters and trifles; he would hunt with him, and watch the time when the

See Appendix.

(1) Ex Roberto Crikeladensi et ex Florilego. [See Appendix.]

king dined and slept. Furthermore, he began to love the merry jestings of the court, to delight himself with the great laud of men, and praise of the people. And, that I may pass over his household stuff, he had his bridle of silver, and the bosses of his bridle were worth a great treasure. At his table, and in other expenses, he passed any earl: so that, on the one side, men judged him little to consider the office of an archdeacon; and, on the other side, they judged him to use wicked doings. He played also the good soldier under the king in Gascony, and both won and kept towns. When the king sent Thomas, then being chancellor, home into England as ambassador with other nobles, after the death of the archbishop, he willed Richard Lucy, one of the chiefest, to commend in his name this Thomas to the covent of Canterbury, that they might choose him archbishop; which thing he did diligently. The monks said, it was not meet to choose a courtier and a soldier to be head of so holy a company, for he would spend, said they, all that they had; others had this surmise also, because he was in such great favour with the prince, the king's son, and was so suddenly discharged of the chancellorship which he had borne five years. In the four and fortieth year of his age, on Saturday in Whitsun-week, he was made priest, and the next day consecrated bishop, A.D. 1162.

Henry II. A.D. 1161 to 1164.

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

As touching the priesthood of this man, I find the histories vary: for, if he were beneficed, and chaplain to Theobald, and afterwards archdeacon, as some say, it is not unlikely but that he was priest before; and not, as most of our English stories say, made priest one day, and archbishop the next.

Difference in chronicles.

But however this matter passeth, here is, in the mean time, to be seen, what great benefits the king had done for him, and what great love had been between them both. Now, after Becket was thus promoted, what variance and discord happened between them, remaineth to be shown: the causes of which variance were divers and sundry.

The causes of variance recited between the king and the archbishop.

As first, when, according to the custom, the king's officers gathered of every one hide-money through the realm, for the defence of their own country, the king would have taken it to his coffers. But the bishop said, that which every man gave willingly, he should not count as his proper rent.

Another cause was, that where a priest was accused of murder, and the king's officers and the friends of the dead accused the priest earnestly before the bishop of Salisbury, his diocesan, to whom he was sent, desiring justice to be done on him, the priest was put to his purgation. But when he was not able to defend himself, the bishop sent to the archbishop to ask what he should do. The archbishop commanded he should be deprived of all ecclesiastical benefices, and shut up in an abbey to do perpetual penance. After the same sort were divers clerks handled for like causes, but none put to death, nor lost joint, nor were they burned in the hand, or put to the like pain.

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

The third cause was, that, where one Bruis, canon of Bedford, did revile the king's justices, the king was offended with the whole clergy. For these and such like the archbishop, to pacify the king's anger, commanded the canon to be whipped and deprived of his

Henry II. A. D. 1164. benefices for certain years. But the king was not content with this gentle punishment, because it rather increased their boldness, and therefore he called the archbishop, bishops, and all the clergy, to assemble at Westminster. When they were assembled together, the king earnestly commanded that such wicked clerks should have no privilege of their clergy, but be delivered to the gaolers, because they passed so little of the spiritual correction; and this he said also their own canons and laws had decreed. The archbishop, counselling with his bishops and learned men, answered probably:[1] and in the end he desired heartily the king's gentleness, for the quietness of himself and his realm, that under Christ our new king, and under the new law of Christ, he would bring no new kind of punishment into his realm upon the new chosen people of the Lord, against the old decrees of the holy fathers; and oft he said, that he neither ought nor could suffer it. The king moved therewith (and not without cause) allegeth again and exacteth the old laws and customs of his grandfather, observed and agreed upon by archbishops, bishops, prelates, and other privileged persons; inquiring likewise of him whether he would agree to the same, or else now in his reign would condemn that which in the reign of his grandfather was well allowed.[2] To which the archbishop, consulting together with his brethren, giveth answer again, that he was contented the king's ordinances should be observed; adding this withal, *Salvo ordine suo*, that is, *Saving his order*. And so in like manner all the other bishops after, being demanded in order, answered with the same addition, *Salvo ordine suo*. Only Hilary, bishop of Chichester, perceiving the king to be exasperated with that addition, instead of *Salvo ordine*, agreed to observe them *Bonâ fide*. The king hearing them not simply to agree unto him, but with an exception, was mightily offended; who then turning to the archbishop and the prelates said, that he was not well contented with that clause of theirs, *Salvo suo ordine*, which he said was captious and deceitful, having some manner of venom lurking under; and therefore required an absolute grant of them without any exception to agree to the king's ordinances. To this the archbishop answered again, that they had sworn unto him their fidelity, both life, body, and earthly honour, *Salvo ordine suo;* and that in the same earthly honour also those ordinances were comprehended, and to the observing of them they would bind themselves after no other form, but as they had sworn before. The king with this was moved, and all his nobility, not a little. As for the other bishops, there was no doubt but they would easily have relented, had not the stoutness of the archbishop made them more constant than otherwise they would have been. The day being well spent, the king, when he could get no other answer of them, departed in great anger, giving no word of salutation to the bishops; and likewise the bishops every one to his own house departed. The bishop of Chichester, amongst the rest, was greatly rebuked of the archbishop for changing the exception, contrary to the voice of all the others. The next day following, the king took

See Appendix.

Becket's addition, *Salvo ordine suo.*

See Appendix.

(1) "Probably," "luculenter satis et prohabiliter," *i. e.* well, discreetly. See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Foxe here breaks the narrative, as given in the Quadrilogus, by the premature introduction of the statutes afterwards passed at Clarendon (see pp. 201, 202 note (1)), and subsequently condemned in part and approved in part by Becket and the pope (see pp. 204, 216); also by the insertion of other constitutions sent over by the king from Normandy (see p. 219, note (1)). The passage here omitted will be found infrà p. 216, note (1), and p. 219, note (1). See Appendix.—Ed.

from the archbishop all such honors and lordships as he had given him before, in the time that he was chancellor; and in the dead of the night, unknown to the bishops, removed from London; whereby appeared the great displeasure of the king against Becket and the clergy. Not long after this, the bishop of Lisieux, called Arnulph, sailing over from Normandy, resorted to the king and (haply, to recover again his favour which he had lost) gave him counsel withal to join some of the bishops on his side, lest, if all were against him, peradventure he might be overthrown.[1] And thus the greatest number of the bishops were by this means reconciled again to the king; only the archbishop, with a few others, remained in their stoutness still. The king, thinking to try all manner of ways, when he saw no fear nor threats could turn him, did assay him with gentleness; it would not serve. Many of the nobles laboured betwixt them both, exhorting him to relent to the king; it would not be. Likewise the archbishop of York, with divers other bishops and abbots, especially the bishop of Chichester, did the same. Besides this, his own household daily called upon him, but no man could persuade him. At length, understanding partly by them that came to him what danger might happen, not only to himself, but to all the other clergy, upon the king's displeasure, and partly considering the old love and kindness of the king towards him in time past, he was content to give over to the king's request, and came to Oxford to him, reconciling himself about the addition, which displeased the king so much. Whereupon the king, being somewhat mitigated, receiveth him with a more cheerful countenance, but yet not all so familiarly as before, saying, "that he would have his ordinances and proceedings after the form confirmed in the public audience and open sight of his bishops and all his nobles." After this the king, being at Clarendon, there called all his peers and prelates before him, requiring to have that performed which they had promised, in consenting to the observing of his grandfather's ordinances and proceedings. The archbishop, suspecting I cannot tell what in the king's promise,[2] drew backward, and now would not that he would before; at last, with much ado, he was enforced to give assent. First came to him the bishops of Salisbury and Norwich, who, for old matters endangered to the king long before, came weeping and lamenting to the archbishop, desiring him to have some compassion of them, and to remit this pertinacy to the king, lest if he so continued through his stoutness to exasperate the king's displeasure, haply it might redound to no small danger, not only of them who were in jeopardy already, but also of himself to be imprisoned, and the whole clergy to be endangered. Besides these two bishops, there went to him other two noble peers of the realm, labouring with him to relent and condescend to the king's desire; if not, they should be enforced to use violence, as would not stand with the king's fame, and much less with his quietness: but yet the stout stomach of the man would not give over. After this came to him two knights, called Templars; one, Richard de Hastings, the master of the Temple, the other, Tostes de St. Omer,[3] lamenting and bewailing the great peril, which they declared unto him to hang over his head: yet neither with their

Henry II. A.D. 1164.

See Appendix.

The stubborn wilfulness of Becket.

See Appendix.

He relenteth to the king.

See Appendix.

(1) See Appendix. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid.

Henry II. A. D. 1164.

tears, nor with their kneelings, would he be removed. At length came these last messengers again from the king, signifying unto him with express words, and also with tears, what he should trust to, if he would not give over to the king's request.

Becket yieldeth to the king. *See Appendix.*

By reason of which message he either terrified or else persuaded was content to submit himself; whereupon the king incontinent assembling the states together, the archbishop first, before all others, beginneth to promise to the king obedience and submission unto his customs, and that *cum Bona fide*, leaving out his former addition *Salvo ordine*, mentioned before: instead whereof he promised *in Verbo veritatis* to observe and keep the king's customs, and sware to the same. After him the other bishops likewise gave the like oath; whereupon the king commanded incontinent certain instruments[1] obligatory to be drawn, of which the king should have one, the archbishop of Canterbury another, and the archbishop of York the third, requiring also the said archbishop to set to his hand and seal. To this the archbishop, though not denying but that he was ready so to do, yet desired respite in the matter, while that he, being but newly come to his bishopric, might better peruse with himself the aforesaid customs and ordinances of the king. This request, as it seemed but reasonable, so it was readily granted; so the day being well spent, they departed for that season and brake up.

Salvo ordine left out in composition.

Becket repenteth of his good deed.

Alanus, one of the four writers of the life of this Thomas Becket, recordeth, that the archbishop, in his journey towards Winchester, began greatly to repent what he had done before, partly through the instigation of certain about him, but chiefly of his cross-bearer, who, going before the archbishop, sharply and earnestly expostulated with him for giving over to the king's request, against the privilege and liberties of the church, polluting not only his fame and conscience, but also giving a pernicious example to those who should come after, with many like words. To make the matter short, the archbishop was touched upon the same with such repentance, that keeping himself from all company, lamenting with tears and fasting, and with much penance macerating and afflicting himself, he did suspend himself from all divine service, and would not receive comfort, before that (word being sent to his holy grandfather the pope) he should be assoiled of him; who, tendering the tears of his dear chicken, directed to him letters again, by the same messenger that Thomas had sent up to him before, in which not only he assoiled him from his trespass, but also with words of great consolation did encourage him to be stout in the quarrel he took in hand. The copy of which letters consolatory, sent from the pope to Bishop Becket, here followeth underwritten.

A letter of Pope Alexander to Thomas Becket.

Alexander, bishop, &c.—Your brotherhood is not ignorant that it hath been advertised us, how that upon the occasion of a certain transgression or excess of yours, you have determined to cease henceforth from saying of mass, and to abstain from the consecration of the body and blood of the Lord; which thing to do, how dangerous it is, especially in such a personage, and also what inconvenience may rise thereof, I will you advisedly to consider, and discreetly also to ponder. Your wisdom ought not to forget, what difference there is between those who advisedly and willingly do offend, and those who through ignorance and for necessity' sake do offend. For, as you read, so much the greater is wilful sin, as the same not being voluntary is a lesser sin. Therefore, if you remember

(1) For the instrument here mentioned see infrà, p 216, note (1).

yourself to have done any thing that your own conscience doth accuse you of, whatsoever it be, we counsel you, as a prudent and wise prelate, to acknowledge the same. Which thing done, the merciful and pitiful God, who hath more respect to the heart of the doer than to the thing done, will remit and forgive you the same according to his accustomed great mercy. And we, trusting in the merits of the blessed apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, do absolve you from the offence committed, and by the authority apostolical we release you unto your fraternity, counselling you and commanding you, that henceforth you abstain not, for this cause, from the celebration of the mass. *Henry II.* A.D. 1164.

This letter, with others of the like sort, the pope then wrote to him, animating and comforting him in this quarrel so nearly pertaining to the pope's profit: by the occasion whereof, Becket took no small heart and consolation; insomuch that therefrom seemeth to me to proceed all the occasion that made him so stout and malapert against his prince, as hereafter followeth to be seen by his doings. What the other letters were that the pope wrote unto him, shortly, when we come to the appellations made to the pope, shall appear, God willing. In the mean season, as he sat thus mourning at home, the king hearing of him, and how he denied to set his seal to those sanctions, which he condescended to before, took no little displeasure against him; insomuch that he, threatening him and his with banishment and death, began to call him to reckonings, and to burden him with payments, that all men might understand that the king's mind was sore set against him. The archbishop hereupon (whether more for the love of the pope, or dread of his prince) thought to make his escape out of the realm, and so went about in the night, with two or three with him, stealing out of his house to take the sea privily. Now amongst the king's ordinances and sanctions, this was one; that none of the prelacy or nobility, without the king's license, or that of his justices, should depart out of the realm. So Becket twice attempted the sea, to flee to the see of Rome, but the weather not serving, he was driven home again, and his device for that time frustrated. After his departure began to be known and noised abroad, the king's officers came to Canterbury to seize upon his goods in the king's behalf; but as it chanced, the night before their coming, Becket being returned and found at home, they did not proceed in their purpose.

Becket enterpriseth against the king's laws to fly out of the realm.

Upon this the archbishop, understanding the king sore bent against him, and the seas not to serve him, made haste to the court, lying then at Woodstock, where the king received him, after a certain manner, but nothing so familiarly as he was wont; taunting him jestingly and merrily, as though one realm was not able to hold them both. Becket, although he was permitted to go and come at his pleasure to the court, yet could not obtain the favour that he would, perceiving both in himself, and confessing no less to others, how the matter would fall out, so that either he should be constrained to give over with shame, or stoutly stand to that which he had so boldly taken in hand. The bishop of Evreux in the mean time, going betwixt the king and the archbishop, laboured to make a peace and love betwixt them; but the king in no case would be reconciled, unless the other would subscribe to his laws. So in the mean while, as neither the king would otherwise agree, nor yet the archbishop in any wise would subscribe, there was a foul discord; where the fault was, let the reader

Taunted by the king.

See Appendix.

Henry II. A.D. 1164. here judge between them both. The king, for his regal authority, thought it much that any subject of his should stand against him. The archbishop again, bearing himself bold upon the authority, and especially upon the letters, of the pope, lately written to him, thought himself strong enough against the king and all his realm. Again, such was his quarrel for the maintenance of the liberties and glory of the church, that he could lack no setters on and favourers in that behalf, in so sweet a cause amongst the clergy. Wherefore the archbishop, trusting to these things, would give no place; but, by virtue of his apostolical authority, gave censure upon these laws and constitutions of the king, condemning some, and approving others for good and catholic, as is after[1] declared. Besides this, there came also to the king Rotrou, archbishop of Rouen, sent from the pope, to make peace between the king and Canterbury; whereunto the king was well content, so that the pope would agree to ratify his ordinances;[1] but when that could in nowise be obtained at the pope's hands, then the king, being stopped and frustrate of his purpose by reason of Becket's apostolic legacy (being legatus a latere), thought good to send up to the pope, and so did, to obtain of him, that the same authority of the apostolic legacy might be conferred on another after his appointment, who was the archbishop of York; but the pope denied. Notwithstanding, at the request of the king's clergy, the pope was content that the king should be legate himself; whereat the king took great indignation, as Hoveden writeth, so that he sent the pope his letters again. Here the pope was perplexed on both sides.

See Appendix.

The king to be the pope's legate.

See Appendix.

If he should have denied the king, that was too hot for him; for the pope useth always to hold in with kings, howsoever the world speedeth. Again, if he should have forsaken such a churchly chaplain, the cause being so sweet and so gainful, that would have been against himself. What did he then? Here now cometh in the old practice of popish prelacy, to play with both hands; privily he conspireth with the one, and openly dissembleth with the other. First, he granted to the king's ambassadors their request, to have the legate removed, and to place in that office the archbishop of York, after his own contentation; and yet, notwithstanding, to tender the cause of Thomas Becket, he addeth this promise withal, that the said Becket should receive no harm or damage thereby. Thus the pope craftily conveying the matter between them both, gladly to further the archbishop for his own advantage, and yet loath to deny the king for displeasure, writeth to the king openly, and also secretly directeth another letter to Becket; the contents whereof here follow.

Crafty dissimulation of the pope.

Alexander the pope, to Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury.[3]

The pope's secret letter to Becket.

Although we, condescending to the king's request, have granted the gift of our legacy after his mind from you, yet let not your mind thereby be discomforted, nor brought into sighs of despair. For before that we had granted that, or given our consent thereunto, the king's ambassadors firmly promised on the word of truth, offering also to be sworn to the same, if I should so require, that our letters which they had obtained should never be delivered to the archbishop of York without our knowledge and consent. This is certain,

(1) See infrà, p. 216, note (1).—Ed.

See Appendix.

(2) Ex Rogero Hoved. pr. parte Historiæ continuatæ post Bedam.

(3) For the Latin of this letter, see Edition 1563, p. 50.—Ed.

and so persuade yourself boldly without any scruple, doubt, or mistrust, that it was never my mind or purpose, nor ever shall be, God willing, to subdue you or your church under the obedience of any person, to be subject to any, save only to the bishop of Rome. And, therefore, we warn you and charge you, that if you shall perceive the king to deliver these aforesaid letters, which we trust he will not attempt without our knowledge to do, forthwith by some trusty messenger and by your letters you give us knowledge thereof; so that we may provide upon the same both for your person, your church, and also the city committed to you, to be clearly exempt by our authority apostolical from all power and jurisdiction of any legacy. *Henry II.* A. D. 1164.

Upon these letters and such others, as is said before, Becket seemed to take all his boldness to be so stout and sturdy against his prince, as he was. The pope, beside these, sent secretly a chaplain of his, and directed another letter also unto the king, granting and permitting at his request, to make the archbishop of York legate apostolical.

The king, after he had received his letters sent from the pope, began to put more strength to his purposed proceedings against the archbishop, first beginning with the inferiors of the clergy, such as were offenders against his laws: as felons, robbers, quarrellers, breakers of the peace, and especially such as had committed homicide and murders, whereof more than an hundred at that time were proved upon the clergy;[1] urging and constraining them to be arraigned after the order of the law temporal, and justice to be ministered to them according to their deserts; as first, to be deprived, and so to be committed to the secular hands. This seemed to Becket to derogate from the liberties of holy church, that the secular power should pass in causes criminal, or sit in judgment against any ecclesiastical person. This law the roisters[2] then of the clergy had picked and forged out of Anacletus and Euaristus, by whose falsely alleged and pretended authority they have deduced this their constitution from the apostles, which giveth immunity to all ecclesiastical persons to be free from secular jurisdiction. Becket therefore, like a valiant champion, fighting for his liberties, and having the pope on his side, would not permit his clerks defamed, otherwise to be convented, than before ecclesiastical judges, there to be examined and deprived for their excess, and no secular judge to proceed against them: so that, after their deprivation, if they should incur the like offence again, then the temporal judge to take hold upon them; otherwise not. This obstinate and stubborn rebellion of the archbishop stirred up much anger and vexation in the king, and not only in him, but also in the nobles and all the bishops, for the greater part, so that he was almost alone, a wonderment to all the realm.

More than a hundred murders by the clergy.

See Appendix.

The king's wrath daily increased more and more against him (as no marvel it was), and caused him to be cited up to appear by a certain day[3] at the town of Northampton, there to make answer to such things as should be laid to his charge. Hoveden writeth, that the king being come thither greatly vexed the archbishop by placing some of his horses and horsemen in the archbishop's lodging (which was a house there of canons), wherewith he being offended sent word to the king, that he would not appear unless his lodging were voided of the king's horses and horsemen. So, when the morrow was come, all the peers and nobles, with the prelates of the

Becket cited to Northampton. *See Appendix*

See Appendix.

[Wednesday, Oct. 7th.]

(1) Guliel. Neuburg. lib. ii. cap. 16. [See the Latin cited infrà, p. 248, note (3).—Ed.]
(2) "Roisters," "facinorosi" (Neub.), disorderlies.—Ed. (3) Oct. 6th. See Appendix.—Ed.

Henry II. A.D. 1164. realm, upon the king's proclamation being assembled in the castle of Northampton, great fault was found with the archbishop, for that he, having been cited to appear on a certain occasion in the king's court personally, came not himself but sent another for him. Whereupon, by the public sentence as well of all the nobles as of the bishops, all his moveables were adjudged to be confiscate for the king, unless the king's clemency would remit the penalty. The stubborn archbishop again, for his part, quarrelling against the order and form of the judgment, complaineth, alleging for himself (seeing he is the primate and spiritual father, not only of all others in the realm, but also of the king himself) that it was not convenient that the father should be so judged of his children, or the pastor of his flock so condemned; saying moreover, that the ages to come should know what judgment was done, &c. But especially he complaineth of his fellow-bishops, who, when they should rather have taken his part, did sit in judgment against their metropolitan; and this was the first day's action.

Condemned in the loss of all moveables.

See Appendix.

Thursday. The next day the king laid an action against him in behalf of one that was his marshal, called John, for certain injuries done to him; and required of the said archbishop the repaying again of certain money, which he, as is said, had lent unto him being chancellor, the sum whereof came to five hundred marks. This money the archbishop denied not but he had received of the king, howbeit, by the way and title of gift as he took it, though he could bring no probation thereof. Whereupon the king required him to put in assurance for the payment thereof; whereat the archbishop making delays (not well contented at the matter), was so called upon, that either he should be accountable to the king for the money, or else he should incur present danger, the king being so bent against him. The archbishop, being brought to such a strait, and destitute of his own suffragans, could here by no means have escaped, had not five persons, of their own accord, stepped in, being bound for him, every man for one hundred marks a piece; and this was upon the second day concluded.

Becket required to give an account.

Friday. The morrow after, which was the third day of the council, it was propounded unto him in the behalf of the king, that he had had divers bishoprics and abbacies in his hand which were vacant, with the fruits and revenues thereof due unto the king for certain years, whereof he had rendered as yet no account to the king; wherefore it was demanded of him to bring in a full and clear reckoning of the same. This, with other such like, declared to all in the council great displeasure to be in the king and no less danger toward the archbishop. Becket, astonished at this demand, begged leave to consult with his brother bishops apart, before he made his answer; which was granted. And so ended that day's action.

Saturday. On the morrow,[1] the archbishop was sitting apart in a certain conclave with his fellow-bishops about him, consulting together, the doors fast locked to them, as the king had willed and commanded.[2] Thus while the bishops and prelates were in council, advising and deliberating what was to be done, at length it came to voices, every man to say his mind, and to give sentence what were the best way for their archbishop to take. First began Henry, bishop of Winchester, who then took part with Becket so much as he durst for fear of the king, who said, he remembered that the said archbishop, first being

Henry, bishop of Winchester.

(1) See Appendix. (2) Ibid.

archdeacon, and then lord chancellor, at what time he was promoted to the church of Canterbury, was discharged from all bonds and reckonings of the temporal court, as all the other bishops could not but bear record to the same. *Henry II.* A.D. 1164.

Next spake Gilbert, bishop of London, exhorting and motioning the archbishop, that he should call to mind with himself, from whence the king took him, and set him up; what, and how great things he had done for him; also that he should consider with himself the dangers and perils of the time, and what ruin he might bring upon the whole church, and upon them all there present, if he resisted the king's mind in the things he required. And if it were to render up his archbishopric, although it were ten times better than it is, yet he should not stick with the king in the matter. In so doing it might happen, that the king, seeing that submission and humility in him, would release him peradventure from all the rest. To this the archbishop answering, "Well, well," saith he, "I perceive well enough, my lord, whither you tend, and whereabout you go." Then spake Winchester, inferring upon the same, "This form of counsel," saith he, "seemeth to me very pernicious to the catholic church, tending to our subversion, and to the confusion of us all. For, if our archbishop and primate of all England do lean to this example, that every bishop should give over his authority and the charge of the flock committed to him, at commandment and threatening of the prince, to what state shall the church then be brought, but that all should be confounded at his pleasure and arbitrement, and nothing stand certain by any order of law; and so as the priest is, so shall the people be?" Gilbert, bishop of London. Henry, of Winchester.

Hilary, the bishop of Chichester, replieth again to this, saying, "If it were not that the instance and the great perturbation of the time did otherwise require and force us, I would think this counsel here given were good to be followed. But now, seeing the authority of our canon faileth and cannot serve us, I judge it not best to go so strictly to work, but so to moderate our proceedings, that dispensation with sufferance may win that which severe correction may destroy. Wherefore my counsel and reason is, to give place to the king's purpose for a time, lest by over hasty proceeding, we exceed so far, that both it may redound to our shame, and also we cannot rid ourselves out again when we would." Hilary, of Chichester.

Much to the same end spake Robert, the bishop of Lincoln, after this manner: "Seeing," saith he, "it is manifest that the life and blood of this man is sought, one of these two must needs be chosen; that either he must part with his archbishopric, or else with his life. Now what profit he shall take in this matter of his bishopric, his life being lost, I do not greatly see." Robert, of Lincoln.

Next followed Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, with his advice, who, inclining his counsel to the state of the time, confirmed their sayings before, affirming how the days were evil and perilous; and that if they might so escape the violence of that raging tempest under the cover of bearing and relenting, it were not to be refused; but that, he said, could not be, except strict severity should give place to tractability; and that the instance and condition of the time then present required no less, especially seeing that persecution was not Bartholomew, of Exeter.

Henry II. A.D. 1164. general, but personal and particular; and he thought it more holy and convenient for one head to run into some part of danger, than that the whole church of England should be subject and exposed to inconvenience inevitable.

Roger, bishop of Worcester.

The answer of Roger, bishop of Worcester, was devised in a double suspense, neither affirming the one, nor denying the other; whose saying was this,—that he would give no answer on either part; "for if I," saith he, "should say that the pastoral function and cure of souls ought to be relinquished at the king's will or threatening, then my mouth would speak against my conscience, to the condemnation of mine own head. And if I should give, again, contrary counsel, to resist the king's sentence, here be they that would hear it, and report it to his Grace, and so I should be in danger to be thrust out of the synagogue, and for my part to be accounted amongst the public rebels, with them to be condemned; wherefore neither do I say this, nor counsel that."

Becket, the archbishop, replieth against the bishops.

And this was the consultation of the bishops in that place, assembled together by the king's commandment. Against these voices and censures of the bishops, Becket, the archbishop, replieth again, expostulating and checking them with rebukeful words:—"I perceive," saith he, "and understand ye go about to maintain and cherish but your own cowardliness, under the colourable shadow of sufferance; and, under pretence of dissembling softness, to choke the liberty of Christ's church. Who hath thus bewitched you, O insensate bishops? What mean ye? Why do ye so under the prudent term "dispensation" cloak your manifest iniquity? Why call ye that *dispensation* which is in fact a *dispensing* altogether with the church of Christ? Let terms serve the matter; and let not terms as well as the matter itself be perverted from that which is right. For that ye say we must bear with the iniquity of the time, I grant with you; but yet we must not heap sin to sin. Is not God able to help the state and condition of his church, but with the sinful dissimulation of the teachers of the church? Certes God is disposed to tempt you. And tell me, I pray you, whether should the governors of the church put themselves to dangers for the church, in time of tranquillity, or in time of distress? Ye will be ashamed to deny the contrary, but in distress. And now then, the church lying in so great distress and vexation, why should not the good pastor put himself into peril there-for? For neither do I think it a greater act or merit for the ancient bishops of the old time to lay the foundation of the then church with their blood, than now for us to shed our blood for the liberties of the same. And to tell you plain, I think it not safe for you to swerve from an example which you have received from your holy elders." After these things were spoken, they sat all in silence for a certain space, being locked in together. At length, to find a shift to cause the door to be opened, "I will," saith the archbishop, "speak with two earls who are about the king," and named them who they were. They, being called, opened the door and came in with haste, thinking to hear something which should appease the king's mind. To whom the archbishop spake in this manner:—"As touching and concerning the matters between the king and us, we have here conferred together. And forasmuch as we

See Appendix.

A great distress grown in the church, because bishops may not be above kings and princes.

have them not present with us now, who know more in the matter than we do, (whose advice we would be glad to follow,) therefore we crave so much respite as to the next day following, and then to give our answer to the king." With this message two bishops were sent to the king, who were the bishop of London and the bishop of Rochester. London, to help the matter, and to set quietness, as I take it, adding something more to the message, said to the king, that the archbishop craved a little time to prepare such writings and instruments, wherein he should set forth and declare his mind in accomplishing the king's desire, &c. Wherefore two barons were sent to him from the king, to grant him that respite or stay; so that he would ratify that which the messengers had signified to the king. To whom the archbishop answereth, that he sent no such message as was intimated in his name; but only that the next day he would come and give answer to the king, in that which he had to say. And so the convocation of the bishops was dissolved, and they were dismissed home; so that the most part of them that came with the archbishop, and accompanied him before, now, for fear of the king's displeasure, severed themselves from him. The archbishop, thus forsaken and destitute, as his story saith, sent about for the poor, the lame, and the halt, to come in and furnish his house, saying, that by them he might sooner obtain his victory, than by the others who had so slipped from him.

Henry II. A.D. 1164.

Becket destitute and forsaken.

The next day following, because it was Sunday, nothing was done. So the day after, which was the second fery,[1] the archbishop was cited to appear. But the night before, being taken with a disease called *passio iliaca*, the cholic, all that day he kept his bed, and was not able, as he said, to rise. Every man supposing this to be but a feigned sickness, as it seemed no less, certain of the chief nobles were sent to try the matter, and to cite him to the court; namely, Robert, earl of Leicester, and Reginald, earl of Devonshire, to whom the archbishop answered, that that day he was so diseased that he could not come, yea, though he were brought in an horse-litter. So that day passed over. On the morrow, certain that were about him, fearing no less but that some danger would happen to him, gave him counsel in the morning to have a mass in honour of the holy martyr St. Stephen, to keep him from the hands of his enemies that day. When the morrow was come, being Tuesday, there came to him the bishops and prelates, counselling and persuading him covertly by insinuation, for apertly they durst not, that he would submit himself, with all his goods, as also his archbishopric, to the will of the king, if peradventure his indignation by that means might assuage. Adding, moreover, that unless he would so do, perjury would be laid against him; for that he being under the oath of fidelity to keep the king's laws and ordinances, now would not observe them. To this Becket, the archbishop, answereth again,—"Brethren, ye see and perceive well how the world is set against me, and how the enemy riseth and seeketh my confusion. And although these things be dolorous and lamentable, yet the thing that grieveth me most of all is this,—the sons of mine own mother be pricks and thorns against me. And albeit I do hold my peace, yet the posterity to come will know and

See Appendix.

Taken with sickness when he should appear.

A mass of St. Stephen to save him from his enemies.

Becket's answer to the bishops.

(1) "Fery" or feria, a day of the week, in this instance Monday.—Ed.

Henry II. A. D. 1164.

report how cowardly you have turned your backs, and have left your archbishop and metropolitan alone in his conflict, and how you have sitten in judgment against me, although unguilty of crime, now two days together; and not only in the civil and spiritual court, but also in the temporal court, are ready to do the same. But in general, this I charge and command, by the virtue of pure obedience, and in peril of your order, that ye be present personally in judgment against me. And that ye shall not fail so to do, I here appeal to our mother, the refuge of all such as be oppressed, the church of Rome; and if any secular men shall lay hands upon me, as it is rumoured they will, I straitly enjoin and charge you, in the same virtue of obedience, that you exercise your censure ecclesiastical upon them, as it becometh you to do for a father and an archbishop. And this I do you to understand, that though the world rage, and the enemy be fierce, and the body trembleth, for the flesh is weak, yet, God so favouring me, I will neither cowardly shrink, nor yet vilely forsake my flock committed to my charge," &c.

Becket appealeth to Rome.

The bishop of London appealeth from the archbishop.

But the bishop of London, contrary to this commandment of the archbishop, did incontinent appeal from him; and thus the bishops departed from him to the court, save only two, Henry of Winchester, and Joceline of Salisbury, who returned with him secretly to his chamber, and comforted him. This done, the archbishop, who yesterday was so sore sick that he could not stir out of his bed, now addresseth himself to his mass of St. Stephen with all solemnity, as though it had been a high festival-day, with his metropolitan pall, which was not used, but upon holidays, to be worn. The office of the mass began,—" Sederunt principes et adversum me loquebantur;" that is, " Princes sat and spake against me," &c.—the king's servants being also there, and beholding the matter. For this mass, Gilbert, bishop of London, accused Becket afterwards, both for that it was done, " Per artem magicam, et in contemptum regis," as the words of Hoveden purport, that is, " both by art magic, and in contempt of the king."

A mass to charm away persecutors.

Becket carrieth with him the sacrament going to the king. *See Appendix.*

The mass being ended, the archbishop, putting off his pall and his mitre, in his other robes proceedeth to the king's court; but yet not trusting, peradventure, so greatly to the strength of his mass, to make the matter more sure, he taketh also the sacrament privily about him, thinking himself thereby sufficiently defended against all bugs. In going to the king's chamber, there to attend the king's coming, as he entered the door, he taketh from Alexander his crosier (the cross with the cross staff) in the sight of all that stood by, and carrieth it in himself, the other bishops following him, and saying, " He did otherwise than became him." Amongst others, Robert, bishop of Hereford, offered himself to bear his cross, rather than he should so do, for that it was not comely; but the archbishop would not suffer him. Then said the bishop of London unto him,—" If the king shall see you come armed into his chamber, perchance he will draw out his sword against you, which is stronger than yours, and then what shall this your armour profit you?"[1] The archbishop answereth again: " If the king's sword do cut carnally, yet my sword cutteth spiritually, and striketh down to hell. But you, my lord, as you have played

(1) Hoveden referreth not this saying to the bishop of London, but to the archbishop of York.

the fool in this matter, so you will not yet leave off your folly for any thing I can see;" and so he came into the chamber. The king hearing of his coming, and of the manner thereof, tarried not long, but came where Becket was set in a place by himself, with his other bishops about him. First, the crier called the prelates and all the lords of the temporalty together. That being done, and every one placed in his seat according to his degree, the king beginneth with a great complaint against the archbishop for his manner of entering into court, not as, saith he, a subject into a king's court, but as a traitor, showing himself in such sort as hath not been seen before in any christian king's court, professing christian faith. To this all there present gave witness with the king, affirming Becket always to have been a vain and proud man, and that the shame of his deed did not only redound against the prince himself, but also against his whole realm. Moreover, they said, that this had so happened to the king, for that he had done so much for such a beast, advancing him so highly to such a place and room next under himself. And so altogether with one cry, they called him traitor, on every side, as one that refused to give terrene honour to the king, in keeping, as he had sworn, his laws and ordinances, at whose hands also he had received such honour and great preferments; and therefore he was well worthy, said they, to be handled like a perjured traitor and rebel. Upon this, great doubt and fear was, what should befal him. The archbishop of York, coming down to his chaplains, said, he could not abide to see what the archbishop of Canterbury was like to suffer. Likewise, the tipstaves and other ministers of the assembly coming down with an outcry against him, all who were in the house crossed themselves to see his haughty stubbornness and the business there was about him. Certain there were of his disciples sitting at his feet, comforting him softly, and bidding him to lay his curse upon them; others, contrary, bidding him not to curse, but to pray and to forgive them, and if he lost his life in the quarrel of the church and the liberty thereof, he should be happy. Afterwards, one of them, named William Fitz-Stephen, desired to speak something in his ear, but could not be suffered by the king's marshal, who forbad that no man should have any talk with him. Then he, because he could not otherwise speak to him, wrought by signs, making a cross, and looking up with his eyes, and wagging his lips, meaning that he should pray and manfully stand to the cross. In the mean time cometh to him Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, desiring him to have regard and compassion of himself, and also of them, or else they were all like to perish for the hatred of him; "for there cometh out," saith he, "a precept from the king that he shall be taken, and suffer for an open rebel, who hereafter taketh your part." It was said, moreover, that Joceline, bishop of Salisbury, and William, bishop of Norwich, were to suffer mutilation for their resisting, who consequently for their own sakes implored the archbishop of Canterbury. The archbishop, notwithstanding, looking upon the said bishop of Exeter, "Avoid hence from me," saith he, "thou understandest not neither dost savour those things that be of God."

Henry II. A. D. 1164.

Called traitor by the king and all his nobles.

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

Blind zeal for the proud liberties of the church.

Whoso taketh Becket's part is counted a rebel.

See Appendix.

The bishops and prelates then going aside by themselves from the other nobles, the king so permitting them to do, took counsel together what was to be done. Here the matter stood in a doubtful perplexity,

Henry II. A. D. 1164.

for either must they incur the dangerous indignation of the king, or else, with the nobles, they must proceed in condemnation against the archbishop, for resisting the king's sanctions; which thing they themselves neither did favour. In this strict necessity, they, devising what way to take, at length agreed upon this: that they with a common assent should cite the archbishop to the see of Rome on perjury; and that they should oblige and bind themselves to the king with a sure promise to work their diligence in deposing the archbishop; upon this condition, that the king should promise their safety, and discharge them from the peril of that judgment which was directed towards them. So all the bishops, obliging themselves thus to the king, went forth to the archbishop; of whom one speaking for the rest, who was Hilary, bishop of Chichester, had these words:—"Once you have been our archbishop, and so long we were bound to your obedience; but now, forasmuch as you, once swearing your fidelity to the king, do resist him, neglecting his injunctions and ordinances, concerning and appertaining to his terrene honour and dignity, we here pronounce you perjured; neither be we bound to give obedience to an archbishop thus being perjured; but, putting ourselves and all ours under the pope's protection, we do cite you up to his presence." And upon the same, they assigned him his day and time to appear. The archbishop answering again, said he heard him well enough; and upon this sendeth in all haste to the pope in France, signifying to him by letters the whole matter, how, and wherefore, and by whom, he was cited; to whom the pope directed again his letters of comfort, as he had done divers before, the copy whereof here ensueth.

Becket cited to Rome upon perjury.

Becket condemned.

See Appendix

Pope Alexander to Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury.[1]

Your brotherly letters, which you directed to us, and such other matters which your messenger by word of mouth hath signified unto us, we have diligently heard the reading thereof, and thereby fully understand the grievous vexations and dolorous griefs wherewith your mind is daily encumbered: by reason whereof, we, hearing and understanding, are not a little disquieted in our spirit for your sake, in whose prosperities we do both gladly rejoice, and no less do sorrow in your adversities, as for our most dear brother. You, therefore, as a constant and wise man, remember with yourself that which is written: "The apostles departed away, rejoicing, from the face of the council," &c. With like patience do you also sustain that man's molestations, and let not your spirit be troubled therein more than needeth, but receive in yourself consolation; that we also, together with you, may be comforted in the Lord, who hath preserved you to the corroboration of his catholic and christian verity, in this distress of necessity; and from whom also it hath pleased him to wipe away the blot of those things which have been unorderly of you committed, and here to punish the same through sundry afflictions: whereby, in the strict judgment of God, they might not be called to account hereafter. But, henceforth, let not this much grieve you, neither let your heart be so deject or timorous in the matter, for that you are cited up to the apostolic see; which to us is both grateful and accepted. And this we will you, that if they who have cited you shall chance to come, draw not you back, but follow the appeal, if you please, and spare not; all doubt and delay set apart: for the authority of the church, tendering this your constancy, may not do that which may put you in fear or doubt. But our diligence shall be, with all labour and study, to conserve the right and pre-eminence (God willing) of that church committed to you, so much as in us lieth, (saving our justice and equity), as to one whom, in working for the church, we find to be both a constant and a valiant champion. Further, this I brotherly

(1) The Latin copy of this is in the Edition of 1563, p. 52.—Ed.

require you, to repair unto the church of Canterbury; and, retaining but a few clerks about you, such only as serve your necessity, make excursions out as little as you can, in that country. But in this especially I thought to premonish you, that in no case, neither for fear nor any adversity, whatsoever may happen, you be brought to renounce and give up the right and dignity of your church. *Henry II.* A. D. 1164.

Written at Sens, the seventh before the Kalends of November. [October 26th.]

As the archbishop was thus cited before the pope, sitting with his cross waiting in the court, neither giving place to the king's request, nor abashed with the clamour of the whole court against him, calling him traitor on every side, neither following the advertisement of his fellow-bishops, at length the king, by certain earls and barons, sent commandment to him (Robert, earl of Leicester, doing the message), that he should without delay come and render a full account of all things that he had received, as the profits and revenues of the realm, in the time he was chancellor, and especially for the thirty thousand marks, for the which he was accountable to the king.[1] To whom the archbishop answereth again, the king knew how oft he had made his reckoning of those things which now were required of him. Further and besides, Henry, his son and heir of his realm, with all his barons, and also Richard Lucy, chief justice of England, told him, that he was free and quit to God and to holy church, from all receipts and computations, and from all secular exactions on the king's behalf. And so he, taking thus his discharge at their hands, entered into his office; and therefore other account besides this he would make none. When this word was brought to the king, he required his barons to do the law upon him; who, so doing, judged him to be apprehended and laid in prison. This done, the king sendeth to him Reginald, earl of Cornwall and Devonshire, and Robert, earl of Leicester, to declare to him what was his judgment. To whom the archbishop answereth,—"Hear, my son, and good earl, what I say unto you: how much more precious the soul is than the body, so much more ought you to obey me in the Lord, rather than your terrene king; neither doth any law or reason permit the children to judge or condemn their father. Wherefore, to avoid both the judgment of the king, of you, and of all others, I put myself only to the arbitrement of the pope, under God alone to be judged of him, and of no other; to whose presence, here before you all, I do appeal, committing the ordering of the church of Canterbury, my dignity, with all other things appertaining to the same, under the protection of God and him. And as for you, my brethren and fellow-bishops, who rather obey man than God, you also I call and cite to the audience and judgment of the pope, and so by the authority of the catholic church and of the apostolic see I depart hence."[2]

Called to a full account.

Judged to be laid in prison.

Appealeth to the pope.

Thinketh not the protection of God sufficient without the pope.

See Appendix.

While the barons returned with this answer to the king, the archbishop, passing through the throng, taketh unto him his palfrey, holding his cross in one hand, and his bridle in the other, the courtiers following after, and crying, "Traitor! traitor! tarry and hear thy judgment." But he passed on till he came to the uttermost gate of the court, which being fast locked, there he had been staid, had not one of his servants, called Peter, surnamed Demunc-

Fleeth out of the court.

(1) Ex Rogero Hovedeno. (2) Ex Quadripartita Hist. lib. i. c. 33.

Henry II. A.D. 1165.

torio, finding there a bunch of keys hanging by, first proved one key, then another, till at last, finding the true key, he had opened the gate, and let him out. The archbishop went straight to the house of canons, where he did lie, calling unto him the poor where they could be found. When supper was done, making as though he would go to bed, which he caused to be made between two altars, privily, while the king was at supper, he prepareth his journey secretly to escape; and changing his garment and his name, being called Derman, first went to Lincoln, and from thence to Sandwich, where he took ship, and sailed into Flanders, and from thence journeyed into France, as Hoveden saith. Albeit Alanus, differing something in the order of his flight, saith, "That he departed not that night; but at supper-time came to him the bishops of London and Chichester, declaring to him, that if he would surrender up to the king his two manors of Otford and Wingcham, there were hope to recover the king's favour, and to have all remitted." But when the archbishop would not agree thereunto, forasmuch as those manors were belonging to the church of Canterbury, the king hearing thereof, great displeasure was taken, insomuch that the next day Becket was fain to send to the king two bishops and his chaplain for leave to depart the realm. To this message the king answered, that he would take pause thereof till the next day, and then he should have an answer. But Becket, not tarrying his answer, the same day conveyed himself away secretly, as is aforesaid, to Louis, the French king; but before he came to the king, Gilbert, the bishop of London, and William, the earl of Arundel, sent from the king of England to France, prevented him; requiring the said French king, in the behalf of the king of England, that he would not receive, nor retain in his dominion, the archbishop of Canterbury: moreover, that at his instance he would be a means to the pope, not to show any familiarity unto him. But the king of England, in this point, seemed to have more confidence in the French king, than knowledge of his disposition; for thinking that the French king would have been a good neighbour to him, in trusting him too much, he was deceived. Neither considered he with himself enough the manner and nature of the Frenchmen at that time against the realm of England; who then were glad to seek and take all manner of occasion to do some act against England.

See Appendix.

Changeth his name, and is called Derman.

See Appendix

The French king supporteth Becket against the king of England.

And therefore Louis, the French king, understanding the matter, and thinking, perchance, thereby to have some vantage against the king and realm of England, by the occasion hereof, contrary to the king's letters and request, not only harboureth and cherisheth this Derman, but also, writing to the pope by his almoner and brother, entreateth him, upon all loves, as ever he would have his favour, to tender the cause of the Archbishop Becket. Thus the king's ambassadors, repulsed of the French king, returned; at which time he sent another ambassage, upon the like cause, to Alexander, the pope, then being at Sens, in France. The ambassadors sent on this message were Roger, archbishop of York; Gilbert, bishop of London; Henry, bishop of Winchester; Hilary, bishop of Chichester; Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter; with other doctors and clerks: also William, earl of Arundel, with certain more lords and

Ambassadors to the pope.

barons, who, coming to the pope's court, were friendly accepted of certain of the cardinals; amongst the which cardinals rose also dissension about the same cause, some judging that the bishop of Canterbury, in the defence of the liberties of the church, (as in a good cause,) was to be maintained; some thinking again, that he, being a perturber of peace and unity, was rather to be bridled for his presumption, than to be fostered and encouraged therein. But the pope, partly bearing with his cause, which only tended to his exaltation and magnificence, partly again incensed with the letters of the French king, did wholly incline to Becket, as no marvel was. Wherefore the day following, the pope sitting in consistory with his cardinals, the ambassadors were called for, to the hearing of Becket's matter; and first beginneth the bishop of London; next, the archbishop of York; then Exeter; and then the other bishops, every one in his order, began to speak: whose orations being not well accepted of the pope, and some of them also disdained, the earl of Arundel, perceiving that, and somewhat to qualify and temper the matter to the pope's ears, began after this manner:— *Henry II.* A. D. 1165.

The Oration of the Earl of Arundel to the Pope.

Although to me it is unknown, (saith he,) who am both unlettered and ignorant, what it is that these bishops here have said, neither am I, in that tongue, so able to express my mind as they have done: yet being sent and charged thereunto of my prince, neither can nor ought I but to declare, as well as I may, what the cause is of our sending hither: not, truly, to contend or strive with any person, nor to offer any injury or harm unto any man, especially in this place, and in the presence here of such an one, unto whose beck and authority, all the world doth stoop and yield. But for this time is our legacy hither directed: to present here before you, and in the presence of the whole church of Rome, the devotion and love of our king and master, which ever he hath had, and yet hath still, toward you. And, that the same might the better appear to your excellency, he hath assigned and appointed to the furniture of this legacy, not the least, but the greatest; not the worst, but the best and chiefest of all his subjects; both archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, with other potentates more, of such worthiness and parentage, that if he could have found greater in all his realm, he would have sent them, both for the reverence of your person, and of the holy church of Rome. Over and besides this, I might add more, which your sanctitude hath sufficiently tried and proved already, namely, the true and hearty fidelity of this our king and sovereign toward you, who, in his first entrance to his kingdom, wholly submitted himself, with all that is his besides, to your will and pleasure. And truly, to testify of his majesty how he is disposed to the unity of the catholic faith, we believe there is none more faithful in Christ than he, nor more devout to God, nor yet more moderate in keeping the unity of peace whereunto he is called. And as I may be bold this to protest for our king and master, so neither do I affirm the archbishop of Canterbury to be a man destitute or unfurnished with gifts and ornaments in his kind of calling, but to be a man both sage and discreet in such things as to him appertain, save only that he seemeth to some, more quick and sharp than needeth. This blot alone if it were not, and if the breach between our king and him had not so happened, both the regiments together (of the temporalty and spiritualty) might quietly have flourished one with the other in much peace and concord, both under a prince so worthy, and a pastor so virtuous. Wherefore, the case so standing as it doth, our message hither, and our supplication to your vigilant prudence is, that through your favour and wisdom, the neck of this dissension may be broken, and that reformation of unity and love, by some good means, may be sought.

This oration of his, although it was liked of them for the softness and moderation thereof, yet it could not persuade the Romish bishop

Henry II. A.D. 1165. to condescend to their suit and request; which suit was, to have two legates or arbiters to be sent from his popish side into England, to examine and take up the controversy between the king and the archbishop. But the pope, incensed, as is said before, would not grant their petition: forasmuch as it should be (saith he) prejudicial, and tending to the oppression of the archbishop, to grant it, he being not present; and therefore he willed them to tarry his coming up; otherwise he being absent, he would not, he said, in any case proceed against him. But they alleging the time to be expired appointed to them of the king, having besides other lets and causes as they alleged, said that they could not there wait for the coming of Becket, but must return back, their cause frustrated, without the pope's blessing to the king. Within four days after, Becket cometh to the pope's court, where he, prostrating himself at his feet, brought out of his bosom a scroll containing the customs and ordinances of the king, before mentioned.[1] The pope, receiving the aforesaid scroll, and reading it in the open hearing of his cardinals, condemned and accursed the most part of the said decrees of the king, which he called 'consuetudines avitas,' that is, 'his grandfather's ordinances.' Besides this, the pope moreover blameth Becket, for that he so much yielded to them at the beginning, as he did: yet notwithstanding, because he was repentant for his unadvised fact, he was content to absoyle him for the same, and the rather, because of his great troubles, which he for the liberties of holy church did sustain; and so with great favour for that day dismissed him.

The pope tendereth Becket's cause against the king.

Becket complaineth of the king to the pope. *See Appendix.*

Repentance for his well-doing.

(1) A translation of this document, as given in Dr. Brady's Appendix, here follows: it is the "instrument" mentioned suprà p. 202, and contains "the Statutes of Clarendon."

See Appendix.

In the year from our Lord's incarnation 1164, the fourth of pope Alexander, the tenth of the most illustrious king of the English, Henry II., in presence of the said king, was made a remembrance and recognition of a certain part of the customs, liberties, and prerogatives of his predecessors, viz. of king Henry, his grandfather, and others, which ought to be observed and maintained in the realm. And because of the dissensions and disagreements which have arisen between the clergy and the justices of the lord king and the barons of the realm touching customs and prerogatives, the said recognition was made in presence of the archbishops, bishops, and clergy, and the earls, barons, and great men of the realm; and the said customs—so recognised by the archbishops and bishops, the earls and barons, the great men and ancients of the realm—Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, Roger archbishop of York, Gilbert bishop of London, &c., [eleven other bishops are then named], allowed, and on the word of truth, vivâ voce, firmly promised they should be kept and observed to the lord king and his heirs, with good faith, and without guile, there being present Robert earl of Leicester, &c. (here follow thirty-seven more names), and many other chief men and nobles of the realm, cleric as well as lay. But of the customs and prerogatives of the realm so recognised a certain part is contained in the present writing: of which part the following are the chief heads:—

I. If any controversy concerning the advowson and presentation of churches arise between laics, or between laics and clerics, or between clerics only, it is to be tried and determined in the king's court. (*Condemned* by the church of Rome under pope Alexander III.)

II. Churches belonging to the king's fee cannot be granted in perpetuity without his assent and consent. (*Allowed.*)

III. Clerics arraigned and accused of any matter whatsoever, being summoned by the king's justice, shall come into his court, there to answer on whatever point it shall seem proper to the king's court to require an answer: provided alway, that the king's justice shall send to the court of holy church to see in what manner the matter is there to be handled. And in case a cleric is found or pleads guilty, he is no longer to be screened by the church [*i.e.* have the benefit of clergy]. (*Condemned.*)

IV. No archbishops, bishops, or [other ecclesiastical] persons [personæ] of the kingdom are allowed to depart the same without license of the lord king; and if they should have permission of the lord king to go abroad, they shall give security that neither in going, staying, or returning, they will procure any evil or damage to the lord king or the kingdom. (*Condemned.*)

V. Excommunicated persons shall not be bound to give security or take oath to remain where they are, but only security and pledge to stand to the judgment of the church in order to their absolution. (*Condemned.*)

VI. Laics ought not to be accused but by certain specified and legal accusers and witnesses, and that in the bishop's presence; yet so, that the archdeacon may not lose his right nor any advantage which he ought to have from thence: and if the accused parties be such that none either will or dare accuse them, the sheriff, being required thereto by the bishop, shall cause twelve legally-qualified men of the vicinage or town to be sworn before the bishop, that they will try out the truth according to their conscience. (*Allowed.*)

VII. No man who holds of the king *in capite*, nor any of his chief ministers, is to be excommunicated, nor the lands of any such laid under interdict, unless the lord king (if he be in the land)

The next day, Alexander the pope assembling his cardinals together in his secret chamber, appeareth before them archbishop

Henry II. A.D. 1165.

or (if he be abroad) his justice be first consulted, that he may see justice done upon him; and so, that whatever shall pertain to the king's court may be determined there, and that which belongs to the ecclesiastical court may be remitted to the same, to be there dispatched. (*Condemned.*)

VIII. Appeals, when they arise, ought to be made from the archdeacon to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop; and if the archbishop shall fail to do justice, recourse is to be had lastly to the lord king, that by his precept the controversy may be determined in the archbishop's court, with the understanding that it must not proceed further without leave of the lord king. (*Condemned.*)

IX. If any difference arise between a cleric and a laic, or between a laic and a cleric, concerning any tenement which the cleric pretendeth is held by *Frank-almoine* (eleemosyna), but the laic contends to be a *lay-fee*, it shall be determined by the verdict of twelve legally-qualified men, according to the custom of the king's court and in presence of his justice, whether the tenement belongeth to *Frank-almoine* or to the *lay-fee*. And if it be found to belong to *Frank-almoigne*, the plea shall be held in the ecclesiastical court; but if to the *lay-fee*, the plea shall be in the king's court, unless both parties claim to hold of the same bishop or baron. But if such shall claim to hold of the same bishop or baron, the plea shall be in his court; yet with this further proviso, that he who was first seized of the thing in controversy, shall not lose his seizin pending the trial because of the verdict above-mentioned. (*Condemned.*)

See Appendix.

X. Whosoever is an inhabitant of any city, castle, borough, or any demesne lands of the lord king, if he shall be cited by the archdeacon or bishop concerning any fault about which he ought to answer them, and will not obey their citations, it shall be lawful to put him under an interdict; but he ought not to be excommunicated, before the king's chief officer of that town be made acquainted with the case, so that he may cause him to give satisfaction. And if such officer shall fail therein, he shall be in the mercy of the lord king, and then the bishop may coerce the party accused by ecclesiastical process. (*Condemned.*)

XI. Archbishops, bishops, and all other ecclesiastical persons in the kingdom, who hold of the king *in capite*, enjoy their possessions of our lord the king as a barony, and, for that reason, are to answer to the king's justices and ministers, and to follow and perform all royal rights and customs; and, like other barons, ought to appear at trials in the king's court, till they come to pronouncing sentence of death or loss of members. (*Allowed.*)

XII. When an archbishopric, bishopric, abbacy, or priory in the gift of the lord king shall be vacant, it ought to remain in his hands, and he to receive the rents and issues thereof, as of his demesnes. And when he pleases to provide for that church, the lord king ought to send for the chief persons of that church, and the election ought to be made in the king's chapel, with the assent of the lord king and with the advice of such persons of his realm as he shall call thereto; and the person elect shall then, before his consecration, do homage and fealty to the king as his liegeman of life and members and earthly honour, saving his order. (*Condemned.*)

XIII. If any of the great men of the kingdom shall refuse to do justice to an archbishop, or a bishop, or an archdeacon, either for himself or his tenants, the lord king is to adjudicate. And if perchance any one should refuse the lord king his right, the archbishop, bishops, and archdeacons are to call him to account, that he may make satisfaction to the lord king. (*Allowed.*)

XIV. The chattels of those who are under the king's forfeiture may not be detained in any church or churchyard against the king's justice, because they are the king's own, whether they be found within the church and its precinct or without it. (*Allowed.*)

XV. Pleas concerning debts, which are owing upon troth-plight (fide interposita), or without troth-plight, are to be within the cognizance of the lord king. (*Condemned.*)

XVI. The sons of peasants (rusticorum) ought not to be ordained without the consent of the lord on whose land they are known to be born. (*Allowed.*)

This is a convenient place for preserving the matter omitted at page 200, which in the edition of 1570, and all subsequent editions, stands as follows:—

[To which laws and customs the said Thomas did partly grant, and partly not grant. The copy of the which foresaid laws are contained in the number of xxviii. or xxix., whereof I thought here to recite certain, not unworthy to be known.

The copy of the old laws and customs, whereunto Thomas Becket did grant.

I. That no order should be given to husbandmen's children and bondmen's children, without the assent or testimonial of them which be the lords of the country where they were born and brought up: and if their sons become clerks, they shall not receive the order of priesthood without license of their lords.

The king's customs.

II. And if a man of holy church hold any lay fee in his hand, he shall do there-for the king the service that belongeth thereto, as upon juries, assize of lands, and judgments; saving only at execution doing of death.

Out of an English Chronicle as it appeareth, drawn out of French, by earl Rivers lord Scales.

III. If any man were the king's traitor, and had taken the church, that it should be lawful to the king and his officers to take him out.

IV. Also if any felon's goods were brought to holy church, that there should none such keep there; for every felon's goods be the king's.

V. That no land should be given to the church or to any house of religion, without the king's license.

These articles following, Thomas agreed not unto.

I. If that between a clerk and a layman were any striving for church goods, they would the plea should be done in the king's court.

II. That there should neither bishop nor clerk go out of the land without the king's license, and then he should swear upon a book, he should procure no hurt against the king, nor none of his.

III. If any man were denounced accursed, and were come again to amendment, the king would not that he should be sworn, but only find sureties to stand to that that holy church should award.

IV. That no man, that held of the king in chief, or in service, should be accursed without the king's license.

V. That all the bishoprics and abbeys that were vacant should be in the king's hands, until such time that he should choose a prelate thereto; and he should be chosen out of the king's chapels; and first, before he were confirmed, he should do his homage to the king.

VI. If any plea were to consistory brought, they should appeal from thence to the archdeacon, and from thence to the bishop's court, and from the bishop's court to the archbishop's, and from thence to the king, and no further. So that in conclusion, the complaints of holy church must come before the king, and not the pope.

VII. That

Henry II. A. D. 1165. Becket, having this oration to the pope and his popelings, which here I thought to set out in our vulgar English tongue (translated out of Latin), to the intent that the posterity hereafter may understand either the vain superstition or vile slavery of the churchmen in those days, who, being not content with their own natural prince and king given them of God, must seek further to the pope; thinking no ecclesiastical living to be given, which is not taken at his hands. The words of his oration be storied rightly thus.

The Oration of Becket on resigning his Bishopric to the Pope.[1]

Fathers and lords, I ought not to lie in any place, much less before God, and in your presence here. Wherefore, with much sighing and sorrow of heart, I grant and confess, that these perturbations of the church of England be raised through my miserable fault. For I entered into the fold of Christ, but not by the door of Christ; for that not the canonical election did call me lawfully thereunto, but terror of public power drove me in. And albeit I against my will took this burden upon me, yet not the will of God but man's pleasure induced me hereunto; and therefore no marvel though all things have gone contrary and backward with me. But as for the resigning up again, at the threats of the king, the privilege of my bishoply authority which I had granted to me (so as my fellow-bishops did instantly call upon me to do), had I so done (agreeably also to the wishes of the nobles), then had I left a pernicious and dangerous example to the whole catholic church; by reason whereof I thought to defer that unto your presence. And now, recognising with myself my ingress not to have been canonical, and therefore fearing it to have the worse end; and again pondering my strength and ability not to be sufficient for such a charge; lest I should be found to sustain that room to the ruin of the flock, to which I was appointed (however improperly) a pastor, I here render up into your hand the archbishopric of Canterbury.

Becket's argument. *See Appendix.*

And why might ye not, Mr. Becket, resign it as well to his hands of whom ye took it?

And so putting off his ring from his finger, and offering it to the pope, he desired a bishop for the church of Canterbury to be provided, seeing he thought not himself meet to fulfil the same, and so (with tears, as the story saith) ended his oration.

This done, the archbishop was bid to stand apart. The pope conferring upon this with his cardinals about the resignation of Becket, what was best to be done, some thought it best to take the occasion offered, thinking thereby the king's wrath might easily be assuaged, if the church of Canterbury were assigned to some other person; and yet the said Becket otherwise to be provided for, notwithstanding. Contrary, other again thought otherwise, whose reason was, if he, who for the liberties of the church had ventured not only his goods, dignity, and authority, but also his life,

VII. That all debts, that were owing through troth-plight, should not be pleaded in spiritual but in temporal courts.

VIII. That the Peter pence, which to the pope were gathered, should be taken to the king.

IX. If any clerk for felony were taken and so proved, he should be first disgraded, and then through judgment to be hanged; or if he were a traitor, to be drawn.

Other laws and constitutions made at Clarendon, in Normandy, and sent to England, whereunto Becket and the pope would not agree, he being then fled out of the realm.

(Then follow the constitutions given at p. 219, note (1), "Ex Quadrilogo.")

By these and such other laws and decrees it may appear, that the abolishing of the pope is no new thing in the realm of England. This only difference there is, that the pope being driven out then, could not be kept out so long as now he is. The cause is, that the time was not yet come that Antichrist should so fully be revealed; neither was his wickedness then so fully ripe in those days, as it hath been now in our time. Now, these premised, let us return where we left, to the matter betwixt the king and Thomas Becket.

The communication and controversy between the king and Thomas Becket, with his clergy.

The king, as is aforesaid, conventing his nobles and clerks together, required to have the punishment of certain misdoers of the clergy; but Thomas Becket not assenting thereunto, the king came to this point, to know whether he would consent, with his clergy, that the customs then set forth in the realm (meaning by the first part of those decrees above specified) should be observed.]

(1) For this oration in Latin, see the Edition of 1563, p. 53.—Ed.

should now at the king's pleasure be deprived, like as it might be a precedent hereafter to others in resisting their king in like sort, if his cause were maintained, so contrariwise, if it quailed, it should be an example to all other hereafter not to resist his prince in the like case; and so might it redound, not only to the weakening of the state of the catholic church, but also to the derogation of the pope's authority. Briefly, this sentence at length prevailed: and so Becket receiveth his pastoral office at the pope's hand again, with commendation and much favour. But forsomuch as he could not be well placed in England, in the mean while the pope sendeth him with a monk's habit into the abbey of Pontigny in France, where he remained two years; from thence he removed to Sens, where he abode four years. So the time of his exile continued six years in all.

Henry II. A. D. 1165.

A consultation between the pope and the cardinals about Becket's matter.

See Appendix.

Upon this, the king being certified by his ambassadors of the pope's answer, how his favour inclined more to Becket than to him, was moved (and worthily) with wrathful displeasure; who upon the same sailing from England into Normandy, directed over certain injunctions against the pope and the archbishop of Canterbury, the contents whereof are recited underneath.[1]

Becket in banishment six years.

Of these and such other injunctions Becket specifieth partly in a certain letter, writing to a friend of his in this manner:[2]

Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, to his well-beloved friend, &c. Be it known to your brotherly goodness, that we, with all ours here, by God's grace are safe and in good health. Having a good hope and trust in your faithful amity, I charge you and require you, that either by the bringer hereof, or by some other whom ye know faithful and trusty to our church of Canterbury and to us, you write with all speed what is done. As touching the king's decrees here set out, these they be: That all havens and ports should be diligently kept, that no letters of interdict be brought in thereat; and if a religious man bring them in, he shall have his feet cut off; if he be a priest or clerk, he shall lose his eyes, &c.;[3] if he be a layman, let him be hanged; if he be a leper, let him be burned. And if any bishop for fear of the pope's interdict will depart the realm, besides his staff only in his hand let him have nothing

(1) I. If any one shall be found bringing letters of the lord pope, or any mandate of the archbishop of Canterbury, containing an interdict of christianity [*i. e.* the use of the service, sacraments, and holy rites] in England, let him be taken and let justice be executed upon him without delay, as a traitor to the king and the kingdom.

II. Also, no clerk, monk, or other religious person, can be permitted to pass beyond the sea or return into England, unless he have a passport from the justiciary for his going out, and the king's letters for his return; if any one shall be caught doing otherwise, let him be taken and imprisoned.

III. Let no man appeal to the pope or to the archbishop.

IV. Let no plea be held by order of the pope or of the archbishop, nor let any communication (mandatum) of theirs be received in England by any man. If any one shall be found doing otherwise, let him be taken and imprisoned.

V. Generally, also, it is forbidden, that any one carrying any commmunication (mandatum,) either of cleric or layman, to the lord pope or to the archbishop; if any one shall be found doing otherwise, let him be taken and imprisoned.

VI. If any bishops, or clerics, or abbots, or laics, shall comply with any sentence of interdict, let them without delay be cast out of the land, with all their kindred; and let them carry none of their property with them.

VII. The chattels of all persons favouring the pope or the archbishop, and all their possessions, and those of all belonging to them, of whatever rank, or sex, or condition they be, shall be taken and confiscated to the lord king

VIII. All clerics who have rents and estates in England shall be summoned, in whatever countries they be, to return to them within three months; and if they do not return by the appointed time, let their estates be taken to the king's use.

IX. Peter-pence shall no longer be paid over to the pope's apostolic treasury, but be kept diligently in the king's chest, and expended at his direction.

X. The bishops of London and Norwich shall be at the king's mercy, and be summoned by the sheriffs and beadles before the king's justiciaries, there to do right by the king and his justices, for that, contrary to the statutes of Clarendon, they laid an interdict by command of the lord pope on the land of Earl Hugh, and published the lord pope's excommunication against him throughout their dioceses, without license of the king's justiciaries. [Translated from the Quadrilogus.—Ed.]

(2) For the Latin, see the Edition of 1563, p. 54.—Ed.

(3) "Si clericus, oculos et genitalia amittat."—Ed.

Henry II. A.D. 1166. else. Also the king's will is, that all scholars and students beyond the seas shall repair home, or else lose their benefices. And if they yet shall remain, they shall lose the liberty of ever returning. Further, if any such priests shall be found, that for the pope's suspense or interdict will refuse to sing, they shall be shamefully mutilated.[1] In fine, all such priests as show themselves rebels to the king, let them be deprived of their benefices," &c.

A.D.1166. Besides these and such like injunctions, it was also set forth by the king's proclamation, A.D. 1166, that all manner of persons, both men and women, whosoever were found of the kindred of Thomas Becket, should be exiled, without taking any part of their goods with them, and sent to him where he was; which was no little vexation to Becket to behold them. Moreover, forasmuch as he then was lying with Gwarine, abbot of Pontigny, to whom the pope, as is aforesaid, had commended him; therefore the king, writing to the same abbot, required him not to retain the archbishop of Canterbury in his house, for if he did, he would drive out of his realm all the monks of his order.[2] Whereupon Becket was enforced to remove from thence, and went to Louis, the French king, by whom he was placed at Sens, and there was found of him the space of four years, as is above mentioned.

Becket's kindred banished.

[Nov. 11th. Gervase, Hoveden.]

See Appendix.

In the mean time, messengers went daily with letters between the king and the pope, between the pope again and him, and also between the archbishop and others, whereof, if the reader, peradventure, shall be desirous to see the copies, I have thought here to express certain of them, to satisfy his desire; first beginning with the epistle of Becket, complaining of his prince to the pope, in manner and form as followeth.

Becket complaineth of his prince to the pope.

The copy of an Epistle sent by Thomas Becket to Pope Alexander.[3]

To your presence and audience I flee, most holy father, that you, who have bought the liberty of the church with your so great danger, might the rather attend to the same, either being the only or chief cause of my persecution, using and following therein your example. It grieveth me that the state of the church should fall to any decay, and that the liberties thereof should be infringed through the avarice of princes. For the which cause I thought to resist betimes that inconvenience beginning so to grow; and the more I thought myself obliged to the same, my prince, unto whom next under God I am most chiefly bound, the more boldness I took to me, to withstand his unrightful attempts, till such as were on the contrary part, my adversaries, prevailed, working my disquietness, and incensing him against me. Whereupon, as the manner is amongst princes, they raised up against me citations and slanders, to the occasion of my persecution; but I had rather be proscribed than subscribe. Besides this, I was also called to judgment, and cited before the king to make answer there as a lay person, to secular accounts, and while they whom I most trusted did most forsake me; for I saw my fellow-brethren, the bishops, through the instigation of some, ready to my condemnation. Whereupon, all being set against me, and I thus oppressed on every side, I took my refuge to appeal to your goodness, which casteth off none in their extremities, being ready to make my declaration before you, that I ought neither to be judged there in that place, nor yet of them. For what were that, father, but to usurp to themselves your right, and to bring the spiritualty under the temporalty? which thing, once begun, may breed an example to many. And therefore so much the more stout I thought to be in withstanding this matter, how much more prone and inclined I saw the way to hurt, if they might once see us to be

(1) See Note 2, p. 219.—Ed.
(2) These monks were of the Cistercian order.
(3) For the Latin, see the Edition of 1563, p. 54.—Ed

faint and weak in the same. But they will say to me here again: "Give to Cæsar that which belongs to Cæsar," &c. But, to answer again thereunto: albeit we are bound to obey our king in most things, yet not in such manner of things, whereby he is made to be no king; neither were they then things belonging to Cæsar, but to a tyrant; concerning the which points these bishops should not for me only, but for themselves, have resisted the king. For if the extreme judgment be reserved to him who is able to judge both body and soul, is it not then extreme pride for men there to judge, who judge but by themselves? If the cause of the bishops and of the clergy, which I maintain, be right, why be they set against me? why do they reprehend me? For if I appealed to him, before whom either it was not lawful, or else not expedient for me so to do, what seem they by this, but either to blame me causeless, or else to distrust your equity? For me to be convicted before your holiness, it had been a double confusion. Or wherein have I deserved to be persecuted of them, for whose cause I have set myself to stand in their behalf? And if they had willed, I had prevailed; but it is ill with the head, when it is left of its members and forsaken; as if the eyes should take the tongue to speak against the head. If they had had eyes to have foreseen the matter, they might understand themselves to speak their own destruction, and that the princes did use their help but to their own servitude. And what so great cause of hatred had they against me, to procure their own undoing in undoing of me? So while they neglected spiritual things for temporal, they have lost them both. What should I speak more of this, that I repugning them, and appealing to your audience, they yet durst presume to stand in judgment and condemnation against me, as children against their father. Yea, and not against me only, but against the universal church of God, conspiring together with the prince being with me offended. And this suspicion might also as well pertain to you, holy father. But to this they will say, that they owe their duty and service unto the king, as their lord, to whom they are bound upon their allegiance. To whom I answer, that to him they stand bound bodily, to me spiritually. But to whom ought they rather to stand bound, than to themselves? And were it not better to sustain the loss of corporal than of spiritual things? But here they will say again; at this time the prince was not to be provoked. How subtilly do these men dispute for their own bondage? Yea, they themselves provoke him by their own excess, ministering wings unto him to fight against them; for he would have rested if they had resisted. And when is constancy more to be required, than in persecution? Be not a man's chief friends most tried in persecution? If they give over still, how shall they obtain the victory? Sometimes they must needs resist. Condescend, therefore, holy father, to my exile and persecution, and remember that I also once was a great man, in the time when it was; and now for your sake thus injuriously I am treated. Use your rigour, and restrain them by whose instigation the name of this persecution began, and let none of these things be imputed to the king, who rather is to be accounted the repairer than the author of this business.

Henry II. A. D. 1166.

To keep under the pride of prelates is no cause sufficient to un-king a prince

If ye mean by spiritual things, such as pertain to the spiritual part of man, I grant; but your liberties be not as pertain to the inward or spiritual man, but rather are things more corporal. Persecution trieth a true friend, but every cause maketh not a true persecution.

Besides this epistle sent to the pope, he writeth also another, sent to the king, in Latin, the tenor whereof he that is disposed to read may peruse in our former edition,[1] with notes adjoined withal.

(1) An Epistle of Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, to King Henry, found only in the edition of 1563, at page 55, with the notes, probably of John Foxe, adjoined. — Ed.

Desiderio desideravi videre faciem vestram et loqui vobiscum.1 Non multum quidem propter me, sed maxime propter vos: ut visa facie mea reduceretis ad memoriam servitia, quæ, dum agerem in obsequio vestro, exhibui vobis devote et fideliter juxta animi conscientiam (sic me Deus adjuvet in examine ultimo, quando omnes astabunt ante tribunal Ipsius, recepturi prout gesserunt in corpore, sive bonum sive malum), et ut moveremini super me pietate, quem oportet mendicando vivere inter alienos. Licet tamen Dei gratia, cum abundantia victualia ad sufficientiam habeamus. Estque nobis consolatio multa, quod dicit apostolus, Omnes qui pie volunt vivere in Christo, persecutionem patientur: Et propheta, Non vidi justum derelictum, nec semen ejus quærens panem. Propter vos: tribus ex causis. Tum quia dominus meus estis: tum quia rex meus estis:2 tum quia filius meus spiritualis. Eo quod dominus, debeo vobis et offero consilium meum et obse-

Certain Notes upon this Latin Epistle.

See Appendix.

1. Imo maxime suum agit negotium, etiamsi dissimulat sedulo.

2. Si dominus est, cur te non præbes illi servum? Si rex, cur non subditum ostendis? Porro quum servus non sui sit juris, sed in possessione sui domini, quo jure ergo servum agis fugitivum, ab eo aufugiens, qui jure tui vindicat possessionem atque in te potestatem occupat? Præterea, si dominum tuum esse agnoscas, falso igitur illi te consilium debere dicis; in servo enim non consilium spectatur, sed obsequium, nisi is consilium exigat.

Henry II. A. D. 1166.

Besides which epistle to the king in Latin, he sent also one or two more to the said King Henry II., much after the like rate and sort: one thus beginning, "Loqui de Deo, liberæ mentis est et valde quietæ. Inde est quod loquar ad Dominum meum, et utinam ad omnes pacifi-

quium quodcunque debet episcopus, secundum honorem Dei et sanctæ ecclesiæ, domino: eo quod rex, teneor vobis ad reverentiam et commonitionem: eo quod filius, officii ratione, ad castigationem teneor et cohercionem.[3] Corripit enim pater filium nunc blandis nunc asperis, ut vel sic provocet eum ad benefaciendum. Nosse debetis vos gratia regem esse, Primo quia vos ipsum regere debetis vitamque vestram optimis informare moribus, ut vestri exemplo cæteri provocentur ad melius, juxta illud sapientis: Componitur orbis regis ad exemplum: Secundo, alios hos demulcendo, alios puniendo potestatis auctoritate quam ab ecclesia recepistis tum sacramento unctionis, tum gladii officio, quem gestatis ad malefactores ecclesiæ conterendos. Inunguntur enim reges tribus in locis, in capite, in pectore, in brachiis; quod significat gloriam, scientiam, et fortitudinem. Qui antiquis temporibus justificationes Dei non observabant, et prævaricati sunt mandata ejus, his sublata est gloria, scientia, et fortitudo, et eorum generationi; exemplo Pharaonis, Nebugodonosor, Saulis, Salomonis, aliorumque plurium.[4] Qui vero post delictum suum cordis contritione humiliaverunt se Domino, his Dei gratia accessit cum omnibus supradictis abundantius et perfectius, sicut David, Ezechiæ, aliisque quam plurimis. Christus fundavit matrem ecclesiam, ejusque comparavit[5] libertatem sanguine proprio, sustinendo flagella, sputa, clavos, mortis angustias, nobis relinquens exemplum ut sequamur vestigia ejus. Unde dicit apostolus: si compatiamur ei, et conregnabimus: si commoriamur, et resurgemus. Ecclesia enim Dei in duobus constat ordinibus, clero et populo. In clero sunt apostoli, apostolicique viri, episcopi, et cæteri doctores ecclesiæ, quibus commissa est cura et regnum ipsius ecclesiæ, qui tractare habent negotia ecclesiastica, ut totum reducant ad salutem animarum. Unde et[6] Petro dictum est, et in Petro aliis rectoribus ecclesiarum, non regibus, non principibus: Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam. In populo sunt reges, et principes, duces, comites, et aliæ potestates, qui secularia habent tractare negotia, ut totum reducant ad pacem et unitatem ecclesiæ. Et quia certum est reges potestatem suam accipere ab ecclesia, non ipsam ab illis sed a Christo, ut salva pace vestra loquar, non habetis episcopis[7] præcipere absolvere aliquem vel excommunicare, trahere clericos ad secularia examina, judicare de decimis vel ecclesiis, interdicere episcopis ne tractent causas de transgressione fidei vel juramenti, et multa in hunc modum quæ scripta sunt inter consuetudines vestras, quas dicitis avitas. Dominus enim dicit: Leges meas custodite. Et per prophetam: Væ qui condunt leges iniquas et scribentes scripserunt injustitias, ut opprimerent pauperes in judicio, et vim facerent causæ humilium populi Dei. Audiat namque, si placet, dominus meus consilium fidelis sui, commonitionem episcopi sui, castigationem patris sui[8]—ne cum schismaticis de cætero habeat aliquam familiaritatem vel communionem, nec cum eis aliquo modo contrahat fœdus vel amicitiam. Notum est enim toti fere mundo, quam devote, quam honorifice dom. papam receperitis, quantum ecclesiam Romanam foveritis et honoraveritis, quantumque dom. papa et etiam ecclesia Romana personam vestram dilexerint, honoraverint, et in quibuscumque secundum Deum potuerint vos exaudierint. Nolite, Domine mi, ergo, si salutem animæ vestræ desideratis, eidem ecclesiæ quod suum est aliqua ratione subtrahere, seu in aliquo ei citra justitiam contraire. Imo eandam ei permittatis in regno vestro habere[9] libertatem, quam in aliis regnis habere dinoscitur. Memores quoque sitis confessionis quam fecistis et posuistis scriptam super altare apud Westminster, de servanda ecclesiæ libertate, quando consecrati fuistis et uncti in regem a prædecessore nostro Theobaldo. Ecclesiam etiam Cantuariensem, a qua promotionem et consecrationem accepistis, in eum statum restituatis et dignitatem, in quibus fuit temporibus prædecessorum nostrorum;[10] possessiones etiam ad ipsam ecclesiam et ad nos pertinentes, villas, prædia, castella, et omnia quæ pro voluntate vestra distribuistis, res et omnes ablatas tam nostras quam clericorum nostrorum et laicorum, in integrum nobis restituatis. Permittatis etiam, si placet, nos libere et in pace et cum omni securitate redire in sedem nostram, officioque nostro libere uti, sicut debemus et ratio exigit. Et nos vobis tanquam domino charissimo et regi parati sumus fideliter et devote pro viribus servire in quibuscunque potuerimus, salvo honore Dei et ecclesiæ Romanæ et salvo ordine nostro.[11] Alioqui pro certo sciatis, quia divinam severitatem et ultionem sentietis.

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3. Subditorum est subjici suis principibus non eos subdere: Episcopi sunt subditi suis principibus: Ergo male conantur episc. suos sibi principes subjicere. Ad principis spectat officium legibus animadvertere in sontes: Becketus id non permittit, prohibens clericos suos ad supplicia vocari: Ergo Becketus non se præstat subditum suo regi.

4. Nego argumentum—Deus punivit malos principes contra mandata sua delinquentes: Ergo pontifices et episcopi punire reges debent, sua decreta transgredientes.

5. Fallacia est a falsa definitione libertatis ecclesiasticæ. Ea enim libertas quam Christus suo sanguine comparavit, ad conscientiam duntaxat attinet, non ad terrena privilegia aut corporeas facultates. Christus igitur aliam nobis redemit libertatem, Becketus de alia argutatur.

6. Quod Petro dictum est, dictum est tantum rectoribus ecclesiæ: Principes non sunt rectores ecclesiæ: Ergo non dictum est principibus. Resp. Neganda est minor: deinde majorem sic intelligo ex Aug. Quod dictum est Petro, dictum est ecclesiæ universæ fidelium, quatenus fidem habet in Christum, super quam fidem ædificatur ecclesia. Unde liquet dictum hoc non magis spectare ad clerum quam ad principes fideles, &c.

7. Fallacia est a divisis ad conjuncta. Sunt enim variæ in ecclesia Christi functiones, quæ variè sunt ad alios atque alios referendæ. Quæ vero foris sunt et juris ordinisque externi, et ad castigationem attinent, propria sunt principum. Tantum ad clerum spectat dispensatio sermonis Dei, et sacramentorum administratio. Jam hæc omnia quæ disjungenda erant, perperam confundit hic theologus in una persona.

8. Episcopi si probi fuerint dici fortasse patres possunt suorum principum, sed in Christo tamen, hoc est, non nisi in eis quæ ad salutis tantum curam, doctrinæ videlicet et sacramentorum, spectant. In ceteris vero principes patres sunt et curam gerunt episcoporum, non illi principum.

9. Iterum hic peccatur in falsa libertatis definitione.

10. Ut facile hic intelligas, lector, suam dignitatem et possessiones quæri ab episcopis, potius quam gloriam Jesu Christi!

11. Proximus honor secundum Deum debetur regibus in sua cujusque ditione, juxta scripturæ theologiam, quæ dicit: Deum timete, regem honorificate: at contra hic theologus inverso scripturæ ordine arguit, honorem Deo proximum deberi—primum Romanæ sedi, deinde episcoporum ordini, et post hæc regibus.

cum," &c. Which epistle, for that I would not overcharge the volume of these histories with too much matter superfluous, I thought here to omit. The other he sent afterwards, whereof the words be these:— *Henry II.* A.D 1166.

Another Letter of Becket, sent to King Henry II [1]

To his lord and friend Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitain, earl of Anjou: Thomas, by the same grace, humble minister of the church of Canterbury, (sometime his temporally, but now more his in the Lord), health and true repentance with amendment. I have long looked for that the Lord would look upon you, and that you would convert and repent, departing from your perverse way; and cut off from you your wicked and perverse counsellors, by whose instigation, as it is thought, you are fallen into that deep, whereof the Psalm speaketh, "A sinner, when he cometh to the depth of mischiefs, is without all care or fear." And albeit we have hitherto quietly suffered and borne, considering and earnestly looking if there would any messenger come that would say: "Your sovereign lord, the king, who now a long time hath erred and been deceived, and led even to the destruction of the church, through God's mercy, with abundant humility, doth now again make speed for the deliverance of the church, and to make satisfaction and amendment;" yet notwithstanding we cease not, day by day, continually to call upon Almighty God with most humble devotion, that that which we have long desired for you, and by you, we may speedily obtain with abundant effect. And this is one point, that the care of the church of Canterbury, whereunto God hath presently appointed us albeit unworthy, you being king, doth specially constrain me, in that as yet we are detained in exile, to write unto your majesty letters commonitory, exhortatory, and of correction. But I would to God they were fully able to correct, lest that I be too great a cloaker of your outrages, if there be any, as indeed there are; for the which we are not a little sorry. I mean especially of them which are done by you in every place, about the church of God and the ecclesiastical persons, without any reverence either of dignity or person; and lest also that I appear negligent to the great danger of my soul; for without doubt he beareth the offence of him which doth commit any offence, who neglecteth to correct that which another ought to amend; for it is written, "Not only they which do commit evil, but also they that consent thereunto, are counted partakers of the same." For they verily do consent, who, when they both might and ought, do not resist, or at the least reprove; for the error which is not resisted is allowed, and the truth, when it is not defended, is oppressed; neither doth it lack a privy note of society in him, who ceaseth to withstand a manifest mischief.[2] For like as, most noble prince, a small city doth not diminish the prerogative of so mighty a kingdom as yours, so your royal power ought not to oppress or change the measure of the religious dispensation; for it is provided always by the laws, that all judgments against priests should proceed by the determination of priests; for whatsoever bishops they are, albeit that they do err as other men do, not exceeding in any point contrary to the religion of faith, they ought not, nor can in any case be judged of the secular power.[3] Truly it is the part of a good and religious prince to repair the ruinous churches, to build new, to honour the priests, and with great reverence to defend them, after the example of the godly prince of most happy memory, Constantine,[4] who said, when a complaint

Certain Notes or Elenches upon this Epistle.

1. The scope of this epistle is this, to prove that bishops and priests ought not to come under the covert and controlment of temporal power.

2. This similitude holdeth not. For, though the smallness of a city blemisheth not the prerogative of a kingdom, yet the evilness and rebellion of a city do worthily blemish its own prerogative.

3. So saith the pope's decree (Dist. 10), but the scripture of God importeth otherwise. Abiathar the priest was deposed by King Solomon, not for any heresy, but for other causes (1 Kings ii.). Jonathas took his priesthood of King Alexander; and Simon of Demetrius (1 Maccab. vii. 9; x. 20). Christ offered tribute to Cæsar for himself and for Peter. Also Peter saith, "Be ye subject to every human creature;" and it followeth, "whether it be to the king as to the chief," &c. Also Pope Leo submitted himself to Ludovicus, the emperor, with these words: "And if we do any thing incompetently, and do swerve from the path of righteousness, we will stand to your reformation, or of them whom you shall send." (Causa ii. quæst. 7. "Nos.")

4. Notwithstanding, the said Constantine, writing to the bishops congregated at Tyre, first chideth them, then commandeth them to resort unto his presence, to have their cause judged and decided. (Trip. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 7.)

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of the clergy was brought to him, "You," said he, "can be judged by no secular judge, who are reserved to the only judgment of God." And forsomuch as we do read that the holy apostles and their successors, appointed by the testimony of God, commanded that no persecution nor troubles ought to be made, nor to envy those which labour in the field of the Lord, and that the stewards of the Eternal King should not be expelled and put out of their seats; who then doubteth, but that the priests of Christ ought to be called the fathers and masters of all other faithful princes? Is it not a miserable madness, then, if the son should go about to bring the father under obedience,[5] or the scholar his master? and by wicked bonds[6] to bring him in subjection, by whom he ought to believe that he may be bound and loosed, not only in earth, but also in heaven? If you be a good and a catholic king, and one as we hope, or rather desire you should be (be it spoken under your license), you are the child of the church, and not the ruler of the church. You ought to learn of the priests, and not to teach them; you ought to follow the priests in ecclesiastical matters,[7] and not to go before them, having the privilege of your power given you of God to make public laws, that, by his benefits, you should not be unthankful against the dispensation of the heavenly order, and that you should usurp nothing, but use them with a wholesome disposition.

Wherefore, in those things which, contrary unto that, you have, through your malicious counsel, rather than by your own mind wickedly usurped; with all humility and satisfaction speedily give place, that the hand of the Most Highest be not stretched out against you, as an arrow against the mark. For the Most Highest hath bended his bow openly to shoot against him that will not confess his offences. Be not ashamed, whatsoever wicked men say to you, or that traitors do whisper in your ear, to humble yourself under the mighty hand of God; for it is he who exalteth the humble, and throweth down the proud; who also revengeth himself upon princes; he is terrible, and who shall resist him? You ought not to have let slip out of your memory, in what state God did find you; how he hath preferred, honoured, and exalted you; blessed you with children, enlarged your kingdom, and established the same in despite of your enemies; insomuch that hitherto, in a manner, all men have said with great admiration, that this is he whom God hath chosen. And how will you reward, or can you reward him for all these things which he hath done unto you? Will you,—at the provocation and instance of those who are about you, that persecute the church, and the ecclesiastical ministers,[8] and always have according to their power persecuted them, rendering evil for good, bringing oppressions, tribulations, injuries, and afflictions upon the church and churchmen,—do the like? Are not these they of whom the Lord speaketh: "He that heareth you, heareth me; he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye." Verily, forsaking all that thou hast, take up thy cross, that thou mayest follow thy God, our Lord Jesus Christ. Yet will it scarcely be, or not at all, that thou shalt appear a thankful recompenser of the benefits received at his hand. Search the Scriptures with such as are learned, and you shall understand that Saul, albeit he was the elect of the Lord, perished with his whole house, because he departed from the ways of the Lord.[9]

Uzziah also, king of Judah, whose name is spoken of and spread over all, through the manifold victories given him of God, his heart was so puffed up to his destruction, because the Lord did help and strengthen him in every place,

5. "The father under obedience," &c. If fatherhood go by age, I suppose that King Henry was older than Becket. If fatherhood consist in authority, I judge the authority of a king to be above the authority of an archbishop. If the see of Canterbury make the fatherhood, yet had Becket no cause to claim fatherhood over the king, seeing the son ordained the father; that is, seeing the king made him his archbishop, and he made not him his king.

6. "By wicked bonds." All is wicked with the papists, that bringeth them in subjection to their princes.

7 Ecclesiastical matters be such, as properly belong to doctrine and divine knowledge, for the institution of the soul, and information of conscience. In which both princes and subjects ought to follow the pastors, so long as they go truly before them without error or else not. But what maketh this for the lands and liberties of churchmen?

8. Punishment due to malefactors and rebels is not to be called persecution, but due correction.

9. Saul brake the commandment of God and was rejected. Ozias, contrary to the commandment of God, took the office of a priest, and was stricken. Oza, against the express word of the law, put his hand to the ark, and was punished. But what express word had King Henry, why he should not correct and punish rebellious bishops, and wicked priests, within his own realm? wherefore these similitudes accord not. As for Achas, he was not so much punished for taking the priest's office, as for spoiling the temple of the Lord, and offering to idols.

that he, contemning the fear and reverence of the Lord, would usurp unto himself that which was not his office, that is to say, the priesthood, and offer incense upon the altar of the Lord, for the which he was stricken with a leprosy, and cast out of the house of the Lord. Many other kings and holy men of great substance, because they have walked above their estate in the marvels of the world, presuming to rebel against God in his ministries, have perished, and, at the last, have found nothing of their substance in their power. Also King Ahaz, because he did usurp the office of priesthood, was likewise stricken with a leprosy by God. *Henry II.* A. D. 1166.

Oza also, albeit he was not king, yet forasmuch as he touched the ark and held it, when it would have fallen by the unruliness of the oxen, which thing pertained not unto him, but unto the ministers of the church, was stricken by the wrath of God, and fell down dead by the ark. O king! it is a famous proverb, "That a man, forewarned by another man's misfortune, will take the better heed unto himself." For every man hath his own business in hand when his neighbour's house is on fire.

Dearly beloved king, God would have the disposing of those things which pertain unto the church, to belong only unto priests, and not unto the secular power. Do not challenge unto thyself therefore another man's right, neither strive against him by whom all things are ordained, lest thou seem to strive against his benefits from whom thou hast received thy power. For not by the common laws,[10] and by the secular power, but by the bishops and priests, Almighty God would have the clergy of the christian religion to be ordered and ruled. And christian kings ought to submit all their doings unto ecclesiastical rulers, and not to prefer themselves; for it is written, that none ought to judge the bishops but only the church, neither doth it pertain unto man's law to give sentence upon any such. Christian princes are accustomed to be obedient unto the statutes and ordinances of the church, and not to prefer their own power. A prince ought to submit himself unto the bishops, and not to judge the bishops; for there are two things wherewith the world is chiefly governed, that is to say, the sacred authority of bishops, and royal power,[11] in the which the bishops' charge is so much the more weighty, in that they shall at the latter judgment render account even of the kings themselves. Truly you ought to understand, that you depend upon their judgment, and cannot reduce them unto your own will; for many bishops have excommunicated both kings and emperors. And if you require an especial example thereof, Innocent, the pope, did excommunicate Arcadius, the emperor, because he did consent that John Chrysostome should be expulsed from his seat; and St. Ambrose also did excommunicate Theodosius, the great emperor,[12] for a fault which seemed not so weighty unto other priests, and shut him out of the church, who, afterwards, by condign satisfaction was absolved.

There are many other like examples. For David, when he had committed adultery and murder, the prophet Nathan was sent unto him by God to reprove him, and he was soon corrected: and the king (laying aside his sceptre and diadem, and setting apart all princely majesty) was not ashamed to humble himself before the face of the prophet, to confess his fault, and to require forgiveness for his offence. What will you more? He, being stricken with repentance, asked mercy, and obtained forgiveness. So likewise you, most beloved king and reverend lord! after the example of this good king David, of whom it is said, "I have found a man after mine own heart," with a contrite and humble heart turn to the Lord your God, and take hold of repentance for your transgressions. For you have fallen and erred in many things, which yet I keep in store still, if (peradventure) God shall inspire you to say with the

10. "Common laws." St. Austin, writing to Boniface, saith thus: "Whosoever obeyeth not the laws of the emperor, being made for the verity of God, procureth to himself great punishment. For in the time of the prophets, all the kings which did not forbid and subvert all such things as were used of the people against the law of God, are rebuked. And such as did withstand them, are commended above the rest."

11. Isidorus hath these words: "Let temporal princes know that they must render account to God for the church, which they have at the hands of God to govern," &c.

12. The cases of Arcadius, Theodosius, David, and of this king, as touching this matter, have no similitude. In them was murder: this king doth nothing but claim that which is his due. And though by the spiritual sword those kings were resisted, yet it agreeth not therefore that the persons of those who have the use of the spiritual sword are above the persons of those who have the temporal sword.

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prophet, "Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy, for I have sinned much against thee, and done evil in thy sight." Thus much I have thought good to write to you, my dear lord, at this present, passing other things in silence, till I may see whether my words take place in you, and bring forth fruits worthy of repentance; and that I may hear and rejoice with them that shall bring me word and say, "O king! thy son was dead, and is alive again; was lost, and is found again.'" But if you will not hear me, look where I was wont before the majesty of the body of Christ to pray for you in abundance of tears and sighs; there in the same place I will cry against you, and say, Rise up, Lord, and judge my cause; forget not the rebukes and injuries which the king of England doth to thee and thine; forget not the ignominy of thy church, which thou hast builded in thy blood. Revenge the blood of thy saints which is spilt; revenge, O Lord, the afflictions of thy servants, of which there is an infinite number. For the pride of them which hate and persecute thee is gone up so high, that we are not able to bear them any longer. Whatsoever your servants shall do, all those things shall be required at your hands: for he seemeth to have done the harm, who hath given the cause thereof. Doubtless, the Son of the Most Highest, except you amend and cease from the oppressing of the church and clergy, and keep your hand from troubling of them, will come in the rod of his fury, at the voices of such as cry to him, and at the sighs of them that be in bands; when the time shall come for him to judge the unrighteousness of men in equity and severity of the Holy Ghost. For he knoweth how to take away the breath of princes, and is terrible among kings of the earth. Your dear and loving grace, I wish well to fare. Thus fare ye well again and ever.

Note the judgment of God against this Becket, who was slain at his mass, making the body of Christ.

Besides these letters of the archbishop sent to the king,[1] the pope also, in the same cause, writeth to the king:[2] the whole tenor of whose letter I would here express, but for protracting of the time and for straitness of room, having so many things else in this story (by the grace of Christ) to be comprehended. But the letter tendeth to this effect: to exhort and charge the king to show favour to Thomas Becket; where, in the process of the epistle, it followeth to this effect: "Therefore we do desire, admonish, and exhort your honour, by these our apostolical writings, and also enjoin you upon the remission of your sins, in the behalf of Almighty God, and of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, by our authority, that you receive again the aforesaid archbishop into your favour and grace, for the honour of God, his church, and of your own realm," &c. Thus have you heard the pope's entreating letter. Now here is another letter sent unto the aforesaid king, wherein he doth menace him, as in the tenor thereof here followeth.

Bishop Alexander, servant of the servants of God, to Henry, king of England, health and blessing apostolical.[3]

How fatherly and gently we have ofttimes entreated and exhorted, both by legates and letters, your princely honour to be reconciled again with our reverend brother, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, so that he and his may be restored again to their churches and other possessions to them appertaining, your wisdom is not ignorant, seeing it is notified and spread almost throughout all Christendom. Forsomuch therefore as hitherto we have not been able to prevail with you, nor mollify your mind by fair and gentle words, it grieveth us not a

(1) The pope's letter beginneth after this sort: "Alexander papa ad Henricum regem. Et naturali ratione, et forma juris dictante, providentiam tuam credimus edoctam fuisse, quod quanto quis ab aliquo majora suscepisse dignoscitur, tanto ei obnoxior et magis obligatus tenetur," &c.

(2) "Ea propter severitatem tuam per apostolica scripta rogamus, monemus, et exhortamur in Domino; necnon in remissionem peccatorum ex parte Dei omnipotentis, et beati Petri principis apostolorum, auctoritate nostra injungimus, ut memoratum archiepiscopum pro Deo et ecclesia sua, et honore tuo, necnon et totius regni tui, in gratiam et favorum tuum recipias," &c.

(3) The Latin copy is in the Edition of 1563, p. 57.—Ed.

little, so to be frustrated and deceived of the hope and expectation which we had conceived of you: especially seeing we love you so dearly, as our own dearly beloved son in the Lord, and understand such great jeopardy to hang over you. *Henry II.* A. D. 1166.

But forsomuch as it is written, "Cry out, and cease not; lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and declare to my people their wickedness, and their sins to the house of Jacob;" also forsomuch as it is by Solomon commanded, that the sluggish person should be stoned with the dung of oxen; therefore we have thought good not to forbear or support your stubbornness any longer against justice and our own salvation, neither that the mouth of the aforesaid archbishop should be stopped from henceforth any more, but that he may freely prosecute the charge of his office and duty, and revenge with the sword of ecclesiastical discipline the injuries done both to himself and to the church committed to his charge.

And here I have sent unto you two legates, the prior of Montdieu, & Bernardus de Corilo, to admonish you of the same. But if ye will neither by us be advised, nor give ear unto them in obeying, it is to be feared, doubtless, lest such things as they shall declare to you from us in our behalf may happen and fall upon you.—Given at Benevento, the ninth day before the kalends of June. *See Appendix.*

To answer these letters again, there was a certain other writing drawn out and directed to the pope, made by some of the clergy, as it seemeth, but not without consent of the king, as by the title may appear, inveighing and disproving the misbehaviour of the archbishop. The tenor thereof here followeth, and beginneth thus:—

An Answer to the Pope.[1]

Time now requireth more to seek help than to make complaints. For so it is now, that the holy mother church (our sins deserving the same) lieth in a dangerous case of great decay, which is like to ensue, except the compassion of the Lord speedily support her.

Such is the wickedness now of schismatics, that the father of fathers, Pope Alexander, for the defence of his faith and for the love of righteousness is banished out of his country, and is denied the liberty of returning to his own proper see, by reason of the obdurate heart of that Pharaoh, Frederic. Nay, rather for false treason against the emperor, his prince. Frederic falsely compared to Pharaoh; but this was to claw the pope with.

Further and besides, the church also of Canterbury is miserably impaired and blemished, as well in the spiritual as in the temporal estate: much like a ship in the sea, destitute of her guide, tossed in the floods, and wrestling with the winds. The pastor, being absent from his country, is prevented returning thither through the power of the king, and being over wise (to the jeopardy of himself, his church, and us also) hath brought and entangled us with himself in the same partaking of his punishments and labours, not considering how we ought gently to entreat and not to resist superior powers. And also he showeth himself to us ungrateful, who with all our affections sympathize with him in his afflictions, not ceasing yet to persecute us who stand in the same condemnation with him. For, betwixt him and our sovereign prince, the king of England, arose a certain matter of contention, whereupon they were both agreed, that a day should be appointed to have the controversy determined according to equity and justice.

The king commanded all the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the church, to be called against the day aforesaid to a great and solemn frequency: so that the greater and more general this council was, the more manifest might be the detection of any fraud and wickedness.

At the day therefore above mentioned, this troubler of the realm and of the church presenteth himself in the sight of our catholic king; and, not trusting the quality and condition of his cause, armeth himself with the standard of the cross, as though he were about coming into the presence of a tyrant. By reason whereof the king's majesty being somewhat aggrieved, yet, because he would be delivered from all suspicion, committeth the matter to the hearing of the bishops. This done, it rested with the bishops to decide and cease this contention, and to set agreement between them, removing all occasion of dissension. Which thing they going about, this aforesaid archbishop cometh in, forbidding and commanding, that no sentence whatever should be passed upon him before the king.

(1) The Latin copy is in the Edition of 1563, p. 57, whence the translation is revised.—Ed.

Henry II. A. D. 1166.

This being signified in the king's hearing, his mind was grievously provoked thereby to anger: whose anger yet notwithstanding had been easily assuaged, if the other would have submitted himself and acknowledged his default. But he adding stubbornness to his trespass, such is the amount of his excess that he alone, as the guilty author, ought to bear the brunt of the vengeance of the civil power, ashamed as he is to crave pardon for his desert at the king's hand; whose anger he feared not to stir up in such a troublesome time of the persecution of the church, greatly against the profit of the same; augmenting and increasing thereby the persecution which now the church lieth under. Much better it had been for him to have tempered himself with the bridle of moderation, in the high estate of his dignity; lest in exceeding too far in straining ambitiously to attain the summit of affairs, peradventure (as his presumption deserveth) he should fall the lower. And if the detriment of the church would not move him, yet the great preferments of riches and honours bestowed upon him ought to persuade him not to be so stubborn against the king. But here our adversary objecteth, that his standing to the king's judgment in this behalf were prejudicial against the authority of the see apostolical. As though he did not or might not understand, that although the dignity of the church should suffer a little detriment in that judgment, yet he might and ought to have dissembled for the time, for the sake of restoring peace. He objecteth again, assuming the name of father, that it soundeth like a point of arrogancy for children to proceed in judgment of the father, and that such a thing ought not to be. But he must understand again, that it was necessary that the obedience and humility of the children should temper the pride of the father; lest, afterward, the hatred of the father might redound upon the children. Wherefore, by these premises your fatherhood may understand, that our adversary ought to drop his action as void and of none effect, who only upon the affection of malice hath proceeded thus against us, having no just cause or reason to ground his attack upon.

Becket a stubborn trespasser; ergo, no martyr.

And, forsomuch as the care and charge of all the churches (as ye know) lieth upon us, it standeth upon us to provide, by our diligence and circumspection, concerning the state of the church of Canterbury, that the said church of Canterbury be not brought to shipwreck through the excess of its pastor.

By this epistle it may appear to the reader thereof, that Becket, being absent from England, went about to work some trouble against certain of the clergy and the laity, belike in excommunicating such as he took to be his evil willers.

See Appendix.

Now to understand further what his working was, or who they were whom he did excommunicate, this letter, sent to William, bishop of Norwich, shall better declare the matter.

A Letter of Becket, to William, bishop of Norwich, wherein are contained the names of those whom he did excommunicate.[1]

He is clearly liable to the punishment of a criminal, who receiving power and authority of God useth and exerciseth not the same with due severity in punishing vice, but winking and dissembling doth minister boldness to wicked doers, maintaining them in their sin. For the blood of the wicked is required at the hand of the priest, who is negligent or dissembleth. And, as the Scripture saith, "Thorns and brambles grow in the hands of the idle drunkard." Wherefore, lest through our too much sufferance and dissembling, we should become involved in the guilt of manifest evildoers, and be convicted of procuring the injury of the church through our guilty silence; we, therefore, following the authority of the pope's commandment, have laid our sentence of curse and excommunication upon the Earl Hugh; commanding you throughout all your diocese publicly to denounce the said earl as accursed; so that, according to the discipline of the church, he be sequestered from the fellowship of all faithful people. Also, it is not unknown to your brotherhood, how long we have borne with the transgressions of the bishop of London; who, amongst his other

See Appendix.

(1) For the Latin, see Edition 1563, p. 58.—Ed.

acts, I would to God were not a great doer, and fautour of this schism, and subverter of the rights and liberties of holy church. Wherefore we, being supported with the authority of the apostolic see, have also excommunicated him; besides also the bishop of Salisbury, because of his disobedience and contempt, and others likewise, upon divers and sundry causes, whose names here follow subscribed: Thomas Fitz-Bernard; Rodulph of Brock; Robert of Brock, a clerk; Hugh of St. Clair, and Letard, clerk of Northfleet; Nigel of Sackville, and Richard, a clerk, brother to William of Hastings, who possesseth my church of Monkton. We therefore charge and command you, by the authority apostolical and ours, and by the virtue of obedience, and by the peril of salvation and of your order, that ye cause these openly to be proclaimed excommunicate throughout all your diocese, and command all the faithful to avoid their company. Fare ye well in the Lord. Let not your heart be troubled, nor fear; for we stand sure through the assistance of the apostolic see, God being our defence against the pretensed shifts of the malignant sort, and against all their appellations. Furthermore, all such as have been solemnly cited of us shall sustain the like sentence of excommunication, if God will, on Ascension-day, unless meanwhile they satisfy for their offences; to wit, Geoffrey, archdeacon of Canterbury, and Robert his vicar; Richard of Ilchester, Richard of Lucy, William Giffard, Adam of Cherings, with such others more, who either at the commandment of the king, or upon their proper temerity, have invaded the goods and possessions either appertaining to us, or to our clerks about us. With these also we do excommunicate all such as be known, either with their aid or counsel to have incensed or set forward the proceeding of our king against the liberties of the church in the exiling and spoiling of the innocent, and such also as be known to impeach or hinder, by any manner of way, the messengers sent either by the lord pope or by us, from prosecuting the necessities of the church. Fare you well again, and ever.

Henry II.

A.D. 1166.

The bishop of London excommunicated; and Salisbury, because he set in the dean without the license of him, being then beyond the seas. *See Appendix.*

Hitherto hast thou seen, gentle reader, divers and sundry letters of Thomas Becket, whereby thou mayest collect a sufficient history of his doings and demeanour, though nothing else were said further of him, concerning his lusty and haughty stomach, above that beseemed either his degree or cause which he took in hand. And here peradventure I may seem in the story of this one man to tarry too long, having to write of so many others better than it: yet for the weaker sort, who have counted him, and yet do count him, for a saint, having in themselves little understanding to judge or discern in the causes of men, I thought to add this letter more, wherein he complaineth of his king to a foreign power, doing what in him did lie to stir for his own cause mortal war to the destruction of many. For suppose wrong had been offered him of his prince, was it not enough for him to fly? What cause had he, for his own private revenge to set potentates in public discord? Now having no just cause, but rather offering injury in a false quarrel, so to complain of his prince, what is to be said of this, let every man judge who seeth this letter.

An Epistle of Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, to Pope Alexander.[1]

A seditious complaint of Becket to the pope against his king.

To our most loving father and lord, Alexander, by the grace of God supreme pontiff, Thomas, the humble minister of the church of Canterbury, due and devoted obedience. Long enough and too long, most loving father, have I forborne, still looking after amendment of the king of England, but no fruit have I reaped of this my long patience: nay rather, whilst that unwisely I do thus forbear, I augment the detriment and ruin of mine authority, as also of the liberty of the church of God: for oftentimes have I by religious and suitable

(1) "Amantissimo patri et Dom. Alexandro, Dei gratia summo pont, Thomas, Cant. ecclesiæ humilis minister, debitam et devotam obedientiam," &c. [The whole of this letter in Latin is given in the Edition of 1563, p. 59, whence the above translation is revised.—Ed.]

Henry II. A.D. 1166.

messengers invited him to make condign satisfaction; as also by my letters, the copies whereof I have sent you, I have intimated the divine severity and vengeance against him, unless he repented. But he, that notwithstanding, proceedeth from evil to worse, oppressing and ravaging the church and sanctuary of God; persecuting both me and those who take part with me, and doing all his endeavour by threatening words to terrify such as, for God's cause and mine own, seek any way to relieve and help me. He wrote also letters unto the abbot of the Cistercian order, that, as he favoured the abbies of that his order which were in his [the king's] power, he should not accept me into the fellowship thereof, nor do any thing else for me. Why should I use many words? So much hath the rigour and severity, as well of the king as of his officers, under our patience and sufferance, showed itself, that if a great number of men, yea, and that of the most religious sort, should show unto you the matter as it is indeed, and that upon their oath taken, I partly doubt whether your holiness would give credit to them or not. With anxiety of mind, therefore, I considering these things, and beholding as well the peril of the king as of ourself, have publicly condemned those pernicious—"customs" they are not to be called, so much as—perversities and pravities, whereby the church of England is disturbed and brought into confusion, as also the writing whereby they were confirmed; excommunicating generally, as well the observers thereof, as also the exactors and patrons of the same, with all their favourers, counsellors, and coadjutors whatsoever they be, whether of the clergy or laity; absolving also our bishops from their oath, whereby they were so strictly enjoined to the observation of the same. These are the articles which in that writing I have principally condemned:—That it is inhibited to appeal unto the see apostolical for any cause, but by the king's license: That a bishop may not punish any man for perjury, or for breaking of his troth: That a bishop may not excommunicate any man that holdeth of the king *in capite*, or else interdict either their lands or offices without the king's license: That clerks and religious men may be taken from us to secular judgment: That the king or any other judge may hear and decide the causes of the church and tithes: That it shall not be lawful for any archbishop or bishop to go out of the realm, and to come at the pope's call without the king's license: and divers others such as these. But I have by name excommunicated John of Oxford, who hath communicated with the schismatic and excommunicate person, Reginald of Cologne, who also, contrary to the commandment of the lord pope and ours, hath usurped the deanery of the church of Salisbury, and hath, to renew his schism, taken an oath in the emperor's court. Likewise I have denounced and excommunicated Richard of Ilchester, because he is fallen into the same damnable heresy, and has communicated with that infamous schismatic of Cologne; devising and forging all mischief possible with the schismatics and Germans, to the destruction of the church of God and especially of the church of Rome, by composition made between the king of England and them: also Richard de Lucy and Jocelin de Baliol, who have been favourers of the king's tyranny and fabricators of those heretical pravities. Also Ranulph de Broc, and Hugo de Sancto Claro, and Thomas Fitz-Bernard, who have usurped the possessions and goods of the church of Canterbury without our license and consent. We have also excommunicated all those who, contrary to our will, do stretch out their hands to the possessions and goods of the church of Canterbury. The king himself we have not yet excommunicated personally, still waiting for his amendment: whom, notwithstanding, we will not defer to excommunicate, unless he quickly amend, and be warned by that he hath done. And therefore, that the authority of the see apostolic and the liberty of the church of God, which in these parts are almost utterly lost, may by some means be restored, it is meet and very necessary that what we have herein done, the same be of your holiness ratified, and by your letters confirmed. Thus I wish your holiness long to prosper and flourish.

Godly articles condemned by Becket.

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

Becket reprehended for complaining of his king.

By this epistle, he that listeth to understand of the doings and quarrels of Becket, may partly judge what is to be thought thereof: which his doings, although in some part they may be imputed either to ignorance of mind, or blindness of zeal, or human frailty,

yet, in this point, so vilely to complain of his natural prince, for the zeal of the pope, he can in no wise be defended. But such was the blindness of the prelates in those days, who measured and esteemed the dignity and liberty of Christ's church by no other thing, than only by goods and possessions flowing unto and abounding among the clergy; and who thought no greater point of religion to be in the church, than to maintain the same. For this cause they did most abominably abuse Christian discipline and excommunication of the church at that time; as by this aforesaid epistle may appear. And what marvel if the acts and doings of this archbishop seem now to us in these days both fond and strange, seeing the suffragans of his own church and clergy, writing to him, could not but reprehend him, as in this their epistle, translated out of Latin into English, may be seen.

Henry II A. D. 1166.

Excommunication abused.

An effectual and pithy Letter, full of reason and persuasion, sent from all the suffragans of the church of Canterbury to Thomas Becket, their archbishop.[1]

Such troubles and perturbations as happened through the strangeness of your departure out of the realm, we hoped by your humility and prudence should have been reduced again (God's grace working withal) into a peaceable tranquillity. And it was no little joy to us, to hear so of you in those parts where you are conversant, how humbly you there behaved yourself, nothing vaunting yourself against your prince and king, and that you attempt no risings or wrestlings against his kingdom, but that you bore with much patience the burden of poverty, and gave yourself to reading and prayer, and to redeem the loss of your time spent, with fasting, watchings, and tears; and so, being occupied with spiritual studies, to tend and rise up to the perfection of virtue, &c. But now, through the secret relation of certain, we hear (that we are sorry of) that you have sent unto him a threatening letter, wherein there is no salutation premised; in the which also ye pretend no entreating nor prayers for the obtaining of favour, neither do use any friendly manner in declaring what you write, but, menacing with much austerity, threaten to interdict him, and to cut him from the society of the church. Which thing if you shall accomplish with like severity as in words ye threaten to do, you shall not only put us out of all hope of any peace, but also put us in fear of hatred and discord without measure, and without all redress amongst us. But wisdom will consider before the end of things, labouring and endeavouring to finish that which she wisely beginneth. Therefore your discretion shall do well diligently to forecast and consider whereto ye tend; what end may ensue thereof, and whereabout ye go. Certes, we, for our parts, hearing what we do hear, are discouraged from that we hoped for, who, having before some good comfort of tranquillity to come, are cast from hope to despair, so that while one is drawn thus against another, almost there is no hope or place left to make entreaty or supplication. Wherefore, writing to your fatherhood, we exhort and counsel you by way of charity, that you add not trouble to trouble, and heap injury upon injury; but that you so behave yourself, that, all menaces set aside, ye rather give yourself to patience and humility, and yield your cause to the clemency of God, and to the mercy of your prince; and in so doing you shall heap coals of charity upon the heads of many. Thus charity shall be kindled, and that which menacings cannot do, by God's help and good men's counsel, pity, peradventure, and godliness shall obtain. Better it were to sustain poverty with praise, than in great promotions to be a common note to all men. It is right well known unto all men, how beneficial the king hath been unto you; from what baseness to what dignity he hath advanced you; and also into his own familiarity hath so much preferred you, that from the North Ocean to the Mount Pyrince he hath subdued all

See Appendix.

See Appendix

(1) "Quæ vestro (pater) in longinquo discessu inopinata rei ipsius novitate turbata sunt; vestris speral amus humilitate," &c.

Henry II. things to your authority: insomuch that they were amongst all others accounted for men right fortunate, whosoever could find any favour with you.

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And furthermore, lest that your estimation should be over matched by any nobility, he (against the mind of his mother, and of his realm) hath placed and ratified you substantially in ecclesiastical dignity, and advanced you to this honour wherein ye stand; trusting, through your help and counsel, to reign more safely and prosperously. Now, if he shall find disquietness, wherein he trusted to have quietness, what shall all men say or think of you? What recompense or retribution shall this be thought to be for so many and great benefits taken? Therefore, if it shall please you, ye shall do well to favour and spare your fame and estimation, and to overcome your lord and sovereign with humility and charity; whereunto if our advertisement cannot move you, yet the love and fidelity you bear to the bishop and holy church of Rome ought to incline you thereunto, and not to attempt any such thing, whereby the troubles of the church, our mother, may increase, or whereby her dolour may be augmented in the loss of those, whose disobedience now she doth bewail: for what if it so happen through provocation, that the king, whom all his subjects and kingdoms obey, should relinquish the pope, which God forbid, and should deny all obedience to him, as he denieth to the king help or aid against you, what inconvenience would grow thereof? And think you he hath not great instigations, supplications, gifts, and many fair promises so to do? Yet he, notwithstanding, abideth firm hitherto in the rock, despising, with a valiant mind, all that the world can offer. This one thing feareth us, lest his mind whom no worldly offers can assail, no glory, riches, nor treasure can overturn, only through indignation of unkindness, be subverted; which thing if it chance to happen through you, then may you sit down and sing the song of the Lamentation of Jeremy, and weep your bellyful.

See Appendix

Consider therefore, if it please you, and foresee well with yourself, this purpose of yours, if it proceed, how hurtful and perilous it will be, not only to the pope, and to the holy church of Rome, but also to yourself most especially. But some, peradventure, about you, of haughty and high-minded stoutness, more stout perchance than wise, will not suffer you to take this way, but will give you contrary counsel, to prove rather and declare what ye are able to do against your lord and prince, and to practise against him and all his the uttermost of your power and authority; which power and authority of yours, to him that offendeth, is fearful, and to him that will not amend, terrible. Such counsel as this, some, peradventure, will whisper in your ear. But to these again this we say and answer for our king, whom notwithstanding to be without fault we do not affirm, but yet, that he is always ready to amend and make satisfaction, that we speak confidently and protest in his behalf.

The commendation of King Henry II., for his meekness and moderation.

The king, appointed for the Lord's anointed, provideth for the peace of his subjects all that he is able: and therefore, to the intent he may conserve this peace in his churches and amongst his subjects committed to him, he willeth and requireth such ordinances as are due to kings, and have been exhibited to them beforetime, also to be exhibited to him; wherein if there hath any contradiction sprung up betwixt him and us, he being thereupon convented, and admonished from the pope by the reverend bishops of London and Hereford, burst not out into any defiance, but meekly and humbly answered, That where insoever the church or any ecclesiastical person can show himself grieved, he would therein stand to the judgment of the church of his kingdom. This also he is ready no less to perform indeed, thinking nothing more sweet unto him than to be admonished of his fault, if he have offended the Lord, and to reform the same; and not only to reform and amend his fault, but also to satisfy it to the uttermost, if the law shall so require him. Wherefore, seeing he is so willing to recompense and satisfy the judgment of the church in all things appertaining to the church; refusing no order that shall be taken, but in all things submitting his neck to the yoke of Christ; with what right, by what canon, or reason, can you interdict him, or use excommunication against him? It is a thing laudable, and a virtue of great commendation in wise men, wisely to go with judgment and reason, and not to be carried with puffs of hasty violence. Whereupon, this is the only and common petition of us all, that your fatherly care will diligently provide for your flock and sheep committed to you, so that they miscarry not, or run to any ruin through any inconsiderate or too

much heady counsel in you; but rather, through your softness and sufferance, they may obtain life, peace, and security. It doth move us all, what we hear of late to be done by you against the bishop of Salisbury, and the dean of the same church, prosperously, as some men suppose; against whom you have given out the sentence of excommunication and condemnation, before any question of their crime was; following therein, as seemeth, more the heat of hastiness than the path of righteousness. This is a new order of judgment, unheard of yet to this day in our laws and canons, first to condemn a man, and after to inquire of the fact committed. Which order lest you should hereafter attempt to exercise in like manner against our sovereign and king, or against us, and our churches and parishes committed to us, to the detriment of the pope, and the holy church of Rome, and to the no little confusion of us all; therefore, we lay here against you, for ourselves, the remedy of appellation. And as before, openly in the public face of the church, with lively voice, we appealed to the pope for fear of certain perils that might have happened, so now again, in writing, we appeal to the same, assigning as the term of our appellation the day of the Lord's ascension: most humbly and reverently beseeching your goodness, that you, taking a better way with you in this matter, will let your cause fall, sparing herein both the labours and charges, as well of yourself as ours also. And thus we wish you right well to fare, reverend in the Lord. Hen. II. A. D. 1166. See Appendix.

The rescript or answer of Thomas Becket to all his suffragans, not obeying, but confuting, the counsel sent.[1]

Your brotherly letters sent, albeit not by the whole assent of your wisdoms written, as I suppose, I received of late upon a sudden, the contents whereof seem to contain more sharpness than solace; and would to God they proceeded more of sincere zeal of godliness, or affection of charity, than of disobedience or froward wilfulness! for charity seeketh not the things that be her own, but which appertain to Jesus Christ. It had been your duty, if there be truth in the gospel, as most undoubtedly there is, and if you would faithfully have accomplished his business whose person you represent, rather to have feared Him, who can cast both body and soul to hell, than him whose power extendeth no further than to the body; rather to have obeyed God than man; rather your Father than your master or lord, after the example of him who was to his Father obedient unto the death; who died for us, leaving us an example to follow his steps. Let us die therefore with him, and lay down our lives for the deliverance of his church out of the yoke of bondage, and tribulation of the oppressor, which church he hath founded, and whose liberty he hath procured with his own proper blood; lest, if we shall do otherwise, it may haply fall upon us which is written in the gospel, "Whoso loveth his own life more than me, is not worthy of me." This ye ought to know, that if it be right which your Captain commandeth, your duty requireth to obey his will; if not, ye ought then rather to obey God than men. See Appendix. Scriptures in words rightly alleged, but falsely applied. I deny your minor, Mr. Becket.

One thing I will say, if I may be so bold to tell it unto you; I have now suffered and abstained a long space, waiting if the Lord had given you to take a better heart unto you, who have turned cowardly your backs in the day of battle; or if any of you would have returned again to stand like a wall for the house of Israel, or at least if he had but showed himself in the field, making but the countenance of a warrior against those who cease not daily to infest the Lamb of God. I waited, and none came; I suffered, and none rose up; I held my peace, and none would speak; I dissembled, and none would stand with me in like semblance; wherefore, seeing I see no better towardness in you, this remaineth only, to enter action of complaint against you, and to cry against mine enemies; "Rise up, O Lord! and judge my cause; revenge the blood of the church, which is wasted and oppressed. The pride of them which hate his liberty riseth up ever, neither is there any that doth good, no, not one." Would to God, brethren beloved! there were in you any mind or affection to defend the liberty of the church; for she is builded upon a sure rock, so that although she be shaken, yet she cannot be overthrown. And why then seek ye to confound me? nay, rather yourselves in me, than me in you? The church of Christ cannot be overthrown: ergo, Becket ought not to be resisted.

(1) "Fraternitatis vestræ scriptum (quod tamen prudentiæ vestræ communi consilio non facile credimus emanasse) nuper ex insperato suscepimus," &c.

Henry II. A. D. 1166.

a man who hath taken upon me all the peril, have sustained all the rebukes, have sustained all the injuries, have suffered also for you all, to very banishment.

And so it was expedient, that one should suffer for that church, that thereby it might be released out of servitude. These things discuss you simply with yourselves, and weigh the matter. Attend, I say, diligently in your minds, for your parts, that God, for his part, removing from your eyes all majesty of rule and empery, as he is no accepter of persons, may take from your hearts the veil, that ye may understand and see what ye have done, what ye intend to do, and what ye ought to do. Tell me which of you all can say, I have taken from him, since the time of my promotion, either ox or ass. If I have defrauded him of any penny, if I have misjudged the cause of any man wrongfully, or if, by the detriment of any person, I have sought mine own gain, let him complain, and I will restore him fourfold. And, if I have not offended you, what then is the cause that ye thus leave and forsake me in the cause of God? Why bend ye so yourselves against me in such a cause, that there is none more special belonging to the church?

Servitude and liberty of the church wrongly defined. The words of holy Scripture clerkly applied.

Brethren, seek not to confound yourselves and the church of God (so much as in you is), but turn to me, and you shall be safe; for the Lord saith, "I will not the death of a sinner, but rather he should convert and live." Stand with me manfully in the war; take your armour and your shield to defend me. Take the sword of the word of the mighty God, that we altogether may withstand more valiantly the malignant enemies, such as go about to take away the soul of the church, which is her liberty; without which liberty she hath no power against them that seek to encroach to their inheritance, the possession of God's sanctuary. If ye will hear and follow me, know ye that the Lord will be with you, and with us all in the defence of the liberty of his church. Otherwise, if ye will not, the Lord judge betwixt me and you, and require the confusion of his church at your hands; which church, whether the world will or no, standeth firmly in the word of the Lord, whereupon she is builded, and ever shall, till the hour come that she shall pass from this world to the Father; for the Lord ever doth support her with his hand.

Turn to thee? Nay turn thou to the Lord and thou shalt be saved.

The soul of the church is the liberty of the church, saith Becket.

Wherefore, to return to the matter: Brethren, remember well with yourselves (which thing ye ought not to forget) what danger I was brought unto, and the church of God also, while I was in England, at my departing out of England, and after my departure from thence; also in what danger it standeth at this present day; but especially at that time, when, at Northampton, Christ was judged again in my person, before the judgment seat of the high president. Who ever heard the archbishop of Canterbury, being troubled for injuries done to him and to his church, and appealing to the pope of Rome, to be judged, condemned, appealed, and put to his sureties, and that of his own suffragans? Where is this law seen, or the authority, nay rather perversity, of this canon heard of? And why yet shame ye not at this your enormity? Why are ye not confounded? Or why doth not this confusion work in you repentance, and repentance drive you to due satisfaction before God and men? For these and such other injuries done to God and to his church, and to me for God's cause (which with a good conscience I ought to suffer, because that without danger of soul I ought not to dissemble them), I choose rather to absent myself for a season, and to dwell quietly in the house of my Lord, than in the tabernacle of sinners, until the time that (their iniquity being complete) the hearts of the wicked, and the cogitations of the same, shall be opened; and these injuries were the cause both of my appeal from the king, and of my departure from thence, which ye term to be sudden. But if ye will speak the truth which ye know, it ought to be no less than sudden, lest, being foreknown, it might have been prevented and stopped; and, as God turned the matter, it happened for the best, both for the honour of the king, and better safety of those who, seeking my harm, should have brought slander on the king. If such troubles followed upon my departing as ye say, let them be imputed to him who gave cause; the fault is in the worker, not in the departer; in him that pursueth, not in him that avoideth injuries. What would ye more? I presented myself to the court, declaring both the causes of my coming and of my appeal, declaring also the wrongs and injuries done to me and to my church, and yet could have no answer, neither was there any that laid any thing against me, before we came to the king. Thus, while we stood

Unbeseeming words of high presumption. Christ is not judged in the person of any traitor.

Conscience made where there is none.

But he leaveth out here the manner of his coming to the court and the sturdiness of his behaviour.

waiting in the court, whether any would come against me or no, they sent to my officials; charging them not to obey me in my temporalities, nor to owe any service to me or to any of mine. After my appellation made in the court, my church was spoiled; we and they about us deprived of our goods, outlawed both of the clergy and of the laity, men, women, and infants; the goods of the church, that is, the patrimony of the crucifix, confiscated, and part of the money turned to the king's use, part to your own coffers. Brother bishop of London, if this be true that we hear of you, and that to the use of your own church ye convert this money, we charge you and require you forthwith, by virtue of obedience, that within forty days after the sight of these letters, all delay and excuse set aside, ye restore again within the time aforesaid, all such goods and parcels as you have taken away: for it is unmeet and contrary to all law for one church to be enriched with the spoil of another church. If ye stand upon the authority that set you to work, you must understand, that in matters concerning the church goods, he can give no lawful authority, who committeth violent injury, &c. *Henry II.* A. D. 1166.

What authority and what Scripture giveth this prerogative to princes upon church goods, which you would attribute to them? What? will they lay for them the remedy of appeal? God forbid! It were evil with the church of God, if, when the sacrilegious extortioner hath violently invaded other men's goods, especially the goods of the church, he should after defend him with the title of appeal, &c. Becket seemeth here more skilful of his mass-book than of the book of holy Scripture, otherwise he might see it no new thing in the old law for kings to deprive priests, and to place whom they would.

Do not, brethren, so confound altogether the right of the church and of the temporal regiment, for these two are very different, one borrowing its authority from the other. Read the Scriptures, and you shall find what and how many kings have perished for taking upon them the priestly office. Therefore let your discretion provide, lest for this your doing, God's punishment light upon you; which if it come, it will be hard for you very easily to escape. Provide also and see to your king, whose favour ye prefer before the wealth and profit of the church; lest it happen, which God forbid, that he doth perish with all his house, after the example of those who for the like crime were plagued. And if ye cease not off from that ye begin, with what conscience can I dissemble or forbear, but must needs punish you? Let him dissemble with you who lists, having authority so to do; truly I will not; there shall be no dissimulation found in me. And where you write in your letters concerning my promotion, that it was against the voice of the whole realm, and that the church did exclaim against it, what should I say to you, but that, which ye know right well, "The lie, which the mouth doth willingly speak, killeth the soul?" but especially the words of a priest's mouth ought ever to go with verity. As touching this matter, I appeal to your own conscience whether the form of my election stood not fully with the consent of them all to whom the election belonged, having also the assent of the prince by his son, and of those who were sent thereto. And if there were some that repugned the same, he that was troubled and is guilty, let him speak. Kings in the old law did not intermeddle with the priests' office in some things that were forbidden: but yet kings were officers over priests to correct them when they did amiss.

Ye say, moreover, that I was exalted and promoted from a base and low degree to this dignity by him. I grant that I came of no royal or kingly blood; yet, notwithstanding, I would rather be in the number of those whom virtue of the mind, rather than birth, maketh noble. Peradventure I was born in a poor cottage, of poor parentage; and yet, through God's clemency, who knoweth how to work mercy with his servants, and who cherisheth the humble and low things, to confound the high and mighty, in this my poor and low estate, before I came to the king's service, I had abundantly and wealthily to live withal, as ye know, amongst my neighbours and friends. And David, even from the sheepfold, was taken up and made a king; Peter, of a fisher, was made a prince of the church, who, for his blood being shed for the name of Christ, deserved to have in heaven a crown, and in earth name and renown; would to God we could do the like! We be the successors of Peter, and not of kings and emperors. If ye mean of Achas and Oza in the Old Testament, then we deny you. minor. *See Appendix.*

And where ye seem to charge me, by insinuation, with the blot of ingratitude, thus I answer: There is no offence capital or infamous, unless it proceed from the heart and intention. As, if a man commit a murder unwillingly, although he be called a murderer, yet he is not thereby punishable: and so, although I owe my duty and service with reverence to my king, yet, if I have They be the successors and sons of saints, not that

Henry II. A.D. 1166.

forborne him as my lord, if I have warned him, and talked with him fatherly and gently as with a son, and in talking with him could not be heard: if therefore, I say, being enforced thereunto, and against my will, I do exercise upon him the censure of due severity, in so doing I suppose I make rather with him than against him, and rather deserve at his hand thanks for my correction, than note or suspicion of unkindness or punishment for the fact. Sometimes a man, against his will, receiveth a benefit, as, when necessity causeth a man to be restrained from doing that which he ought not to do: he that doth so restrain him, though he stop him, doth not hurt him, but rather profiteth him for his soul's health. Another thing that defendeth us from ingratitude, is, our Father and Patron Christ, who, in that he is our Father, to whom we as children owe obedience, then are we bound, as children, by necessity, to obey his commandment, in warning the evildoer, in correcting the disobedient, and in bridling the obstinate: which, if we do not, we run into danger to have his blood required at our hands. Ye set forth likewise and show, what loss we thereby may sustain of our temporalities, but ye speak no word of the loss of our souls.

hold the places of saints, but that do the works of saints.—*Hierome.*

Moreover, as concerning the departure of the king from the homage of the church of Rome, which in your letters ye seem to pretend, or rather threaten: God forbid, I say, that the devotion or faith of our king should ever swerve away from the obedience and reverence of the church of Rome, for any temporal commodity or incommodity, which thing to do is very damnable in any private subject, much more in the prince who draweth many others with him; therefore, God forbid that ever any faithful man should once think so heinous a deed. And you, according to your discretion, take heed lest the words of your mouth infect any person or persons therein, occasioning to them by your words such dangers and damnable matter, like to the golden cup which is called the cup of Babylon, which for the outward gold no man will refuse to drink of, but after they have drunk thereof, they are poisoned.

If the king had been an adulterer, or tyrant against the new doctrine or preaching of Christ, then might this reason serve, and God more to be obeyed than man.

And where ye lay to my charge for the suspending of the reverend father, the bishop of Salisbury, and for excommunicating of John,[1] dean of the same church, for a schismatic, by knowledge and process had of the matter, to this I answer, that both these are justly and condignly excommunicate; and if ye understand perfectly the condition of the matter, and the right order of judgments, ye will say no less. For this standeth with good authority, as ye know, that in manifest and notorious crimes, this knowledge and order of proceeding is not requisite. Perpend with yourselves diligently, what the bishop of Salisbury did concerning the deanery, after that he was prohibited of the pope and of us, under pain of excommunication; and then shall ye better understand, that upon such manifest disobedience, suspension did rightly follow, as ye read in the decree of St. Clement, saying, "If they do not obey their prelates, all manner of persons, of what order soever they be, whether they shall be princes of high or low degree, and all other people, shall not only be infamed, but also banished from the kingdom of God and the fellowship of the faithful." As concerning John of Oxford, this we say, that excommunication cometh divers ways; some are excommunicate by the law denouncing them excommunicate; some by the sentence of the prelate; some by communicating with those who are excommunicate. Now he that hath fallen into this damnable heresy, of participating with schismatics whom the pope hath excommunicated, he draweth to himself the spot and leprosy of like excommunication. Wherefore, seeing he, contrary to the pope's express commandment and ours, being charged under pain of excommunication to the contrary, took upon him the deanery of Salisbury, we have denounced him, and hold him excommunicate, and all his doings we disannul by the authority of the eighth synod, saying, "If any man, either privily or apertly, shall speak, or communicate with him that is excommunicate, he draweth unto himself the punishment of like excommunication." And now, forasmuch as you, brother, bishop of London, who ought to know that saying of Gregory VII.[2], "If any bishop shall consent to the fornication of priests, deacons, &c. within his precinct, for reward, favour, or petition, or doth not by authority of his office correct the vice, let him be suspended from his office." And again, that saying of Pope Leo which is this: "If any bishop shall insti-

Now where did Becket learn that the king in his temporal right was not to be obeyed? Take heed, ye marall, if ye open that door.

Divers ways of excommunication.

The council speaketh of such as he worthily excommunicated.

(1) This John was called a schismatic, because he took part with Reginald, archbishop of Cologne, and the emperor, against Alexander, the pope.

(2) This Gregory, otherwise called Hildebrand, was he that first took away priests' marriage, condemning all priests who had wives, of fornication.

See Appendix.

tute or consecrate such a priest as shall be unmeet and unconvenient, if he escape with the loss of his own proper dignity, yet he shall lose the power of instituting any more," &c. Therefore forasmuch, I say, as you, knowing this, have doublewise offended against the sentence of these canons, we command you, and in the virtue of obedience enjoin you, that if it be so, within three months after the receipt hereof, you will submit and offer yourself to due correction and satisfaction to the council of our fellow-bishops, for these your so great excesses, lest others, through your example, run into the like offence, and we be constrained to proceed against you with severer sentence. *Henry II.* A. D. 1166.

Finally, in the close of your letter, where ye bring in for your appellation against me, a safeguard for you, which rather indeed is an hindrance to you, that we should not proceed against the invaders of the church goods, nor against the king, in like censure as we have done against the bishop of Salisbury, as ye say, and his dean; to this I answer, God forbid that we have, or else should hereafter proceed or do any thing against the king or his land, or against you or your churches, inordinately or otherwise than is convenient. But what if you shall exceed in the same or like transgression, as the bishop of Salisbury hath done? Think ye then your appellation shall help you from the discipline of our severity, that ye shall not be suspended? Mark ye diligently whether this be a lawful appeal, and what is the form thereof. We know that every one that appealeth, either doth it in his own name, or in the name of another; if in his own, either it is for some grievance inferred already, or else for that he feareth after to be inferred against him. Now, concerning the first, I am sure there is no grievance that you can complain of as yet, God be thanked, that you have received at my hand, for the which you should appeal from me; neither have you, I trust, any cause special against me so to do. If ye do it for fear of what is to come, lest I should trouble you and your churches, consider whether this be the fear that ought to happen in constant men, or whether this be the appeal which ought to suspend or stay our power and authority that we have upon you and your churches. It is thought, therefore, by wise men, and we also judge no less, that your appeal is of no force. First, for that it hath not the right form of a perfect appellation, and also because it is not consonant to reason, and lacketh order and help of the law.

Furthermore, if your appellation be in another man's name, either it is for the king (as most like it is) or for some other. If it be for the king, then you ought first to understand that appellations are wont to be made to repel, and not to infer injury; or, to release such as be oppressed, that they should not be oppressed any more. Wherefore if any man shall enter any appellation, not trusting to the surety of his cause, but to delay the time, that sentence be not given upon him, that appellation is not to be received. For what state will there be of the church, if the liberty thereof being taken away, the goods of the church spoiled, and the bishops driven from their places, or at least not received with full restitution of their goods, the invaders and spoilers thereof may defend themselves by appealing, thereby to save themselves from the penalty of their desert? The form of a true appellation.

What a ruin of the church will this be? See what ye have done, and what ye say. Are you not the vicars of Christ, representing him on earth? Is it not your office to correct and bridle ill-doers, whereby they may cease to persecute the church? and is it not enough for them to be fierce and to rage against the church, but that you should take their part, setting yourselves against us, to the destruction of the church? Who ever heard of such monstrous doings? Thus, it shall be heard and said of all nations and countries, that the suffragans of the church of Canterbury, who ought to stand with their metropolitan unto death in defence of the church, now go about by the king's command, so much as in them doth lie, to suspend his authority, lest he should exercise his discipline of correction upon them that rebel against the church. This one thing I know, that you cannot sustain two sorts of persons at once, both to be the appeal makers, and to be appealed to yourselves. You be they who have made the appellation; you be they against whom the appellation is made. Are there any more churches than one, and the body of the same? And how meet were it then, that you, being the members of the church, should hold together with the head thereof? I am afraid, brethren, lest it may be said of us, these be the priests who have said, "Where is the Lord?" and having the law, do not know One person cannot both be the appeal maker and the party appealed.

Henry II A. D. 1166.

the law. Furthermore, this I suppose, you, being discreet men, are not ignorant of, that such as enter any appellation there, are not wont to be heard, unless the matter of their appellation either belongeth to themselves, or except special commandment force them thereunto, or else unless they take another man's cause upon them. First, that it belongeth nothing unto you, it is plain, forasmuch as the contrary rather pertaineth to your duty; that is, to punish and to correct all such as rebel against the church. And, secondly, if he who subverteth the liberty of the church, and invadeth the goods thereof, converting them to his own use, be not heard appealing for his own defence, much less is another to be heard appealing for him. Wherefore, as in this case neither he can appeal for himself, nor yet command you so to do; so neither may you receive the commandment to appeal for him. Thirdly, as touching the taking of another man's cause or business upon you: to this I say and affirm, that ye ought in no manner of wise so to do, especially seeing the matter pertaineth to the oppression of the church, and whereupon ensueth great damage to the same.

Wherefore, seeing it neither appertaineth to you, neither ought ye to receive any such commandment, nor yet to take upon you any such cause as that is, your appeal is neither to be heard, nor standeth with any law. Is this the devotion and consolation of brotherly love which you exhibit to your metropolitan, being for you in exile? God forgive you this clemency! And how now? will ye look for your letters and messengers to be gently received here of us? Neither do I speak this, as though there were any thing in hand betwixt your part and ours, or that we have done any thing inordinately against the person of the king, or against his land, or against the persons of the church, or intend, by God's mercy, so to do. And therefore, we say briefly, and affirm constantly, that our lord the king cannot complain of any wrong or injury to be done unto him, if he (being often called upon by letters and messengers to acknowledge his fault, neither will confess his trespass, nor yet come to any satisfaction for the same) have the censure of severity by the pope and us laid upon him: for no man can say that he is unjustly treated, whom the law doth justly punish. And, briefly to conclude: know you this for certain, that extortioners, invaders, detainers of the church goods, and subverters of the liberties thereof, neither have any authority of the law to maintain them, nor doth their appealing defend them.

Though the pope's law will not defend them, yet the law of the Scripture will and doth.

A brief censure upon the former rescript of Becket to his suffragans, with a general resolution of the reasons therein contained.[1]

If the king of England had been an idolater, covetous, and adulterer, an incestuous person, a murderer, with such like; then the zeal of this archbishop, threatening the king and such as took his part, had deserved praise in this epistle, and the Scripture would have borne him out therein. For these and such causes should bishops prosecute the authority of the gospel against all persons. But, the matter standing only upon church goods, liberty (or rather licentiousness) of priests, making of deans, titles of churches, superiority of crowning the king, with such other matters: to stand so stiff in these, is not to defend the church, but to rebel against the king. Again, if the principles, which he here groundeth upon, were true—to wit, that the pope were to be obeyed before princes, that the liberty of the church standeth upon the immunity of priests exempted from princes' laws, or upon ample possessions of the church; or that the pope's law ought to prevail in all foreign countries, and to bind all princes in their own dominions; or that the sentence of the pope and his popelings (how or by what affection soever it is pronounced) may stand by the undoubted sentence of God: then all the arguments of this epistle do proceed and conclude well. But, if they stand not ratified by God's word, but tottering upon man's traditions, then, whatsoever he inferreth or concludeth thereupon, his assumption being false, cannot be true, according to the school saying: "One inconveniency being granted in the beginning, innumerable follow thereupon." So in this epistle it happeneth, as is above noted, that the major of this man is true, but the minor is clean false, and to be denied.

(1) From the style of this censure, it is clearly from the pen of our author, Foxe.—Ed.

The letter of Matilda, the empress, and mother of the king, to Thomas Becket.[1]

Henry II. A. D. 1167.

My lord the pope hath commanded me, and upon the forgiveness of my sins enjoined me, that I should be a mediator and means of restoring peace and concord between my royal son and you, by reconciling of yourself to him, whereunto, as you know, you requested me. Wherefore with the more affection, as well for the divine honour as for holy church, I have taken the enterprise upon me. But this by the way I assure you, that the king, with his barons and council, feel a great difficulty how far you, whom he entirely loved and honoured, and made chiefest in all his realm, and raised to the highest dignity in all his dominions, ought to be trusted for the future, seeing that you (as they assert) stirred up his people against him; yea, and further, that, as much as in you lay, you went about to disinherit him, and deprive him of his crown. Wherefore, I send unto you our trusty and familiar servant, Archdeacon Lawrence, by whom I pray you that I may understand your mind herein, and what your disposition is toward my son, and how you mean to behave yourself, if haply he should be disposed to grant my prayer and petition to his grace in your behalf. But this one thing I assure you of, that without great humility and moderation most evidently in you appearing, you cannot recover the king's favour. Herein what you mean to do, I pray you send me word, by your own letters and messenger.

But to proceed further in the order of the history. After these letters sent to and fro A.D. 1166 (which was the twelfth year of the reign of King Henry II.), the king misdoubting and fearing with himself, that the archbishop would proceed, or exceed rather, in his excommunication against his own person, to prevent the mischief, made his appeal to the presence of the pope, requiring to have certain legates sent down from Rome from the pope's side, to take up the matter between the archbishop and him; requiring, moreover, that they might also be absolved who were interdicted. Whereupon two cardinals, being sent from Alexander, the pope, with letters to the king, came to Normandy, where they appointed the archbishop to meet them before the king upon St. Martin's day. But the archbishop, neither agreeing with the day nor the place, delayed his coming till the eighth day after, neither would go any further than to Gisors, where the two cardinals and the archbishop, with other bishops, conventing together, had a certain entreaty of peace and reconciliation: but it came to no conclusion. The contents of this entreaty or action, because it is sufficiently contained in the cardinals' letter, who were called Gulielmus and Otho, written to the pope, it shall require no further labour, but to show out the words thereof, where the sum of the whole may appear: the words of the letter be these.

Nov. 18th, A.D. 1167.

The copy of the epistle written and sent by two cardinals to the pope, concerning the matter of the Archbishop Becket.[2]

William and Otho, cardinals of the church of Rome, to Alexander, the pope, &c. On reaching the territories of the king of England, we found the controversy betwixt him and the archbishop of Canterbury more vehemently aggravated than we would; for the king, and the greater part of those about him, asserted that the archbishop had stirred up the French king grievously against him; and also that he had made the earl of Flanders, his kinsman, who bare no displeasure to him before, his open adversary, ready to war against him, as he thought by divers evidences most certain. Proceeding to Caen, therefore, the first time we were admitted to the king's speech we duly delivered the letters

Becket stirring up the French king against the king of England.

(1) Revised from the Epistolæ D. Thomæ, lib. ii. ep. 42.—Ed. (2) Revised. Ibid. ep. 28.—Ed.

Henry II. A.D. 1167. of your fatherhood into his hands: which after he had read through and considered before the council, finding them less full, nay somewhat at variance with others which he had before received from you on the same matter, he was moved and stirred with no little indignation, and said he had not the least doubt that the archbishop, after our departure from you, had received of you other letters, by the virtue whereof he was exempted from our judgment, so that he should not be compelled to answer before us. Moreover, the said king affirmed, the bishops there present testifying the same, that what had been intimated to you concerning the ancient customs of England was for the most part untrue; offering further to us, that if any customs had been added in his time, which seemed prejudicial to the statutes of the church, he would willingly revoke and annul the same. Whereupon we, with the archbishops, bishops, and abbots of his realm, laboured by all the means we might, unwilling to lose all prospect of peace, and in hope of inclining the king toward it, to effect an interview with the archbishop and obtain his consent to undergo judgment. By reason whereof we directed our own chaplains unto him, with letters, appointing him a place where safely he might meet us on the feast of St. Martin. Nevertheless he, pretending certain excuses, made his dilatories, driving off the time from the day of St. Martin to the octaves following, which thing the king took more deeply to heart than we should have expected.

Nov. 18th.

A communication between Becket and the cardinals.

Still, though we offered to the archbishop a safe conduct, yet he refused to meet us within the border of the king of England's territory; so we, to satisfy his mind, condescended to meet him within the territory of the French king, in a place where he himself appointed, that there should be no let in us, whereby to stop his profit. After we had entered upon communication, we began to exhort him all that we could, to submit and humble himself to his sovereign and king, who had heaped upon him such benefits and dignities; whereby matter might be given us for the attempt at reconciling them together. He being thus moved and exhorted by us, departed aside to consult with his followers upon the matter. At length, after counsel taken, he proposed, that he should humble himself before the king, "saving the honour of God, and the liberty of the church; saving also the dignity of his person, and the possessions of his churches; and moreover, saving the justice of his own cause and of his followers."[1] After which enumeration we pressed on him the necessity of descending to particulars. When as yet he brought nothing in, which was definite or particular, we then demanded of him whether he would, on all the counts contained and comprehended in your letters, submit himself to our judgment, as the king and the bishops had before promised they would do. To the which he answered promptly, that he had received from you no commandment on that point, but that if first of all he and his were restored fully to all their possessions, then he would so proceed in the matter, according as he should receive commandment from the see apostolical.

Becket's addition.

Becket would neither stand to judgment nor trial.

Thus we, breaking off communication, seeing that he neither would stand to judgment, nor incline to concord, and that he was determined on no account to enter into the cause, resolved to report thereof to the king, and so did; declaring that which he had expressed to us, yet suppressing a great part, and modifying the rest. Having finished our speech, the king with his nobles affirmed that he was absolved from the time the archbishop refused judgment. After much agitation of the king, the archbishops, bishops, and abbots of the realm of England, and not a few of the clergy, required of us, whether we had power, by special mandate or by virtue of our legatine commission, to compel him to submit; and finding that our authority would not serve thereunto, and fearing lest the aforesaid archbishop, in defiance of judicial order, would work again disquietness to some noble personages of the realm, and seeing our authority could not extend so far as to help them against him, they came to a unanimous resolution to make their appeal to your hearing, prefixing the festival of St. Martin in the winter for the term of their appeal.

Nov. 11th, A.D. 1168.

And this is the epistle of these two cardinals sent to the pope, wherein may sufficiently appear all the discourse and manner of that

(1) "Salvo honore Dei, et ecclesiæ libertate; salva etiam honestate personæ suæ et possessionibus ecclesiarum: et amplius, sua et suorum in omnibus salva justitia."

assembly, although particularly every thing be not expressed, concerning the talk betwixt the cardinals and the archbishop. When William, who of the two cardinals was the more eloquent, amongst other communication, had reasoned long with him as concerning the peace of the church, which Becket said he preferred above all things, "Well then," saith the cardinal, "seeing all this contention between the king and you riseth upon certain laws and customs to be abrogated, and that you regard the peace of the church so much, what say you? Will you renounce your bishopric, and the king shall renounce his customs? The peace of the church now lieth in your hands, either to retain or to let go; then what say you?" To whom he answereth again, that the proportion was not like. "For I," saith he, "saving the honour of my church and my person, cannot renounce my bishopric. On the contrary, it standeth upon the king, for his soul's health and honour, to renounce these his ordinances and customs." Which thing he thus proved; because the pope had condemned those customs, and he, likewise, with the church of Rome had done the same.

Henry II. A. D. 1169.

Becket loveth better his bishopric than the peace of the church, for all his gay talk.

THE TALK BETWEEN THE FRENCH KING, THE KING OF ENGLAND, AND BECKET.

See Appendix.

After the cardinals were returned, the French king, seeing the king of England disquieted, and solicitous to have peace, or at least pretending to set an agreement between them, brought the matter to a communication among them, in which communication the French king made himself as umpire between them. The king of England, hearing that the archbishop would commit himself to his arbitrement, was the more willing to admit his presence. Whereupon, many being there present, the archbishop, prostrating himself at the king's feet, declared unto him, kneeling upon his knees, that he would commit the whole cause, whereof the dissension arose between them, unto his own arbitrement; adding thereunto, as he did before, "salvo honore Dei;" that is, "saving the honour of God." The king, as is said before, being greatly offended at this word, hearing and seeing the stiffness of the man sticking so much to this word, "salvo honore Dei," was highly therewith displeased, rebuking him with many grievous words, as a man proud and stubborn, and also charging him with sundry and great benefits bestowed upon him, as a person unkind, and forgetting what he had so gently done and bestowed upon him.

[At Montmirail, Jan. 6th, A. D. 1169.]

Becket cometh in with his old addition, Salvo honore Dei. Becket charged with unkindness.

And speaking to the French king there present, "See, sir, if it please you," saith the king of England, "whatsoever displeaseth this man, that he saith to be contrary to the honour of God; and so by this means he will vindicate and challenge to himself both what is his and mine also. And yet, notwithstanding, because I will not seem to do any thing contrary or prejudicial to God's honour, this I offer him: There have been kings in England before, both of greater and less puissance than I am; likewise there have been bishops of Canterbury many, both great and holy men. What the greatest and most holy of all his predecessors, before him, hath done to the least of my progenitors and predecessors, before me, let him do the same to me, and I am content." They that stood by, hearing these words of

The king's offer to Becket both charitable and reasonable.

Henry II. A.D. 1169.

the king, cried all with one voice, "The king hath debased himself enough to the bishop." The archbishop staying a little at this in silence; "What!" saith the French king to him, "my lord archbishop, will you be better than those holy men? Will ye be greater than Peter? What stand you doubting? Here now have you peace and quietness put in your own hands, if ye will take it." To this the archbishop answered again: "Truth it is," saith he, "that my predecessors before me were both much better and greater than I, and of them every one for his time, although he did not extirpate and cut off all, yet something he did pluck up and correct, which seemed adverse and repugnant against God's honour. For if they had taken all together away, no such occasion then had been left for any man to raise up this fire of temptation now against us, as is here raised to prove us withal, that we, being so proved with them, might also be crowned with them, being likewise partakers of praise and reward, as we are of their labour and travail. And though some of them have been slack, or exceeded their duty, in that we are not bound to follow their example. Peter, when he denied Christ, we rebuke; but when he resisted the rage of Nero, therein we commend him. And therefore, because he could not find in his conscience to consent unto that he ought in no wise to dissemble, neither did he; by reason whereof he lost his life. By such like oppressions the church hath always grown. Our forefathers and predecessors, because they would not dissemble the name and honour of Christ, therefore they suffered. And shall I, to have the favour of one man, suffer the honour of Christ to be suppressed?" The nobles standing by, and hearing him thus speak, were greatly grieved with him, noting in him both arrogancy and wilfulness, in perturbing and refusing such an honest offer of agreement. But especially one among the rest was most grieved, who there openly protested, that seeing the archbishop so refused the counsel and request of both the kingdoms, he was not worthy to have the help of either of them, but as the kingdom of England had rejected him, so the realm of France should not receive him.[1]

The words of the French king.

This major, if it had been joined with a good minor, had made a good argument.

Alanus, Herbert, and certain other of his chaplains, who committed to story the doings of Becket, do record, whether truly or not I cannot say, that the French king, sending for him, as one much sorrowing and lamenting the words that he had spoken, at the coming of Becket did prostrate himself at his feet, confessing his fault in giving counsel to him in such a cause (pertaining to the honour of God) to relent therein, and to yield to the pleasure of man; wherefore, declaring his repentance, he desired to be absolved thereof. Thus, after this, the French king and Becket were great friends together, insomuch that King Henry, sending to the king to entreat and desire him that he would not support or maintain his enemy within his realm, the French king utterly denied the king's request, taking part rather with the archbishop than with him.

Besides these quarrels and grudges betwixt the king and the archbishop above mentioned, there followed yet another, which was this. Shortly after this communication recited between the king and Becket, the king of England returning again from Normandy into

(1) Ex Quadrilogo.

England, A.D. 1170, in the sixteenth year of his reign, about Midsummer, kept his court of parliament at Westminster, in the which parliament he, with the consent both of the clergy and the lords temporal, caused his son Henry to be crowned king. This coronation was done by the hands of Roger, archbishop of York, with the assistance of other bishops ministering to the same, as Gilbert of London, Jocelin of Salisbury, Hugh of Durham, and Walter of Rochester. By reason of this, Becket of Canterbury, being there neither mentioned nor called for, took no little displeasure; and so did Louis, the French king, hearing that Margaret, his daughter, was not also crowned with her husband; whereupon he, gathering a great army, forthwith marched into Normandy. But the matter was soon composed by the king of England, who, sending his son unto him in Normandy, entreated there and concluded peace with him, promising that his son should be crowned again, and then his daughter should be crowned also. But the archbishop not ceasing his displeasure and emulation, sent unto the pope, complaining of these four bishops, especially of the archbishop of York, who durst be so bold in his absence, and without his knowledge or his license, to intermeddle to crown the king, being a matter proper and peculiar to his jurisdiction; at the instance of whom, the pope sent down the sentence of excommunication against the bishop of London. The other three bishops, with the archbishop of York, he suspended, whose sentence and letters thereof, for avoiding prolixity, I here omit.

Henry II. A. D. 1170. [Sunday, June 14th, A. D. 1170.] *See Appendix.*

The bishop of London excommunicated, with four other bishops suspended.

Besides these aforesaid bishops excommunicated, divers other clerks also of the court he cited to appear before him, by virtue of his large commission which he got from the pope, whom they were bound to obey, by reason of their benefices; and some he commanded in virtue of obedience to appear, on pain of forfeiting their order and benefices; of whom when neither sort would appear, he cursed them openly. And also some laymen of the court and the king's familiars, as intruders and violent withholders of church goods, he accursed; as Richard Lucy, and Jocelin Balliol, and Ralph Brock, who took the bells and goods that belonged to the church of Canterbury; and Hugh Sentclair, and Thomas Fitz-Bernard, and all that should hereafter take any church goods without his consent; so that almost all the court were accursed either by name, or as partakers.

This being done, the archbishop of York, with the aforesaid bishops, resorted to the king with a grievous complaint, declaring how miserably their case stood, and what they had sustained for fulfilling his commandment. The king, hearing this, was highly moved, as no marvel was. But what remedy? the time of the ruin of the pope was not yet come, and what prince then might withstand the injurious violence of that Romish potestate?

The cause of the king's wrath against Becket.

In the mean season the French king, for his part, his clergy and courtiers likewise, slacked no occasion to incite and solicit Alexander the pope against the king of England, to excommunicate him also, seeking thereby and thinking to have some vantage against the realm. Neither was the king ignorant of this, which made him more ready to apply for some agreement of reconciliation. At length came down from the pope two legates, the archbishop of Rouen and the

Henry II. A.D. 1170. bishop of Nevers, with direction and full commission either to drive the king to be reconciled, or to be interdicted by the pope's censures out of the church. The king, understanding himself to be in greater straits than he could avoid, at length, through the mediation of the French king, and of other prelates and great princes, was content to yield to peace and reconciliation with the archbishop, whom he both received to his favour, and also permitted and granted him free return to his church again. Concerning his possessions and lands of the church of Canterbury, although Becket made great labour therefor, yet the king, being then in Normandy, would not grant him them, before he should repair to England, to see how he would there agree with his subjects.

[At Freitville, July 22d, A. D. 1170.]

Thus peace after a sort concluded between the king and him, the archbishop, after six years of his banishment, returned to England, where he was right joyfully received of the church of Canterbury; albeit of Henry, the young king, he was not so greatly welcomed, insomuch that coming up to London to the king, he was returned back to Canterbury, and there bid to keep his house. Roger Hoveden maketh mention in his Chronicle, that the archbishop, upon Christmas-day, did excommunicate Robert de Brooke for cutting off the tail of a certain horse of his the day before. In the mean time the four bishops before mentioned, whom the archbishop had excommunicated, sent to him, humbly desiring to be released of their censure; to whom when the archbishop would not grant clearly and simply, without reservations and exceptions, they went over to the king, declaring unto him and complaining of their miserable state and uncourteous handling of the archbishop. Whereupon the king conceived great sorrow in his mind, and displeasure toward the party, insomuch that he lamented oft and sundry times to those about him, that, amongst so many that he had done for, there was none that would revenge him of his enemy. By occasion of which words certain that were about the king, to the number of four, who hearing him thus complain and lament, addressed themselves in great heat of haste to satisfy the grieved mind and quarrel of their prince, who within four days after the said Christmas-day, sailing over into England, and having a forward and prosperous wind in their journey, being in the deep of winter, came to Canterbury, where Becket was commanded to keep. After certain advisements and consultations had among themselves, they pressed at length into the palace where the archbishop was sitting with his company about him; first, to assay him with words, to see whether he would relent to the king's mind, and come to some conformity. They brought to him, said they, commandment from the king, which, whether he had rather openly there in presence, or secretly, to be declared to him, they bade him choose. Then the company being bid to retire, as he sat alone, they said, "You are commanded from the king beyond the sea, to repair to the king's son here, and to do your duty to him, swearing to him your fidelity for your baronage and other things, and to amend those things wherein you have trespassed against him." Whereupon the archbishop refusing to swear, and perceiving their intent, called in his company again, and in multiplying of words to and fro, at length they came to the bishops who were excommuni-

Becket returneth out of banishment.

The words of the king which were the cause of Becket's death. *See Appendix.*

If the papists will needs measure the success of things by seasons and weather, then must they by that reason condemn the cause of Becket, his adversaries having such forwardness of weather in doing their feat.

The talk between the four soldiers

cated for the coronation of the king, whom they commanded in the king's name he should absolve and set free again. The archbishop answered, that he neither suspended nor excommunicated them, but the pope; wherefore, if that were the matter that grieved them, they should resort to the pope; he had nothing to do with the matter. *Henry II.* A. D. 1170. and Thomas Becket.

Then said Reginald, one of the four, "Although you in your own person did not excommunicate them, yet through your instigation it was done." To whom the archbishop said again, "And if the pope," said he, "tendering the injuries done unto me and my church, wrought this revenge for me, I confess it offendeth me nothing." "Thus then," said they, "it appeareth well by your own words, that it pleaseth you right well, in contempt and contumely of the king's majesty, to sequester his bishops from their ministry, who, at the commandment of the king, did service in the coronation of his son. And seeing you have so presumed thus to stand against the exaltation of this our sovereign, our new king, it seemeth likely that you aspired to take his crown from him, and to be exalted king yourself." "I aspire not," said he, "to the crown and name of the king, but rather if I had four crowns to give him more, I would set them all upon him; such good-will I do bear him, that, only his father, the king, excepted, there is none whose honour I more tender and love. And as concerning the sequestering of those bishops, this I give you to understand, that nothing was done in that behalf without the knowledge and assent of the king himself; to whom when I had made my complaint at the feast of Mary Magdalene, of the wrong and injury done to me and my church therein, he gave me his good leave to obtain at the pope's hand such remedy as I could, promising, moreover, his help to me in the same." "What is this," quoth they, "that thou sayest? Makest thou the king a traitor, and a betrayer of the king's own son, that when he had commanded the bishops to crown his son, he would give thee leave afterward to suspend them for so doing? Certes, it had been better for you not to have accused so the king of this prodition." The archbishop said to Reginald, that he was there present at that time, and heard it himself. But that Reginald denied, and swore it was not so. "And think you," said they, "that we, the king's subjects, will or ought to suffer this?" And so approaching nearer him, they said he had spoken enough against his own head, whereupon followed great exclamation and many threatening words. Then said the archbishop, "I have, since my coming over, sustained many injuries and rebukes, concerning both myself, my men, my cattle, my wines, and all other goods; notwithstanding the king, writing over to his son, required him that I should live in safety and peace; and now, beside all others, you come hither to threaten me." To this Reginald answering again, said, "If there be any that worketh you any injury otherwise than right is, the law is open, why do you not complain?" "To whom," said Becket, "should I complain?" "To the young king," said they. Then said Becket, "I have complained enough, if that would help, and have sought for remedy at the king's hands, so long as I could be suffered to come to his speech; but now, seeing that I am stopped from that, neither can find redress of so great vexations and injuries as I have and do daily sustain, nor can have the benefits of the law

Henry II. A.D. 1170. or reason; such right and law as an archbishop may have, that will I exercise, and let for no man." At these words one of them, bursting out in exclamation, cried, "He threateneth, he threateneth! What? will he interdict the whole realm and us altogether?" "Nay, that he shall not," saith another, "he hath interdicted too many already." And drawing more near to him, they protested and denounced him to have spoken words to the jeopardy of his own head. And so departing in great fury, and with many high words, they rushed out of the doors; who, by the way returning to the monks, charged them in the king's name to keep him forthcoming, that he should not escape away. "What," quoth the archbishop, "think ye I will flee away? Nay, neither for the king, nor any man alive, will I stir one foot from you." "No," say they, "thou shalt not escape though thou wouldst." And so they departing with many words, the archbishop followeth them out of the chamber door, crying after them, "Here, here, here shall you find me," laying his hand upon his crown.

The stout heart of Becket.

See Appendix. The names of the four soldiers above mentioned were these: the first, Reginald Bereson;[1] the second, Hugh Mortevil; the third, William Thracy; and the fourth, Richard Brito; who, going to harness themselves, returned the same day again, but finding the hall-door of the palace of Canterbury shut against them, they went to an inward back-door leading into the orchard; there brake they up a window, and opened the door, and so issued into the place. The monks, it being about even-song time, had got the archbishop into the church; who, being persuaded by them, caused his cross to be borne before him, and so through the cloister, by a door which was broken up for him, he proceeded into the choir. The harnessed men following after, at length came to the church-door, which door the monks would have shut against them; but, as the story saith, the archbishop would not suffer them. So they approaching into the church, and the archbishop meeting them upon the stairs, there he was slain; every one of the four soldiers striking him with his sword into the head; who afterward flying into the north, and at length with much ado obtaining their pardon of the pope (by the king's procurement, as some stories record), went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[2]

The death of Thomas Becket.

See Appendix.

What is to be thought or judged of Thos. Becket.

Thus you have heard the life and death of this Thomas Becket, of whom what is to be judged, let his own acts and facts declare. And, albeit the Scripture ought to be the only rule for us to judge all things by, yet, if any shall require further testimony, partly to satisfy their minds therein, ye shall hear the judgments of certain men, in years and times almost as ancient as himself, what they write and affirm of him.

Whether he died a saint or not?

And first, to begin with the testimony of one of his own religion, and also not far, as it appeareth, from his own time, who, writing of his martyrdom and miracles, thus testifieth of the judgment and sentence of divers concerning his promotion and behaviour. The chronicle being written in Latin, and having the name of the author

(1) Hume says, Reginald Fitz-urse, and Sharon Turner, Fitzwiso.—Ed.

(2) On the eastern wall of the nave of Preston church, in Sussex, some very ancient paintings, relics of English art, have lately been discovered; among them is a very spirited one of the murder of Thomas à Becket, displaying, with great minuteness and much talent, the particulars of his tragical end. See the 'Archæologia,' vol. xxiii. No. 17.—Ed

cut out, thus beginneth: "Quoniam vero multi," &c. And in the first book and eighth chapter it followeth in this manner:[1]— *Henry II.* A.D. 1170.

"Divers notwithstanding there be, who, as touching his promotion, suppose the same not to be canonical, for that it was wrought rather by the instance of the king (thinking him to be a man ready and inclinable to his utility) than by the assent either of the clergy, or of the people. Further, it is noted in him for a point of presumption and lack of discretion, for that he, being scarce worthy to take the oar in hand and play the boatswain, would take upon him to sit at helm, and guide the ship; namely, in that church, where the covent, being in gesture and vesture religious, be wont to have their prelate taken out of the same profession. Whereas he, scant bearing the habit of a clerk, and going in his changes and soft apparel, is more conversant among the delicate rufflers in the court, savouring rather of worldly things; not refusing, moreover, without any dread, to climb up to the high preferment of such a holy dignity, but rather willingly, of his own accord, to aspire to it. Moses we read did otherwise, who, being the friend of God, and sent of him to conduct his people Israel out of Egypt, trembled at the message, and said, 'Who am I, Lord, that I should go to Pharaoh, and bring thy people Israel out of Egypt?' And again, 'I pray thee,' saith he, 'O Lord,' I am nothing eloquent, send him whom thou wilt send.' Likewise Jeremias also, being sent of the Lord to prophesy against Jerusalem, was abashed to take the office upon him, answering again with much dread of heart, 'A, a, a, Lord, I cannot utter my mind, for I am a child.'"

The promotion of Becket judged not canonical. Becket charged with presumption and lack of discretion. Ambition noted in Becket, in not refusing but taking his promotion.

After like manner we read of the saints of the New Testament, whereof many were preferred oftentimes to their bishoprics, and functions of the church, by mere forcement and compulsion of others rather than by their own wills. So was blessed Gregory, after his flight and going away, brought back again, and placed in the see and chair of Rome. Likewise St. Ambrose, sore against his mind; who also, of purpose accusing and confessing his own defects, because he would be repealed, yet by the commandment of Valentinian, the emperor, was enforced to take the burden upon him, which he could by no wise shake off. St. Martin, in like sort, not knowing of any such matter, was circumvented by a certain godly train and wile of the citizens, before he could be brought to his consecration; which he did not so much take, as he was thrust into it with much pensiveness and sorrow of heart. By these and such other examples this chancellor likewise should have rather excused himself as unworthy and unmeet for that room, showing himself more willing to refuse than to take it: to the which this archbishop is judged to do clean contrary.[2]

Bishops against their wills thrust into their bishoprics.

And, although scarcely any testimony is to be taken of that age, being all blinded and corrupted with superstition, yet let us hear what Neuburgensis,[3] an ancient historiographer, saith; who in the days of the son of this King Henry II., prosecuting his history unto King Richard I., hath these words, writing of Thomas Becket.[4]

(1) "Nonnullis tamen ideirco promotionem ejus visum est fuisse minus canonicam, quod ad eam magis operata est regis instantia, quam cleri vel populi voto. Præsumptionis quoque vel indiscretionis fuisse notatum est, quod qui remum tenere vix idoneus videbatur primum gubernaculi locum suscepit," &c. "Et nox, magis etiam secularia tum sapiens, tam sanctum tantæ dignitatis fastigium non horrens tenuisse, sed ultroneus ascendisse creditus," &c. "Aliter Dei amicus Moses," &c.

(2) Hæc ex chronico, cui titulus, 'De Passione et Miraculis beati Thomæ.'

(3) "Gulielmus, *Parvus* cognomento dictus, Bridlingtoniæ natus 1136: ad monasterium Neuburgense missus obiit 1208. Scripsit de rebus Anglicis sui temporis libros 5, ab an. 1066 ad an. 1197. Quæ tradit, aut ipse suis oculis vidit, aut a viris fide dignis accepit." Cave.—Ed

(4) "Sane cum plerique soleant in his quos amant et laudant affectu quodam propensiori, sed prudentia parciori, quicquid ab eis geritur approbare; plane ego in viro illo venerabili, ea quæ ita ab ipso acta sunt, quum nulla exinde proveniret utilitas, sed fervor tantum accenderetur regius, ex quo tot mala postmodum pullulasse noscuntur, laudanda nequaquam censuerim, licet ex laudabili zelo processerint: sicut nec in beatissimo apostolorum principe, quod gentes suo exemplo judaizare coegit; in quo eum doctor gentium reprehensibilem declarat fuisse, licet eum constet laudabili hoc pietate fecisse." [Neub. lib. ii. cap. 16, sub fin.—Ed.]

Henry II. A.D. 1170. Acts of Becket disproved.

"Whereas many be wont, in them whom they love and praise, judging them more by affection than prudence, to allow and approve whatsoever they do; yet for me to judge upon this reverend man, verily I think not his doings and acts to be praiseworthy, forsomuch as thereof came no utility, but only the stirring up of the king's anger, whence, afterward, sprung so great mischiefs, although that which he did proceeded of a certain laudable zeal; like as in the blessed prince of the apostles I approve not that he taught the Gentiles by his example to play the Jews; wherein Paul, the doctor of the Gentiles, did declare him to be rebukable; albeit, it cannot be denied, but that he did it of a good affection."

And in the same author, in another place, it followeth to the like effect.[1]

"These letters which were sent before into England for the suspending of the bishops,[2] he followed in person, burning with zeal for righteousness; but whether according to knowledge, God knoweth. It is not for my rude and slender wit to judge of the doings of such a person. But yet this I suppose, that the most blessed Pope Gregory would have acted more gently, considering that the concord with the king as yet was but soft and tender; and would have thought that so far as could be forborne without danger to the christian faith he should suppress his feelings for consideration of the time and for the sake of peace, according to the saying of the prophet (Amos v. 13), 'The prudent shall keep silence in that time, for it is an evil time.' Wherefore, as the doings of that reverend prelate I judge in that behalf not to be commended, so neither do I presume to discommend them. But this I say, that if that holy man, through immoderate violence of zeal, did exceed in a part therein, the same was excocted again, and purged by the fire of his suffering, which afterward ensued. And so far holy men are to be loved or praised of us, who know ourselves much inferior to their virtues; that in such things wherein they have been men, and also known to be men, therein we neither hold with them, nor commend them; but only in such things wherein without all danger or scruple we ought to imitate them. For who is able to say, that they are to be imitated in all that they do? And therefore are they not to be esteemed and praised in all things generally, whatsoever they do, but considerately and with advisement, wherein they deserve praise, so that the only prerogative in this behalf be reserved to God, in whose praise no man can exceed, how fervent soever he be in his praising," &c.

And hear yet more, what the said author writeth in the same cause of the king's wrath and Becket's faults.[2]

"More than a hundred murders are said to have been committed by the clergy under King Henry II., in punishing of whom the king was somewhat

(1) "Literas has in Angliam ad suspensionem episcoporum præmissas ipse sequebatur, zelo justitiæ fervidus; verum an plene secundum scientiam novit Deus. Nostræ enim parvitati nequaquam conceditur, de tanti viri actibus temere judicare. Puto enim quod beatissimus papa Gregorius in molli adhuc teneraque regis concordia mitiùs egisset, et ea quæ sine fidei Christianæ periculo tolerari potuissent, ratione temporis et compensatione pacis dissimulanda duxisset, juxta illud propheticum: Prudens in tempore illo tacebit, quia tempus malum est. Itaque quod a venerabili pontifice tunc actum est, nec laudandum esse judico, nec vituperare præsumo: sed dico, si vel modice in hujusmodi a sancto viro per zeli immoderatiorem impetum est excessum, hoc ipsum esse sacræ, quæ consecuta noscitur, igne passionis excoctum. Ita quippe sancti viri vel amandi vel laudandi sunt a nobis, qui nos illis longe impares esse cognoscimus, ut ea, in quibus homines fuerunt, vel fuisse noscuntur, nequaquam vel amemus vel laudemus: sed ea tantum, in quibus eos sine scrupulo imitari debemus. Quis enim eos dicat in omnibus, quæ ab ipsis fiunt, esse imitabiles? Non igitur in omnibus, quæ faciunt, sed sapienter et caute debent laudari, ut sua Deo prærogativa servetur, in cujus utique laudibus nemo potest esse nimius, quantumcunque laudare conetur." [Neub. lib. ii. cap. 25.—Ed.] (2) See suprà, p. 243.—Ed.

(3) "Plusquam centum homicidia a clericis commissa sub Henrico secundo dicuntur. In quibus plectendis rex aliquanto vehementior. Sed hujus immoderationis regiæ nostri temporis episcopos tantum respicit culpa, quantum ab eis processit et causa. Cum enim sacri præcipiunt canones, clericos non solum facinorosos, et gravioribus irretitos criminibus, verum etiam leviorum criminum reos degradari, et tot millia talium, tanquam innumeras inter pauca grana paleas, ecclesia Anglicana contineat, tamen quam paucos a multis retro annis clericos in Anglia contigit officio privari! Nempe episcopi, dum defendendis magis clericorum libertatibus vel dignitatibus, quam eorum vitiis corrigendis resecandisque invigilant, arbitrantur obsequium se præstare Deo et ecclesiæ, si facinorosos clericos, quos pro officii debito canonicæ vigore censuræ coercere vel nolunt vel negligunt, contra publicam tueantur disciplinam. Unde clerici, qui in sortem Domini vocati, tanquam stellæ in firmamento cœli positæ, vita et verbo lucere deberent super terram, habentes pro impunitate agendi quodcunque libuerit licentiam et libertatem, neque Deum, cujus judicium tardare videtur, neque homines potestatem habentes revereantur, cum et episcopalis circa eos solicitudo sit languida, et seculari eos jurisdictione sacri eximat ordinis prærogativa." [Neub. lib. ii. cap. 16, sub med.—Ed.]

too vehement. But the fault," saith he, "of this immoderate dealing of the king resteth most in the bishops of our time, forasmuch as the cause thereof proceeded of them. For whereas it is decreed and commanded by the canon law, concerning the spiritual men of the clergy, that not only such as be notorious for heinous crimes, but such as be spotted with lighter crimes, should be degraded, whereof we have now so many thousands in the Church of England, as innumerable chaff among the little good grain; yet how few do we see, these many years in England, deprived of their office! For why? The bishops, while they labour more to maintain the liberties and dignities of churchmen, than to correct their vices, think they do God and the church great service if they rescue and defend the enormities of the churchmen against public discipline, whom they either will not or care not to punish by the virtue of the censure ecclesiastical. Whereupon the churchmen, such as be sorted peculiarly to the Lord, and who ought like stars to shine in the earth by word and example, taking license and liberty to do what they lust, neither reverence God, whose judgment seemeth to tarry, nor men set in authority; when both the bishops are slack in their charge doing, and also the prerogative of their order exempteth them from the secular jurisdiction." *Henry II.* A. D. 1170.

And thus much out of Neuburgensis.

To this matter also pertain the words of Cæsarius,[1] the monk, in his eighth book of Dialogues, and sixty-ninth chapter, written about fifty years after the death of Thomas Becket, A.D. 1220: whose words, in sum, come to this effect:[2] Whether Thomas Becket be saved or damned.

"There was a question moved among the masters of Paris, whether Thomas Becket were saved or damned? To this question answereth Roger, a Norman, that he was worthy death and damnation, for that he was so obstinate against God's minister, his king.—Contrary, Peter Cantor, a Parisian, disputed, saying and affirming, that his miracles were great signs and tokens of salvation, and also of great holiness in that man; affirming, moreover, that the cause of the church did allow and confirm his martyrdom, for the which church he died."

And thus have ye the judgment and censure of the school of Paris touching this question, for the sainting of Thomas Becket; in which judgment, forsomuch as the greatest argument resteth in the miracles wrought by him after his death, let us therefore pause a little upon the same, to try and examine these his miracles. In the trial whereof we shall find one of these two to be true; either that if they were true, they were not wrought by God, but by a contrary spirit, of whom Christ our Lord giveth us warning in his gospel, saying, "Whose coming shall be with lying signs and wonders, to deceive, if it were possible, the elect" (Matt. xxiv.), or else we shall find that no such were ever wrought at all, but feigned and forged of idle monks and religious bellies, for the exaltation of their churches, and the profit of their pouches; which thing indeed seemeth rather to be true, and no less may appear by the miracles themselves, set forth by one of his own monks, and of his own time;[3] who, in five solemn books, hath comprehended all the revelations, virtues, and miracles of the archbishop; the which books (as yet remaining in the hands of William Stephenson, citizen of London) I have seen and perused; wherein is contained the whole sum of all his

(1) "Cæsarius, Germanus, anno 1199, cœnobii Heisterbacensis in diœcesi Coloniensi monachus factus ord. Cisterc., tandem monasterii Vallis St. Petri prope Bonnam prior. Extant de miraculis et visionibus sui temporis libri seu dialogi 12." Cave.—Ed.

(2) "Quæstio Parisiis inter magistros ventilata fuit, utrum damnatus an salvatus esset ille Thomas. Dixerat Rogerius tunc Normanus, fuisse illum morte ac damnatione dignum, quod contumax esset in Dei ministrum regem. Protulit contra Petrus Cantor Parisiensis, quod signa salvationis et magnæ sanctitatis essent ejus miracula: et quod martyrium probasset ecclesiæ causa, pro qua mortem subierat." If God in these latter days giveth no miracles to glorify his own Son, much less will he give miracles to glorify Thomas Becket.

(3) Liber de Miraculis Beati Thomæ, authore monacho quodam Cantuar.

Henry II. A.D. 1170. miracles, to the number of two hundred and seventy, being so far off from all truth and reason, some ridiculous, some monstrous, vain, absurd, some also blasphemous, and some so impudent, that not only they deserve no credit (as altogether savouring of mere forgery), but also for very shame will abash an honest pen to write of them.

Miracles of Becket considered.

First, if miracles serve for necessity and for infidels, what cause or necessity was there, in a christian realm having the word of God, for God to work such miracles after his death, who never wrought any in all his life? Then, to consider the end of these miracles: whither do they tend, but only to bring men to Canterbury, with their vows and offerings to enrich the covent?

Besides the number of these miracles—which are said to be so many, that they lose their own credit—what disease is there belonging to man or woman in the curing whereof some miracle hath not been wrought by this *θαυματοῦργος*, as fevers, fistula, the gout, toothache, palsy, consumption, falling-sickness, leprosy, head-ache, broken arms, maimed legs, swelled throats, the raising up of the dead who have been two days departed; with infinite others. And, as all these have been healed, for the most part, by one kind of salve, as a certain panacea, which was with the water only of Canterbury, like as a cunning smith who should open with one key all manner of locks; so again in reading of the story of these miracles ye shall find the matter so conveyed, that the power of this dead saint was never twice showed upon any one disease, but that every diverse disease had a diverse miracle.

Aqua Cantuariensis.

To recite in order all these prodigious revelations and fantastical miracles, falsely imagined and ascribed to this archbishop, were nothing else but to write a legend of lies, and to occupy the people with trifles: which because it pertaineth rather to the idle profession of such dreaming monks and cloisterers, that have nothing else to maintain that religion withal, I will not take their profession out of their hands. Wherefore, to omit all such vain and lying apparitions and miracles, as how this angry saint, three days after his death, appeared by vision at the altar in his pontificalibus, commanding the choir not to sing, but to say this office of his mass, "Exurge, quare obdormis Domine," &c., which vision the author himself of the book doth say he did see. To omit also the blasphemous lie, how in another vision the said archbishop should say, that his blood did cry out of the earth to God, more than the blood of just Abel. Item, in another vision it was showed to a monk of Lewes, how St. Thomas had his place in heaven appointed with the apostles, above Stephen, Laurence, Vincent, and all other martyrs; whereof this cause is rendered, for that St. Stephen, Laurence, and such others, suffered only for their own cause; but this Thomas suffered for the universal church. Item, how it was showed to a certain young man, Ormus by name, twelve years before the death of this Becket, that among the apostles and martyrs in heaven there was a vacant place left for a certain priest, as he said, of England, who was credibly supposed to be this Thomas Becket. Item, how a certain knight's son, being two days dead, was revived again as soon as he had the water of Canterbury put into his mouth, and had by his parents four pieces of silver bended, to be offered in Canterbury in the child's behalf. All

Singing at the mass forbidden by Thomas Becket after his death.

A blasphemous lie.

Becket above the martyrs in heaven.

A place prepared in heaven for Becket twelve years before his death.

these, I say, with such others omitted, the number whereof cometh to an infinite variety, only this one story, or another that followeth, shall suffice to express the vanity and impudent forgery of all the rest. *Henry II.* A. D. 1170.

In the fourth book of this fabulous author, and in the third chapter, a miracle is there contained of a certain countryman of Bedfordshire, in King's Weston, whose name was Eilward, which Eilward, in his drunkenness, bursting into another man's house who was his debtor, took out of his house a great whetstone and a pair of hedging-gloves. The other party, seeing this value not sufficient for his condemnation, by the counsel of the town clerk, entered an action of felony against him for other things besides, as for stealing his wimble, his axe, his net, and his clothes.[1] Whereupon Eilward, being had to the gaol of Bedford, and afterward condemned for the same, was judged to have both his eyes put out, and otherwise to be disgracefully mutilated. This punishment, by the malice of his adversary, being executed upon him, he, lying in great danger of death by bleeding, was counselled to make his prayer to this Thomas of Canterbury. Which done, (saith the miracle,) there appeared one to him by night, in white apparel, bidding him to watch and pray, and put his trust in God and our Lady, and holy St. Thomas. In conclusion, the miracle thus fell out: the next day at evening, the man rubbing his eye-lids, began to feel his eyes to be restored again; first, in a little; after, in a greater measure; so that one was of a grey colour, the other was black: and here was one miracle rung. After this followed another miracle also upon the same person; for, going but the space of four miles, when his eyes were restored, he chanced in like manner to rub the parts where he had been mutilated, which immediately on the same (to use the words of my story) were to him by degrees restored, and this he permitted every one to ascertain, and shamed not to deny; insomuch that he, first coming up to St. Thomas, at London, was received with joy of the bishop of Durham; who, then sending to the burghers of Bedford for the truth of the matter, received from them again letters testimonial, wherein the citizens there (saith this fabulous festival) confirmed, first to the bishop, then to the covent of Canterbury, the relation of this to be as hath been told. This one miracle, gentle reader! so shameless and impudent, I thought here to express, that by this one thou mightest judge of all the residue of his miracles; and by the residue thereof mightest judge, moreover, of the filthy wickedness of all these lying monks and cloisterers, who count it a light sport so impudently to deceive the simple souls of Christ's church with trifling lies and dreaming fables. Wherefore, as I said, if the holy sainting of Thomas Becket standeth upon no other thing but upon his miracles, what credit is to be given thereto? and upon what a weak ground his shrine so long hath stood, by this may easily be seen. Furthermore, another fable as notable as this, and no less worthy of the whetstone, we read in the story of Gervasius; namely, that Thomas Becket appearing to a certain priest, named Thomas, declared to him, that he had so brought to pass, that all the names of the monks of the church of Canterbury, with the names of

An impudent and a lying miracle.

A blasphemous vision.

A false and impudent miracle.

shou..

(1) Ex Historia Monachi Cant. de Miraculis Becketi Thomæ.

Henry II. A.D. 1170. the priests and clerks, and with the families belonging to that city and church of Canterbury, were written in the Book of Life.[1]

But whatsoever is to be thought of his miracles, or howsoever the testimony of the school of Paris, or of these ancient times, went with him or against him; certain it is, that this anthem or collect, lately collected and primered in his praise, is blasphemous, and derogateth from the praise of Him, to whom only all praise and honour are due, where it is said:[2]

The blasphemous anthem of Thomas Becket.

"For the blood of Thomas,
Which he for thee did spend,
Grant us, Christ, to climb
Where Thomas did ascend:"

wherein is a double lie contained; first, that he died for Christ; secondly, that if he had so done, yet that his blood could purchase heaven; which thing neither Paul nor any of the apostles durst ever challenge to themselves, for if any man's blood could bring us to heaven, then the blood of Christ was shed in vain.

And thus much touching the testimony or censure of certain ancient times concerning the cause of Thomas Becket, in the explication of whose history I have now stood the longer (exceeding peradventure in over-much prolixity), to the intent that his cause being fully opened to the world, and duly weighed on every part, men's minds thereby, long deceived by ignorance, might come unto the more perfect certainty of the truth thereof, and thereby judge more surely what is to be received, and what to be refused. Where, by the way, is to be noted out of the testimony of Rob. Crickeladensis, that which in him I find; namely, that the peers and nobles of this land, near about the king, gave out in straight charge, upon pain of death, and confiscating of all their goods, that no man should be so hardy as to name Thomas Becket to be a martyr, or to preach of his miracles.

The king sendeth to Rome.

After the death of Thomas Becket, the king fearing the pope's wrath and curse to be laid upon him (whereunto Louis, the French king, also helped what he could to set the matter forward), sent to Rome the archbishop of Rouen, with certain other bishops and archdeacons, unto the pope with his excuse, which the pope would in no wise hear. And afterwards, other messengers being sent, whom some of the cardinals received, it was showed to them that on Good Friday (being then near at hand) the pope of custom was used to assoil, or to curse, and that it was noised, how the king of England with his bishops should be cursed, and his land interdicted, and that they should be put in prison.[3] After this, certain of the cardinals showed the pope, that the messengers had power to swear to the pope, that the king should obey his punishment and penance, which was taken both of the king and the archbishop of York; so that in the same day the pope cursed the deed-doers, with such as were of their consent, who either aided or harboured them. Concerning these deed-doers, it is touched briefly before, how they fled unto

(1) Ex Gervas. fol. 6.
(2) "Tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit, Fac nos Christe scandere, quo Thomas ascendit."
(3) Ex Libro Annotationum Historicarum manuscripto, J. S'

Yorkshire, lying in Knaresborough; who after having in penance to go in linsey-wolsey barefoot (with fasting and prayer) to Jerusalem, by reason of this hard penance are said to have died a few years after. *Henry II.* A.D. 1172.

The king's ambassadors lying, as is said, in Rome, could find no grace nor favour for a long time at the pope's hands. At length, with much ado, it was agreed that two cardinals should be sent down to inquire out the matter concerning those who were consenting to Becket's death. The king, perceiving what was preparing at Rome, neither being yet certain whereto the intent of the pope and coming down of the cardinals would tend, in the mean time addressed himself with a great power to enter into Ireland, giving in charge and commandment, as Hoveden writeth, that no bringer of any brief or letter should come over into England, or pass out of the realm (of what degree or condition soever he were), without special license and assurance that he would bring nothing that should be prejudicial to the realm. The penance of the four knights. *See Appendix.*

This order being set and ordained, the king, with four hundred great ships, taketh his journey to Ireland, where he subdued in short time the whole land unto him, which at that time was governed under divers kings to the number of five, of whom four submitted themselves unto the said King Henry; the fifth, who was the king of Connaught, denied to be subdued, keeping himself in woods and marshes. Ireland first subdued to England.

In the mean season, while the king was thus occupied in Ireland, the two cardinals who were sent from the pope, namely, Theodine and Albert, were come to Normandy. Unto them the king the next year following resorted about the month of October, A.D. 1172. A.D. 1172
But before this (during the time of the king's being in Ireland), the bishop of London, and Joceline, bishop of Salisbury, had sent to Rome, and procured their absolution from the pope. The king returning out of Ireland, by Wales, into England, and from thence to Normandy, there made his purgation before the pope's legates, as touching the death of the aforesaid Becket; to the which he sware he was neither aiding nor consenting, but only that he spake rigorous words against him, for that his knights would not avenge him against the said Thomas; for the which cause this penance was enjoined him under his oath: *See Appendix.*

First, That he should send so much into the Holy Land as would find two hundred knights or soldiers for the defence of that land. The king's penance for the death of Becket.

Item, That from Christmas-day next following, he should set forth in his own person to fight for the Holy Land, the space of three years together, unless he should be otherwise dispensed withal by the pope.

Item, That if he would make his journey into Spain (as his present necessity did require), there he should fight against the Saracens, and as long as he should there abide, so long space might he take in prolonging his journey toward Jerusalem.

Item, That he should not hinder, nor cause to be hindered, any appellations made to the pope of Rome.

Item, That neither he nor his son should depart or dissever from Pope Alexander, or from his catholic successors, so long as they should account him or his son for kings catholic.

Henry II. A.D. 1174.

Item, That the goods and possessions taken from the church of Canterbury should be restored again, fully and amply, as they stood the year before Thomas Becket departed the realm; and that free liberty should be granted, to all such as were outlawed for Becket's cause, to return again.

Item, That the aforesaid customs and decrees, by him established against the church, should be extinct and repealed, (such only excepted as concerned his own person, &c.) besides other secret fastings and alms enjoined him.

All these former conditions the king with his son did both agree unto, debasing himself in such sort of submission before the two cardinals, by the occasion whereof the cardinals took no little glory, using this verse of the Psalm:—"Which looketh upon the earth, and maketh it to tremble; which toucheth the hills and they smoke."[1] Moreover, it is mentioned in histories of the said king, that a little after William, king of Scots, with his army had made a rode into the realm, he, returning out of Normandy into England, came first to Canterbury; who, by the way, as soon as he came to the sight of Becket's church, lighting off his horse, and putting off his shoes, went barefoot to his tomb, whose steps were found bloody through the roughness of the stones. And not only that, but also he received further penance, by every monk of the cloister a certain discipline of a rod. By which so great dejection of the king (if it were true), thou mayest see the blind and lamentable superstition and ignorance of those days.[2] If it were pretensed (as might so be in time of war, to get the hearts of the people), yet mayest thou, learned reader, see what slavery kings and princes were brought into at that time under the pope's clergy. The same year (as Hoveden writeth), which was A.D. 1174, the whole city of Canterbury was almost all consumed with fire, and the said minster-church clean burnt.

See Appendix.

King Henry II. goeth on pilgrimage with bloody steps to Thomas Becket's tomb.

See Appendix.

A.D. 1174.

The city of Canterbury almost consumed with fire.

The next year ensuing, which was A.D. 1175, a convocation of bishops was holden at Westminster, by Richard, archbishop of Canterbury. In that conventicle all the bishops and abbots of the province of Canterbury and of York being present, determined, as had been done a little before in the days of King Henry I. A.D. 1113, about the obedience that York should do to Canterbury; that is, whether the archbishop of York might bear his cross in the diocese of Canterbury or not? whereof something was touched before in the former process of this history. Also about the bishopric of Lincoln, of Coventry of Worcester, and of Hereford, whether these churches were under the jurisdiction of the see of York or not? &c. Upon these and other like matters rose such controversy between these two sees, that the one appealed the other to the presence of the bishop of Rome.

A.D. 1175.

Controversy between the see of Canterbury and the see of York.

The latter appealeth the former to the bishop of Rome.

See Appendix.

In these and such like causes, how much better had it been if the supremacy had remained more near in the king's hands at home, whereby not only much labour and travail had been saved, but also the great and wasteful expenses bestowed at Rome might, with much more fruit and thank, have been converted to their cures and flocks committed unto them, and also, perchance, their cause, not less indifferently heard, at least more speedily might have been decided. But

(1) Ex Quadrilogo. (2) Ex Rogero Hovedeno, Quadrilogo, et aliis.

to the purpose again. In this controversy divers of the archbishop of York's clergy, such as were of Gloucester, belonging to the church of St. Oswald, were excommunicated by the archbishop of Canterbury, because they, being summoned, refused to appear before him, &c. At length the same year, which was A.D. 1175, there was a cardinal sent down from Rome by the king's procurement, who studied to settle a peace between the two archbishops. Whereupon, this way of agreement was taken, by means of the king, at Winchester, that, as touching the church of St. Oswald, at Gloucester, the archbishop of Canterbury should cease his claim thereon, molesting the see of York no more therein; also, that he should absolve again the clerks thereof, whom he had excommunicated before. And, as concerning the bearing of the cross and all other matters, it was referred to the archbishop of Rouen, and to other bishops in France, so that for five years a league or truce was taken betwixt them, till they should have a full determination of their cause.

The clerks of St. Oswald in Gloucester excommunicated.

Agreement between the archbishop of Canterbury and York.

The next year following, the aforesaid King Henry II., dividing the realm of England into six parts, ordained upon every part three justices of assize. The circuit or limitation of these justices was thus disposed—The first upon Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hertfordshire: The second upon Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Stamfordshire, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire: The third upon Kent, Surrey, Southamptonshire, Sussex, Berkshire, Oxfordshire: The fourth upon Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Salopshire: The fifth upon Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall: The sixth upon Everikeshire,[3] Richmondshire, Lancaster, Copland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, Cumberland.

A.D.1176. Justices of assize divided into six circuits.

In the same year Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, made three archdeacons in his diocese, whereas before there was but one.[1] About this time also it was granted by the king to the pope's legate, that a clerk should not be called before a temporal judge, except for offence in the forest, or for his lay fee that he holdeth.

Item, that no archbishopric, bishopric, or abbey, should remain in the king's hands over one year without great cause. It chanced the same year that this was done, that there was at Canterbury one elected to be abbot in the house of St. Austin, named Albert, who made great labour and suit unto the archbishop that he would come to his church, and there consecrate him abbot of St. Austin;[2] to whom the archbishop sent word again, that he was not bound to come to him, but rather that the other should repair to the metropolitan church of Canterbury, there to receive his consecration. Whereupon, controversy arising between them, the aforesaid newly elect appealed to the audience of the pope, and so laboured up himself to Rome; where he so handled the matter, (by what means I cannot tell, unless with his golden bottle, wherewith he quenched the pope's thirsty soul, for abbots never travel lightly without fat purses to Rome,) that with short dispatch he procured letters from Alexander the pope, to Roger, bishop of Worcester; signifying to him, that he had given

A frivolous contention between the archbishop and the abbot of Canterbury.

(1) Ex epitome Matth. Paris. et aliarum historiarum.

(2) Where was here the precept of the gospel, "He that will be greatest among you, let him be an underling to others?"

(3) "Everikeshire," Yorkshire, from Eboracum.—Ed.

Henry II. A. D. 1176. in charge and commandment to the archbishop of Canterbury, in the behalf of his dear son Albert, that he should consecrate him within his own monastery, which monastery properly and solely, without mediation, belonged to the jurisdiction of Rome; and so likewise should do to his successors after him, without any exaction of obedience of them. Which thing, further he said, if the archbishop would refuse to do within the term appointed, that then he the aforesaid bishop of Worcester should, by the authority committed unto him, execute the same, all manner of appellation or other decree, whatsoever should come, notwithstanding. This letter being obtained, the abbot that would be, returneth home, supposing with himself all things to be sure. The archbishop understanding the case, and seeing himself to be so straitly charged, and yet loth to yield and stoop to the abbot, took to him policy where authority would not serve; and both to save himself, and yet to disappoint the abbot, he watched a time when the abbot was about the business of his house, and coming the same time to the monastery, as he was commanded to do, with all things appointed that to such a business appertained, he called for the abbot, pretending no less than to give him his consecration. The abbot, being called for, was not at home; the archbishop, feigning himself not a little grieved at his labour and good will so lost, departed, as one in whom no ready diligence was lacking, if in case that the abbot had been at home. Whereupon the abbot being thus disappointed, was fain to fill his silver flagons afresh, and make a new course to Rome to his father, the pope, from whom he received his consecration, and so came home again, with as much wit as he went forth, but not with so much money, peradventure, as he went withal.

The tenor of the pope's letter to the bishop of Worcester.

We have declared a little before, touching the acts and doings of this Pope Alexander III., how he had brought the emperor's head under his foot in St. Mark's church at Venice, at which time and place peace was concluded, and a composition made between the pope and the said Frederic the emperor; which pacification Roger Hoveden and Walter Gisburn refer to this time, A.D. 1177, bringing in two several letters sent from the said Pope, to Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, to Roger, archbishop of York, and Hugh, bishop of Durham. Out of the said letters, so much as serveth our purpose, I have taken and here inserted.

A.D.1177.

The Letter of Pope Alexander, sent to Roger, archbishop of York, and to the bishop of Durham.[1]

"Alexander, servant of the servants of God, to his reverend brethren, Roger, archbishop of York, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, greeting and apostolical blessing. The obsequy and service of your kind devotion, which hitherto you are known to have given both devoutly and laudably to us and to the church, requireth that we should describe to you, as to our special friends, the prosperous success of the church, and let you know, as spiritual children of the church, what hath happened to the same. For meet it is, convenient, and also honest, that you, whom we have had so firm and sure in our devotion, should now be cherished and made joyous in the prosperity of us, and of the church."

(1) The Latin of the two extracts here translated by our author may be found in the Edition of 1563, p. 68.—Ed.

And about the end of the epistle it followeth thus:— *Henry II.*

"The next day following, which was the feast of St. James, (the said emperor so requesting), we came to the aforesaid church of St. Mark, there to celebrate our solemn mass; where, as we were coming in the way, the said emperor met us without the church, and placing us again on his right hand, brought us so into the church. After the mass was done, placing us again on his right hand, he brought us to the church door. And moreover, when we should take our palfrey, he held our stirrup, exhibiting to us such honour and reverence, as his progenitors were wont to exhibit to our predecessors. Wherefore these shall be to incite your diligence and study towards us, that you rejoice with us and the church in these our prosperous successes, and also that you shall open the same effect of peace to other devout children of the church; that such as be touched with the zeal of the house of the Lord, may congratulate and rejoice also in the Lord for the great working of peace which he hath given.—Given at Venice, at the Rialto, the 26th of July." A. D. 1177.

A meek emperor, and a proud pope.

The emperor holdeth the pope's stirrup.

This year the contention revived again, spoken of a little before, between the two archbishops of York and Canterbury, the occasion whereof was this; the manner and practice of the pope is, when he beginneth to lack money, he sendeth some limiting[1] cardinal abroad to fetch his harvest in. So there came this year into England, as lightly few years were without them, a certain cardinal from Rome, called Hugo, or, as Hoveden nameth him, Hugezim, who would needs keep a council at Westminster. To this council resorted a great confluence, about the middle of Lent, of bishops, abbots, priors, doctors, and such others of the clergy. As every one was there placed in his order, and after his degree, first cometh the archbishop of York, named Roger, who, thinking to prevent the other archbishop, came something sooner, and straightway placed himself on the right hand of the cardinal. Richard, the archbishop of Canterbury, following shortly after, and seeing the first place taken up, refuseth to take the second, complaining of the archbishop of York, as one prejudicial to his see. So, while the one would not rise, and the other not sit down, there rose no small contention between the two. The archbishop of Canterbury claimed the upper seat by the pre-eminence of his church; contrary, the archbishop of York alleged for him the old decree of Gregory, whereof mention is made before, by which this order was taken between the two metropolitans of Canterbury and York, that whichever of them two should be first in election, he should have the pre-eminence in dignity to go before the other. Thus they, contending to and fro, waxed so warm in words, that at last they turned to hot blows. How strong the archbishop of York was in reason and argument, I cannot tell, but the archbishop of Canterbury was stronger at the arm's end; whose servants being more in number, like valiant men, not suffering their master to take such a foil, so prevailed against York (sitting on the right hand of the cardinal), that they plucked him down from the hand to the foot of the cardinal upon the ground, treading and trampling upon him with their feet, that marvel it was he escaped with life. His casule, chimer, and rochet,[2] were all rent and torn from his back. Here no reason would take place, no debating would serve, no praying could

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

Contention between two archbishops, who should sit on the right hand of the cardinal.

See Appendix.

(1) Chaucer uses the word 'limitour' to express a friar, who had a license to beg within certain limits. infrà p. 358. See Todd's Johnson.—Ed.

(2) For an account of these vestments see the Appendix.—Ed.

Henry II. A. D. 1177

be heard, such clamour and tumult were there in the house among them, much like to the tumult which Virgil describeth:—

> "Ac veluti in magno populo, cum sæpe coorta est
> Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus,
> Jamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat."[1]

Now, as the first part of this description doth well agree, so some peradventure will look again, that, according to the latter part also of the same, my lord cardinal, with sageness and gravity (after the manner of the old Romans standing up), should have ceased and allayed the disturbance, according to that which followeth in the poet:—

> "Tum pietate gravem meritis si forte virum quem
> Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus astant:
> Ille regit mentes dictis, et pectora mulcet."[2]

But what did the noble Roman cardinal? Like a pretty man of his hands, but a prettier man of his feet, standing up in the midst, and seeing the house in such a broil, committed himself to flight, and, as Hoveden writeth, "abscondit se a facie illorum." The next day the archbishop of York bringeth to the cardinal his rochet, to bear witness what injury and violence he had sustained; appealing and citing up the archbishop of Canterbury, with certain of his men, to the bishop of Rome. And thus the holy council, the same day it was begun, brake up and was dissolved.

The large dominion of Henry II.

Under the reign of this King Henry II., the dominion and crown of England extended so far as hath not been seen in this realm before him. Histories record that he possessed under his rule and jurisdiction, first, Scotland, to whom William, king of Scots, with all the lords temporal and spiritual, did homage both for them and for their successors (the seal whereof remaineth in the king's treasury); as also Ireland, England, Normandy, Aquitaine, Guienne, &c. to the Pyrenean mountains, which be in the uttermost parts of the great ocean in the British Sea; being also protector of France, to whom Philip the French king yielded both himself and his realm wholly to his governance, A.D. 1181. Moreover, he was offered also to be the king of Jerusalem, by the patriarch and master of the hospital there; who, being then distressed by the soldan, brought him the keys of their city, desiring his aid against the infidels; which offer he then refused, alleging the great charge which he had at home, and the rebellion of his sons, which might happen in his absence.

Homage of Scotland.

See Appendix.

Henry II. protector of France.

Chosen king of Jerusalem and refuseth it.

Aid not to be denied to our neighbours, the cause being godly.

And here the old histories find a great fault with the king for his refusal; declaring that to be the cause of God's plagues, which after ensued upon him by his children, as the patriarch, in his oration, being offended with the king, prophesied should so happen to him for the same cause; which story, if it be true, it may be a lesson to good princes, not to deny their necessary help to their distressed neighbours, especially the cause appertaining unto God.[3]

(1) Virg. Æn. I. 148.
"As when in tumults rise the ignoble crowd,
Mad are their motions and their tongues are loud:
And stones and brands in rattling vollies fly,
And all the rustic arms that fury can supply."

(2) "If then some grave and pious man appear,
They hush their noise and lend a listening ear:
He soothes with sober words their angry mood,
And quenches their innate desire of blood."—Dryden

(3) Ex Polychro. Ex Giraldo Cambrensi.

The wisdom, discretion, manhood, and riches of this prince were so spread and renowned through all quarters, that messages came from Emmanuel, emperor of Constantinople, Frederic, emperor of Rome, and William, archbishop of Treves in Almain, from the duke of Saxony, and from the earl of Flanders, and also from the French king, upon determination of great questions and strifes, to ask counsel and determination thereof of this King Henry, as of one most wise, and schoolmaster of all wisdom and justice, to have solution of their questions and doubts. Moreover, Alphonso, king of Castile, and Sancho, king of Navarre, being in strife for certain castles and other possessions, submitted them, of their free accord, and by their oath, to abide the award of this King Henry; who made award and pleased them both; whereby it is to be presupposed, that this king, to whom other princes did so resort, as to their arbiter and deciser, did not attend either to any sloth or vicious living. Wherefore it may seem that the acts of this prince were not so vicious as some monkish writers do describe.

Henry II. A. D. 1181. *See Appendix.*

Henry II. chosen arbiter by two kings.

Among many other things in this king memorable, this one is to be noted (follow it who can), that he reigned five and thirty years, and having such wars with his enemies, yet never upon his subjects put any tribute or tax, nor yet upon the spiritualty first-fruits and appropriations of benefices. Belike they were not known, or else not used. And yet his treasure after his death, weighed by King Richard, his son, amounted to above nine hundred thousand pounds, besides jewels, precious stones, and household furniture. Of the which substance eleven thousand pounds came to him by the death of Roger, archbishop of York, who had procured a bull of the pope, that if any priest died within his province without testament, then he should have all his goods. And shortly after the archbishop died, and the king had all his goods, which extended, as is said, to eleven thousand pounds, besides plate, A.D. 1181.

The treasure of King Henry II.

A covetous archbishop.

But as there is no felicity or wealth in this mortal world so perfect, which is not darkened with some cloud of encumbrance and adversity; so it happened to this king, that among his other princely successes, this incommodity followed him withal, that his sons rebelled and stood in armour against him, taking the part of the French king against their father. First, at the coronation of Henry, his son, whom the father joined with him as king, he being both father and king, took upon him (that notwithstanding) as but a steward, and set down the first dish as sewer unto his son, renouncing the name of a king. At what time the aforesaid archbishop of York, sitting on the right hand of the young king, said, "Sir, ye have great cause this day to joy, for there is no prince in the world that hath such an officer this day," &c. And the young king disdaining his words, said, "My father is not dishonoured in this doing, for I am a king and a queen's son, and so is not he." And not only this, but afterwards he also persecuted his father; and so, in his youth, when he had reigned but a few years, died, teaching us what is the price and reward of breaking the just commandment of God.

Pride destroyeth all.

After him likewise Richard his son (who was called Richard Cœur de Lion) rebelled against his father; and also John, his youngest son, did not much degenerate from the steps of his brethren; insomuch

Henry II. A.D. 1189. that this aforesaid Richard, like an unkind child, persecuting and taking part against his father, brought him to such distress of body and mind, that for thought of heart he fell into an ague, and within four days departed, A.D. 1189, after he had reigned five and thirty years; whose corpse as it was carried to be buried, Richard his son coming by the way and meeting it, and beginning for compassion to weep, the blood brast incontinent out of the nose of the king at the coming of his son, giving thereby a certain demonstration how he was the only author of his death.

King Henry II. persecuted by his sons. His death, A.D. 1189. How the king, being dead, bled at the coming of his son.

After the reign and death of which king, his children after him, worthily rewarded for their unnaturalness against their father, lacking the success which their father had, lost all beyond the sea that their father had got before.

And thus much concerning the reign of Henry II., and the death of Thomas Becket; whose death (as is aforesaid) happened in the days of Pope Alexander III.; which pope, usurping the keys of ecclesiastical regiment one and twenty years, or, as Gisburn writeth, three and twenty years, governed the church with much tumult; striving and contending with Frederic the emperor; not shaming, like a most proud Lucifer, to tread with his foot upon the neck of the said emperor, as is above described.

This pope, among many other acts, had certain councils, as is partly before touched, some in France, some at Rome, in Lateran; by whom it was decreed, that no archbishop should receive the pall, unless he should first swear obedience, A.D. 1179; concerning the solemnity of which pall, for the order and manner of giving and taking the same with obedience to the pope, as it is contained in their own words, I thought it good to set it forth unto thee, that thou mayest well consider and understand their doings therein.

The form and manner, how and by what words, the pope is wont to give the pall unto the archbishop.[1]

To the honour[1] of Almighty God, and of blessed Mary, the Virgin, and of blessed St. Peter and St. Paul, and of our lord Pope N. and of the holy church of Rome, and also of the church of N. committed to your charge, we give to you the pall taken from the body[2] of St. Peter, as a fulness of the office pontifical, which you may wear within your own church, upon certain days,[4] which be expressed in the privileges of the said church, granted by the see apostolic.

NOTES UPON THE SAME.

1. "To the honour," &c. With what confidence durst the pope couple the honour of Almighty God, and the honour of Mary, of St. Peter, and of the pope, and of the Romish church all together, if he had not been a presumptuous Lucifer, equalling himself not only with such saints, but also even with him who is God alone, to be blessed for ever?

2. "Taken from the body," &c. If St. Peter's body be not all consumed, let him show it if he can. If he cannot show it, how then is this pall taken from the body of St. Peter? or if he mean it to be of St. Peter's own wearing, then belike St. Peter had a goodly wardrobe of palls, when every archbishop in all Christendom receiveth from the pope a divers pall.

3. "As a fulness of the office," &c. Rather he might say, the fulness of his own purse, when archbishops paid so sweetly for it; insomuch that Jacobus, the archbishop of Mentz (as is above touched, p. 109), a little before in the council of

See Appendix.

(1) "Ad honorem omnipotentis Dei, et beatæ Mariæ Virginis, et beatorum Petri et Pauli, et domini nostri *N.* Papæ, et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, necnon *N.* ecclesiæ tibi commissæ, tradimus tibi pallium de corpore beati Petri sumptum, plenitudinem pontificalis officii, ut utaris eo infra ecclesiam tuam certis diebus, qui exprimuntur in privilegiis tibi ab apostolica sede concessis." [Nearly verbatim in Wilkins's Conc. i. 109, and Antiq. Brit. an. 1501.—Ed.]

Basil, where the price was wont to be but ten thousand florins, could not obtain it without seven and twenty thousand florins.[1] *Henry II.*

4. "Upon certain days," &c. This difference there was between the pope and other archbishops: the pope might wear the pall at all times, and in all places, at his pleasure; archbishops might not wear it but upon certain days, and in their church only, within their province. Moreover this pall should not be asked but with great instance, and within three months; without which pall he is not to be named archbishop, but may be deposed, having it not after three months; and the same pall must also be buried with him when he dieth; and when it is given, some privilege must be given withal, or the old renewed. A.D. 1189.

In like manner proceedeth the oath of every bishop swearing obedience to the pope in words as followeth:[2]—

"I, *N.*, bishop of *N.*, from this hour henceforth, will be faithful and obedient to blessed St. Peter, and to the holy apostolic church of Rome, and to my Lord *N.*, the pope. I shall be in no council, nor help either with my consent or deed, whereby either of them, or any member of them, may be impaired, or whereby they may be taken with any evil taking. The council which they shall commit to me, either by themselves, or by messenger, or by their letters, wittingly or willingly I shall utter to none to their hindrance and damage. To the retaining and maintaining the papacy of Rome, and the regalities of St. Peter, I shall be an aider (so mine order be saved) against all persons. The legate of the apostolic see, both in going and coming, I shall honourably treat and help in all necessities. Being called to a synod, I shall be ready to come, unless I be let by some lawful and canonical impeachment. The palace of the apostles every third year I shall visit either by myself or my messenger, except otherwise being licensed by the see apostolic. All such possessions as belong to the table and diet of my bishopric, I shall neither sell, nor give, nor lay to mortgage, nor lease out, nor remove away by any manner of means, without the consent and knowledge of the bishop of Rome:[3] so God help me and the holy gospels of God.

This was the clause that made Becket to be banished and slain.

A NOTE UPON THE SAME.

Hereby thou hast by the way, gentle reader, to note and consider, among other things which here may be understood, that since the time the oath began to be laid and thrust upon bishops, all general councils began to lose their liberty. For, how could any freedom remain for men to speak their knowledge in redress of things, being by their oath so bound to the pope to speak nothing but on his side, to maintain the papacy and the church of Rome in all times and places? Conjecture by thyself, christian reader, what more is hereby to be considered.

Besides this, it was also decreed in the said council at Rome of three hundred and ten bishops, by Pope Alexander, "That no man should have any spiritual promotion, except he were of lawful age, and born in wedlock. That no parish church should be void above six months. That none in orders should meddle with temporal business. That priests should have but one benefice, and that the bishops should be charged to find the priest a living till he be promoted. That open usurers should not communicate at Easter, nor be buried within the churchyard. That nothing should be taken

(1) Ex libro gravaminum nationis Germanicæ. [See Appendix, and infrà vol. iv. p. 12.—Ed.]

(2) "Ego, *N.*.. Episcopus *N.*, ab hac horâ in antea fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro, sanctæque apostolicæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, et domino meo, dom. *N.*, papæ, suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio, seu auxilio, consensu, vel facto, ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur mala captione. Consilium vero quod mihi crediturî sunt, per se aut per nuncium, seu literas ad eorum damnum, me sciente nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum et regalia S. Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum, salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum apostolicæ sedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione. Apostolorum limina singulis trienniis visitabo, aut per me, aut per meum nuncium, nisi apostolica absolvar licentia. Possessiones vero ad mensam mei episcopatus pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque oppignorabo, neque de novo infeudabo, nec aliquo modo alienabo inconsulto Rom. pontifice: sic me Deus adjuvet, et sancta Dei evangelia." [Nearly verbatim in Wilkins's Conc. ii. 199, an. 1293, and Antiq. Britannicæ ad an. 1501.—Ed.]

(3) And how be not those bishops then perjured, who, at the death of Queen Mary, set and let out a great part of their possessions from their successors?

Henry II. A.D. 1189. nor be buried within the churchyard. That nothing should be taken for ministering sacraments or burying. Also, that every cathedral church should have a master to teach children freely, without taking any thing for the same."

In this council the vow of chastity was obtruded and laid upon priests. Thomas Becket, also, and Bernard, were canonized for saints.

During the reign and time of this King Henry II., the city of Norwich was destroyed and burnt by the men of Flanders. Also the towns of Leicester and Nottingham were wasted, and the burgesses slain by the earl of Ferrers. The town of Berwick was destroyed by the Scots. The king of Scots was taken in war by the Englishmen, A.D. 1174. The town of Huntingdon was taken and burned. The town of Canterbury, by casualty of fire, was burnt with all the churches, especially the Trinity church, where Becket was worshipped, in the same year. In A.D 1170, William, king of Scots, with David, his brother, and all the barons of the realm, did homage to the king of England. Ireland was made subject to England. Decreed in a council in Normandy, that no boys or children should possess any benefice. A council of Lateran was holden at Rome, where were three and thirty articles concluded, A.D. 1179. The French king came in pilgrimage to Thomas Becket, the king of England meeting him by the way, A.D. 1184. After the death of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, who followed after Thomas Becket, succeeded Baldwin, who, of a Cistercian monk being made a bishop, is said never to eat flesh in his life. A certain poor woman, bare and lean, meeting him in the street, desired to know of him whether it were true that was said of him, that he never did eat flesh: which thing when he had affirmed to be true, "Nay," saith she, "that is false, for you have eaten my flesh unto the bone, for I had but one cow wherewith I was sustained, and that have your deans taken from me." "True, true," said the bishop, "and thou shalt have another cow as good as that."[1]

Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury. *See Appendix.*

Moreover, in the reign of King Henry, about A.D. 1178, I find in the story of Roger Hoveden and others, that in the city of Toulouse there was a great multitude of men and women whom the pope's commissioners, to wit, Peter, cardinal of St. Chrysogon and the pope's legate, with the archbishops of Narbonne and Bourges, Reginald, bishop of Bath, John, bishop of Poictiers, Henry, abbot of Clairvaux, &c., did persecute and condemn for heretics; of whom some were scourged naked, some chased away, some compelled to abjure: concerning whose articles and opinions I have no firm ground to make any certain relation, forasmuch as I see the papists, many times so false in their quarrelling accusations, untruly collected men's sayings, not as they meant, and meaning not as they said, but wresting and depraving simple men's assertions after such a subtle sort as they list themselves to take them. But this I find, how one of the said commissioners or inquisitors, Henry the abbot, in a certain letter of his, wrote thus of them:[2]—"After a new opinion he affirmed

(1) Jornalensis.

(2) "Nam et panem sanctum vitæ æternæ, sacerdotis ministerio in verbo domini consecratum non esse corpus Domini, novo dogmate contendebat asserere."

that the holy bread of eternal life, consecrated by the ministry of the priest, was not the body of the Lord," &c. *Henry II.* A.D. 1189.

In the time of this Alexander sprang up the doctrine and name of those who were then called 'pauperes de Lugduno,'[1] who, from one Waldus, a chief senator in Lyons, were named 'Waldenses;' also 'Leonistæ' and 'Insabbatati:'[2] about A.D. 1160, or, as Laziardus writeth, 1170. Waldenses, seu pauperes de Lugduno, Leonistæ, Sabbatati.

Not long before this time, as is expressed above, rose up Gratian, master of the decrees, and Peter the Lombard, master of the sentences, both archpillars of all papistry; after whom followed also two as evil, or worse than they, Francis and Dominic, maintaining blind hypocrisy, no less than the other maintained proud prelacy. As these laboured one way, by superstition and worldly advancement, to corrupt the sincerity of religion, so it pleased Christ, the contrary way, labouring against these, to raise up therefore the said Waldenses against the pride and hypocrisy of the others. Four archpillars of proud papistry. *See Appendix.*

Thus we never see any great corruption in the church, but that some sparkle of the true and clear light of the gospel yet by God's providence doth remain; whatsoever the Doctors Augustinus, Reinerius, Sylvius, and Cranzius, with others in their popish histories, do write of them, defaming them through misreport, and accusing them to magistrates as disobedient to orders, rebels to the catholic church, and contemners of the Virgin Mary, yet they that carry judgment indifferent, rather trusting truth than wavering with times, in weighing their articles, shall find it otherwise, and that they maintained nothing else but the same doctrine which is now defended in the church. And yet I suppose not contrary, but as the papists did

(1) *Waldenses.*—Our author has fallen into the very common error of confounding the Waldenses with the 'Pauperes de Lugduno,' or 'Poor men of Lyons,' and of deriving their origin from Waldus, or Peter Waldo, of Lyons. The earliest period assigned to Peter Waldo is the year 1160, but there is a document of the year 1100, 'La Nobla Leyczon,' which speaks of the Waldenses, or Vaudois, under the term Vaudés. It is therefore much more probable that Peter Waldo was named after the community called Vaudés, than that the Waldenses should take their name from his. Authors who assert the greater antiquity of the Waldenses, Vallenses, or Vaudois, maintain,

1. That the Waldenses are so called from certain secluded Alpine valleys, principally in Piedmont, where they have been settled from time immemorial.

2. That the simplest etymology is that which is deduced from a local, and not from a personal name—'Vallis,' Latin, 'Valle,' Italian, 'Val,' Provençal, 'Val,' pl. 'Vaux,' and 'Vallée,' French, 'Val,' Spanish. 'Val,' Celtic. 'Wald,' Teutonic, 'Valley,' English.

3. That traces are to be found in early ecclesiastical history (beginning with the works of Ambrose and Jerome), of Alpine churches, which held opinions similar to those of the Waldenses of later times.

4. That the most ancient of the state records of Piedmont, in which the Waldenses are noticed as a religious community at variance with the church of Rome, call them 'Huomini delle Valli,' or 'Men of the Valleys.'

5. That the antiquity of 'La Nobla Leyczon,' which presents internal evidence of having been written in the year 1100, and contains the term Vaudés, and applies it to a religious body, not in communion with the church of Rome, is proved by Raynouard, in his 'Choix de Poésies des Troubadours, and by others, whose authority is of importance as to the period and language of that valuable document.

6. That surnames were not in use in the twelfth century, and that Peter of Lyons had his second appellation Waldus, or Waldo, given to him to distinguish him, as one who had adopted the opinions of the Vaudés, or Waldenses.

7. That the earliest public edicts, which make mention of the Waldenses (such as, 'Statuta Synodalia Odonis Episcopi Tullensis,' in 1192—"De hæreticis autem qui vocantur Wadoys—præcipimus," and the edict of Ildefonsus, king of Arragon, in 1194), do not give any derivation of the term Waldenses, but simply call certain heretics by that name.

8. That the earliest treatises which profess to give the etymology of the name Waldenses, derive it from a word signifying 'Valley.'—Thus Bernard of Fonteaud, A.D. 1185—"Dicti sunt Valdenses nimirum a valle densa, eo quod profundis et densis errorum tenebris involvantur;" and Ebrard de Bethune, in the year 1200—"Vallenses se appellant eo quod in valle lachrymarum maneant."

9. That the first treatise which pretends to derive the Waldenses from Peter Waldus, of Lyons, was written after these, namely, 'Petri, Vallis-Sarnensis monachi, Historia Albigensium,' 12mo, Trecis, 1615. See Leger's 'Histoire générale des Eglises Evangéliques de Valées de Piémont;' Allix's 'Churches of Piedmont;' Gilly's 'Waldensian Researches;' Blair's 'History of the Waldenses.'—Ed.

(2) "Quoddam scutum in sotularis vel zabbatæ parte superiori hi qui perfecti inter eos sunt in signum deferunt, à quo etiam 'Inzabbatati dicti sunt." Nich. Eymericus. "Inquisitorum Directorium," Rom. 1578. pars 2 quæst. 13, p. 205, pars 3, p. 294. See Appendix.—Ed.

Henry II. A.D. 1189. with the articles of Wickliff and Huss, so they did in like manner with their articles also, in gathering and wresting them otherwise than they were meant.

The History of the Waldenses,

CONCERNING THEIR ORIGINAL AND DOCTRINE, WITH THEIR PERSECUTIONS.[1]

The first original of these Waldenses, came of one Waldus, a man both of great substance, and no less calling in the city of Lyons, the occasion whereof is declared of divers writers thus to come. About A.D. 1160, it chanced that divers of the best and chiefest heads of the city of Lyons, talking and walking in a certain place after their old-accustomed manner, especially in the summer-time, conferred and consulted together upon matters, either to pass over time, or to debate things to be done; amongst whom it chanced one (the rest looking on) to fall down by sudden death. In the number of whom this aforesaid Waldus, there being amongst them, was one; who, beholding the matter more earnestly than the others, and terrified with so heavy an example, being, as is said, a rich man, and God's Holy Spirit working withal, was stricken with a deep and inward repentance, whereupon followed a new alteration, with a careful study to reform his former life; insomuch that he began, first, to minister large alms of his goods to such as needed, secondly, to instruct and admonish himself and his family, and all that resorted to him by any occasion, concerning repentance, and the sincere worship of God, and true piety. Whereby, partly through his large giving to the poor, partly through his diligent teaching and wholesome admonitions, more resort of people daily frequented about him; whom when he did see ready and diligent to learn, he began to give out to them certain rudiments of the Scripture, which he had translated himself into the French tongue; for as he was a man wealthy in riches, so he was also not unlearned.

Although Laziardus, Volateranus, and others, note him utterly unlearned, and charge him with ignorance, as who should procure others to write and translate for him; by others, who have seen his doings yet remaining in old parchment monuments, it appeareth he was both able to declare and to translate the books of Scripture, and also did collect the doctors' mind upon the same.

The true nature of Antichrist neither himself to further the word, nor suffer other men to do it. *See Appendix.*

But whatsoever he was, lettered or unlettered, the bishops and prelates seeing him so to intermeddle with the Scriptures, and to have such resort about him, albeit it was but in his own house, under private conference, could neither abide that the Scriptures should be translated and declared by any other, nor would they take the pains to do it themselves. So, being moved with great malice against the man, they threatened to excommunicate him if he did not leave off so to do. Waldus, seeing his doing to be but godly, and their malice stirred up upon no just nor godly cause, neglecting the threatenings and frettings of the wicked, said, that "God must be obeyed more than man." To be brief, the more diligent he was in setting forth the true doctrine of Christ against the errors of Antichrist, the

(1) Edition 1563, p. 42. This account of the Waldenses is taken from Illyricus ("Cat. Test." Edit. Genevæ, 1608, cols. 1498—1529), and from the "Fasciculus" of Orth. Gratius. The text has been collated with the original, and corrected in some instances.—Ed.

more maliciously their fierceness increased; insomuch that when they did see their excommunication to be despised, and would not serve, they ceased not with prison, with banishment, with fire and with sword to persecute, till at length they had driven both Waldus, and all the favourers of his true preaching, out of the city. *Henry II.* A. D. 1189.

Whereupon came first their name, that they were called 'Waldenses,' or 'Pauperes de Lugduno,' not because they would have all things common amongst them, or that they, professing any wilful poverty, would imitate to live as the apostles did, as Sylvius did falsely belie them, but because they, being thrust out both of country and goods, were compelled to live poorly, whether they would or no. And thus much touching the first occasion and beginning of these men, and of the restoring and maintaining the true doctrine of Christ's gospel, against the proud proceedings of popish errors. Now concerning their articles, which I find in order and in number to be these:[1]—

The Articles of the Waldenses.

I. Only the holy Scripture is to be believed in matters pertaining to salvation, and no man or man's writing besides.

II. All things which are necessary to salvation are contained in holy Scripture; and therefore nothing is to be admitted in religion, but only what is commanded in the word of God.

III. There is one only Mediator; the saints are in no wise to be made mediators, or to be invocated.

IV. There is no purgatory; but all men are either through Christ justified to life eternal, or, not believing in him, go away to everlasting destruction: and, besides these two, there is no third or fourth place.

V. There be but two sacraments, baptism and the communion.[2]

VI. All masses, namely, such as be sung for the dead, are wicked, and ought to be abrogate.

VII. All human traditions ought to be rejected, at least not to be reputed as necessary to salvation; and therefore this singing and chanting in the chancel is to be left off: constrained and prefixed fasts bound to days and times, superfluous holidays, difference of meats, such variety of degrees and orders of priests, monks, and nuns, so many sundry benedictions and hallowing of creatures, vows, pilgrimages, and all the rabblement of rites and ceremonies brought in by man, ought to be abolished.

VIII. The asserted supremacy of the pope above all churches, and especially his usurped power above all governments, in other words the jurisdiction of both the swords, is to be utterly denied; neither are any degrees to be received in the church, but only the degrees of priests, deacons, and bishops.

IX. The communion under both kinds is godly and necessary, being ordained and enjoined by Christ.

X. The church of Rome is the very Babylon spoken of in the Apocalypse; and the pope is the fountain of all errors, and the very antichrist.

XI. The pope's pardons and indulgences they reject.[3]

XII. The marriage of priests they hold to be godly, and also necessary in the church.

XIII. Such as hear the word of God, and have a right faith, they hold to be the right church of Christ; and that to this church the keys of the church are given to drive away wolves, and to institute true pastors of Christ, who should preach the word and minister the sacraments.

These be the most principal articles of the Waldenses, albeit some there be that add more to them; some, again, divide the same into more parts: but these be the principal, to which the rest be reduced.

The same Waldenses, at length exiled, were dispersed in divers

(1) "Solis sacris literis credendum esse in iis, quæ ad salutem," &c. (2) Omitted by Foxe.—Ed.
(3) This article seemeth to be given of them in Bohemia, long after, for indulgences came not in before Boniface VIII. ["Tametsi illæ infra quadringentos annos, nempe ante 250, primùm à Bonifacio octavo excogitatæ sunt." Illyr. The right of granting them was, however, first claimed rather earlier, in the twelfth century.—Ed.]

Henry II. and sundry places, of whom many remained long in Bohemia;[1] who, writing to their king, Uladislaus, to purge themselves against the slanderous accusations of one Dr. Austin, gave up their confession with an apology of their christian profession; defending, with strong and learned arguments, the same which now is received in most reformed churches, both concerning grace, faith, charity, hope, repentance, and works of mercy.[2]

A. D. 1189.

A.D.1508.

Thomas Aquinas first finder of purgatory.

As for purgatory, they say that Thomas Aquinas is the author thereof.[3]

Concerning the supper of the Lord, their faith was, that it was ordained to be eaten, not to be showed and worshipped; for a memorial, not for a sacrifice; to serve for the present ministration, and not for reservation; to be received at the table, not to be carried out of the doors; according to the ancient use of the primitive church, when they used to communicate sitting. And this they said could be proved both by the old chronicles, as also by that most ancient Greek father, Origen, writing in these words upon the third book of Moses, proving that this sacramental bread ought not to be reserved:—"Whosoever receiveth this bread of the supper of Christ upon the second or third day after, his soul shall not be blessed, but be polluted. Therefore the Gibeonites, because they brought old bread to the children of Israel, it was enjoined them to carry wood and water, &c."[4]

See Appendix.

The sacramental bread ought not to be kept or reserved.

Dr. Austin, of whom mention is made before, disputing against them about this matter of the holy eucharist, urgeth them with this interrogation:[5] "Whether it be the same Christ present in the sacrament who is present at the right hand of the Father? If it be not the same Christ, how is it true in the Scripture, 'Nobis est non nisi unus Deus, unus Dominus Jesus Christus,'—'One God, one Lord Jesus Christ?' If it be the same Christ, then how is he not to be honoured and worshipped here as well as there?"

Part of the disputation between Dr. Austin and the Waldenses.

A dilemma; that is, a captious question, conferring on both sides an inconvenience.

To this the Waldenses answer again, and grant that Christ is one and the same in the sacrament, which he is at the right hand of his Father, having in both cases a natural body, but not after the same mode of existence: for the existence of his body in heaven is personal and local, to be apprehended by the faith and spirit of men. In the sacrament the existence of his body is not personal or local, to be apprehended or received of our bodies after a personal or corporal manner, but after a sacramental manner; that is, where our bodies receive the sign, and our spirit the thing signified. Moreover, in heaven the existence of his body is dimensive and complete, with the full proportion and quantity of the same body wherewith he ascended. Here, the existence of his complete body, with the full proportion, measure, and stature thereof, doth not, neither can, stand in the sacrament. Briefly, the existence of his body in heaven is natural, not sacramental, that is, to be seen, and not remembered: here it is sacramental, not natural, that is, to be remembered, not to be seen.

The answer of the Waldenses.

What it is to receive after a sacramental manner.

(1) The term Waldenses, which properly describes the religious community of the Alpine *valleys* of Piedmont, is often (though inaccurately) applied to all those Dissenters from Popery who appeared in various parts of Europe from the beginning of the eleventh century, though they did not all agree in their sentiments. The Taborites in Bohemia, however, are said to have really held the Waldensian doctrines. See infrà, p. 270, and Illyricus, "Catal. Test." col. 1507.—Ed.

(2) Ex Orthuino Gratio, [who in his "Fasciculus rerum," &c. gives "Professio fidei fratrum Waldensium," fol. 81, and "Responsio excusatoria f. W.," fol. 89. Uladislaus was king of Bohemia, A.D. 1471—1516, and Julius II. (mentioned in the Apology as then pope) reigned A.D. 1503—1513.—Ed.]

(3) This was not the fact, nor is the above exactly the statement of the apologist. See App.—Ed.

(4) Quicunque hunc panem cœnæ Christi secunda vel tertia die sumpserit, non benedicetur anima ejus, sed inquinabitur. Propterea Gabaonitæ, quia antiquos panes," &c. Orig. in, super tertium librum Mosis. [Fasciculus, fol. 88, A.—Ed.]

(5) Fasciculus, fol. 92.—Ed.

Henry II. A. D. 1189.

This answer being made to the captious proposition of Dr. Austin, the Waldenses, retorting the like interrogation to him again, demand of him to answer them in the like objection:[1] "Whether it be all one Christ substantially and naturally, who sitteth in heaven, and who is under the forms of bread and wine, and in the receivers of the sacrament?" If he grant it to be, then they bid him say, seeing Christ is as well in the sacrament as in heaven, and as well in the receiver as in the sacrament, and all one Christ in substance and nature; why then is not the same Christ as well in the breast of the receiver to be worshipped, as under the forms of bread and wine in the sacrament, seeing he is there after a more perfect manner in man, than in the sacrament? for in the sacrament he is but for a time, and not for the sacrament's sake, but for the man's cause: in man he is not for the sacrament's cause, but for his own; and that not for a season, but for ever, as it is written, "Qui manducat hunc panem vivet in æternum;" that is, "He that eateth this bread shall live for ever," &c.

Sacramental. Another dilemma against transubstantiation.

Moreover and besides, seeing transubstantiation is the going of one substance into another, they question again with him, "whether the forms of bread and wine remaining, the substance thereof be changed into the whole person of our Lord Christ Jesus, that is, both into his body, soul, and divinity; or not into the whole Christ?" If he grant the whole; then, say they, that is impossible, concerning the divinity, both to nature and to our faith, that any creature can be changed into the Creator. If he say, the bread is changed into the body and soul of Christ, not to his divinity, then he separateth the natures in Christ. If he say, into the body alone, and not the soul, then he separateth the natures of the true manhood, &c., and so it cannot be the same Christ that was betrayed for us; for that he had both body and soul. To conclude, to what part soever he would answer, this doctrine of transubstantiation cannot be defended without great inconvenience on all sides. Over and besides, Æneas Sylvius,[2] writing of their doctrine and assertions (perchance as he found them, perchance making worse of them than they taught or meant), reporteth them after this manner, which I thought here to set out as it is in the Latin.[3]

The English of the Same.

That the bishop of Rome is equal with other bishops. That amongst priests there is no difference of degree. That no dignity of order, but only worthiness of life, can raise one priest above others.

That the souls of men immediately on departing either enter into everlasting pain, or everlasting joy. That there is no purgatory of fire to be found. That to pray for the dead is a vain thing, and invented only for the lucre of priests.

That the images of God (as of the Trinity), and of saints, are to be abolished. That the hallowing of water and palms is ridiculous. That the religion of begging friars was invented by the devil. That priests should not encroach riches in this world, but rather follow poverty, being content with men's devotion.[4] That the preaching of the word of God is open to any one.

That no deadly sin is to be tolerated, for the sake of avoiding another evil, how much greater soever. That he who is in deadly sin cannot hold any dignity he may possess, whether secular or ecclesiastical, and is not to be obeyed.[5] That confirmation which bishops exercise with oil, and extreme unction, are not to be counted among the sacraments of the church. That auricular confession is but a toy; and that it suffices for every man to confess himself in his cham-

(1) Fasciculus, fol. 93.—Ed. (2) Æneas Sylvius, Bohemica historia de Waldensium dogmatibus. (3) "Romanum præsulem reliquis episcopis parem esse. Inter sacerdotes nullum discrimen. Presbyterum non dignitatem sed vitæ meritum efficere potiorem." For the original Latin, see Edition 1563, p. 44; also, Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1571, p. 103, and Illyricus, "Catal. Testium" (Ed. Goularti, Genev. 1608), col. 1525, whence the following translation is revised.—Ed.

(4) "Eleemosyna," voluntary oblations. See Todd's Johnson.—Ed. (5) Omitted by Foxe.—Ed.

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ber to God. That baptism ought to be administered only with pure water, without any mixture of hallowed oil. That the use of churchyards is vain, invented only for lucre's sake: it matters not what ground corpses are buried in.[1] That the temple of the great God is the wide world: and that it is like limiting his majesty to build churches, monasteries, and oratories, as though his grace were more to be found in one place than in another.

The temple of the Lord, that is, the habitation wherein God most properly dwelleth and worketh.

That priest's apparel, ornaments of the high altar, palls, corporas cloths, chalices, patines, and other church plate, serve in no stead. That the priest may consecrate and minister the body of Christ to those who do require, in any place whatever.[2] That it is sufficient only if he pronounce the sacramental words.

That the suffrages of saints, reigning with Christ in heaven, are craved in vain; they being not able to help us. That the time spent in saying or singing the canonical hours, is but lost. That a man ought to cease from his labour no day, except the Lord's day, as it is now called.

That place maketh not the ministration of holy things either more or less holy. *See Appendix.*

That the feasts and festivals of saints ought to be rejected. Item, that such fasts as be coacted and enjoined by the church have no merit in them.

These assertions of the Waldenses being thus articled out by Æneas Sylvius, I thought to give them abroad in English as they are in Latin, to the intent that as they are the less to be doubted, being set out of a pope's pen, so we may both the better know them hereby, what they were, and also understand how this doctrine, now preached and taught in the church, is no new doctrine, which here we see both taught and persecuted almost four hundred years ago. And as I have spoken hitherto sufficiently concerning their doctrine, so now we will briefly somewhat touch of the order of their life and conversation, as we find it registered in a certain old written book of inquisition.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE WALDENSES.

The whole process cometh to this effect in English. The manner of the Waldenses is this[3]. They kneeling upon their knees, leaning to some bench or stay, do continue in their prayers with silence, so long as a man may say thirty or forty times "Pater noster." And this they do every day with great reverence, being amongst themselves and such as be of their own religion, and no strangers with them, both before dinner and after; likewise before supper and after; also what time they go to bed, and in the morning when they rise; and at certain other times also, as well in the day as in the night. Item, they use no other prayer but the prayer of the Lord, "Pater noster," &c., and that without any "Ave Maria" and the Creed, which they affirm not to be put in for any prayer by Christ, but only by the church of Rome. Albeit, they have and use the "seven articles of faith concerning the divinity," and "seven articles concerning the humanity," and the "ten commandments," and "seven works of mercy," which they have compiled together in a compendious book, glorying much in the same, and thereby offer themselves ready to answer any man as to their faith.[4]

Their manner of grace before meat.

Before they go to meat they ask a blessing by saying "Benedicite," "Kyrie eleyson, Christe eleyson, Kyrie eleyson," and the "Pater noster."[5] Which being said, then the elder amongst them beginneth thus, in their own tongue: "God who blessed the five barley loaves and two fishes in the desert before his disciples, bless this table, and that is set upon it, or shall be set upon it, in the name (crossing themselves[6]) of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." And likewise again, when they rise from meat, the

(1) Omitted by Foxe.—Ed. (2) Æn. Sylv. adds, "quocunque tempore."—Ed.
(3) "Modus autem Valdensium talis est," &c. Ex inquisitorio quodam libello, de moribus et consuetudine Waldensium [cited by Illyricus "Cat. Test." col. 1523.—Ed.] (4) See Appendix.
(5) "Bless ye the Lord," "Lord have mercy on us, Christ have mercy on us, Lord have mercy on us," "Our Father," &c.—Ed. (6) This parenthesis is omitted by Foxe.—Ed.

senior giveth thanks, saying in their own tongue the words of the Apocalypse, "Blessing, and worship, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, honour, virtue, and strength, to God alone, for ever and ever. Amen." And addeth, moreover, "God reward them into their bosoms, and be beneficial to all them, that be beneficial to us:" and, "the God who hath given us corporal feeding, grant us spiritual life:" and, "God be with us, and we always with him." To which the rest answer again, "Amen." And while thus saying grace, they usually put their hands together and lift them upward toward heaven. After their meat and grace thus said, they teach and exhort amongst themselves, conferring together upon their doctrine, &c.

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Their grace after meat.

In their doctrine and teaching they were so diligent and painful, that Reinerius, a writer about that time (an extreme enemy against them), in a long process,[1] wherein he describeth their doctrine and teaching, testifieth that he heard of one who did know the party, "that a certain heretic," saith he, "only to turn a certain person away from our faith, and to bring him to his, in the night, and in the winter time, swam over the river called Ibis, to come to him, and to teach him." Moreover, so perfect they were then in the Scriptures, that the said Reinerius saith, he did hear and see a man of the country unlettered,[6] who could recite over the whole book of Job word by word without book, with divers others, who had the whole New Testament perfectly by heart.

Reinerius, an old inquisitor against Waldenses. *See Appendix.*

And although some of them rather merrily than unskilfully expounded the words of St. John, "Sui non receperunt eum"—"Swine did not receive him;"[2] yet were they not so ignorant and void of learning, nor yet so few in number, but that they did mightily prevail; insomuch that Reinerius hath these words: "There was none durst stop them for the power and multitude of their favourers. I have often been at their inquisition and examination, and there were numbered forty churches infected with their heresy, and in one parish of Cammach were ten open schools of them."[3]

Pius videtur jocus in lascivos sacerdotes.

The power and multitude of Waldenses.

And the said Reinerius, when he hath said all he can in depraving and impugning them, yet is driven to confess this of them, where he doth distinguish their sect from other sects, and hath these words: "This sect of Leonists hath a great show of holiness, in that they both live justly before men, and believe all things well of God, and hold all the articles contained in the Creed; only they blaspheme the Romish church, and hate it."[4]

Waldenses in all points sound, but only for holding against the church of Rome.

Now to touch somewhat their persecutions:[5]—After they were driven out of Lyons, they were scattered into divers and sundry places, the providence of God so disposing, that the sound of their doctrine might be heard abroad in the world. Some, as I said, went to Bohemia; many did flee into the provinces of France; some into Lombardy; others into other places, &c. But as the cross commonly followeth the verity and sincere preaching of God's word, so neither

(1) Given by Illyricus, "Cat. Test." col. 1507.—Ed.

(2) Illyricus remarks in his margin, "Pontificium clerum suum nomine intellexerunt Valdenses" Reinerius imputes it to their ignorance.—Ed. *See Appendix*

(3) "Non erat qui eos impedire auderet propter potentiam et multitudinem fautorum suorum. Inquisitioni et examinationi sæpe interfui, et computatæ sunt quadragenæ ecclesiæ, quæ heresi infectæ fuerunt, ac in una parochia Cammach fuerunt decem eorum scholæ," &c. [Illyricus, col. 1508, F.—Ed.]

(4) "Hæc vero Leonistarum secta magnam habet speciem pietatis, eo quod coram hominibus juste vivant, et bene omnia de Deo credant, et omnes articulos, qui in symbolo continentur; solam Romanam ecclesiam blasphemant, et oderunt." Ex Orthuino Gratio. [Illyricus, col. 1509, A.—Ed.]

(5) Illyricus, col. 1501, C.—Ed.

(6) "Rusticum idiotam," Illyricus: "an unlettered peasant."—Ed.

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could these be suffered to live in rest. There are yet to be seen consultations of the lawyers of Avignon [A.D. 1235], likewise of the archbishops of Narbonne, Arles, and Aix [A.D. 1235],[1] also an ordinance of the bishop of Albano [A.D. 1246],[2] which yet remain in writing, for the extirpating of these Waldenses, written above three hundred years tofore;[3] whereby it appeareth that there was a great number of them in France.

The cross commonly followeth the word.

Waldenses persecuted more than three hundred years ago by Antichrist. *See Appendix.*

Besides, there was a council held in Toulouse about three hundred and fifty-five years ago [A.D. 1229], and all against these Waldenses, who also were condemned in another council at Rome before that [A.D. 1215].

What great persecutions were raised up against them, is apparent from the before-mentioned consultation of the three French archbishops; whereof I will recite some of their words, which towards the end be these: "Who is such a stranger that knoweth not the condemnation of the Waldensian heretics, done and past so many years ago, so famous, so public, following upon so many and great labours, expenses, and travail of the faithful, and so boldly sealed with so many deaths of the infidels themselves, solemnly condemned and openly punished?"[4] Whereby we may see persecution to be no new thing in the church of Christ, when Antichrist so long ago, even three hundred years past, began to rage against these Waldenses. In Bohemia, likewise, after that, the same, called by the name of Thaborites, as Sylvius recordeth, suffered no little trouble. But never persecution was stirred up against them or any other people, more terrible than was in these latter years in France by the French king, A.D. 1545, which lamentable story is described in Sleidan, and hereafter in the process of this work,[5] as we come to the order of years, shall be set forth, by the grace of Christ, more at large; in the which persecution is declared, in one town, Cabriers, to be slain by the captain of Satan, Minerius, eight hundred persons at once, without respect of women or children of any age; of whom forty women, and most of them great with child, thrust into a barn, and the windows kept with pikes, and so fire set to them, were all consumed. Besides, in a cave not far from the town Mussium, to the number of five and twenty persons, with smoke and fire were at the same time destroyed. At Merindol the same tyrant, seeing all the rest were fled away, and finding one young man, caused him to be tied to an olive-tree, and to be destroyed with torments most cruelly; with much other persecution, as shall appear hereafter in the history translated out of Sleidan into English.

Antichrist, with whom he first began his persecution.

A horrible murder of Christ's holy martyrs.

Minerius a horrible persecutor.

A glover suffered martyrdom in Cheron.

Four hundred and forty-three brought to examination. *See Appendix.*

But to return again to higher times, from whence we digressed. Besides that, Reinerius (above mentioned), speaketh of one in the town of Cheron, a glover, who was brought at this time to examination, and suffered. There is also an old monument of processes, wherein appear four hundred and forty-three to be brought to examination in Pomerania, Marchia, and places thereabouts, about A.D. 1391.[6]

(1) See Franciscus Pegna on Nich. Eymericus's Direct. Inquisit. p. ii. com. 56.—Ed.

(2) Pierre de Collemezzo, abp. of Rouen, was made cardinal bp. of Albano in 1244 (Moreri), and as such convened the council of Beziers, A.D. 1246. See Labbe's Conc. tom. xi. col. 687.—Ed.

(3) "Tofore," heretofore, ago. Illyricus published his "Cat. Test." first in 1556.—Ed.

(4) "Quis enim est solus ille peregrinus, qui condemnationem [damnationem] hæreticorum [et] Valdensium ignoret [nescierit] a longe retro annis [tam justissimè] factam, tam famosam, tam publicam [publicatam, tam prædicatam], tot et tantis laboribus, expensis et sudoribus fidelium insecutam, et tot mortibus ipsorum infidelium solenniter damnatorum publiceque punitorum tam fortiter [firmiter] sigillatam?" &c. [Labbe, Conc. tom. xi. col. 496, gives the passage with the variations here noticed.—Ed.]

(5) See infrà, vol. iv. pp. 501, 502.—Ed.

(6) Illyricus, cols. 1506, 1508.—Ed.

And thus much touching the origin, doctrine, and lamentable persecutions of the Waldenses; who, as is declared, first began about the time of this King Henry II. *Henry II.* A.D. 1189.

OTHER INCIDENTS HAPPENING IN THE REIGN OF THIS HENRY II.

Concerning the first origin of the Waldenses, springing up in the days of this king, sufficient is already declared. Now remaineth in the like order of time to story also such other incidents as chanced under the reign of the said king, not unworthy to be observed, keeping the order of the time as near as we may, and as authors do give unto us.

Mary, the daughter of King Stephen, being the abbess of Ramsey, was married in this king's days to Matthew, earl of Boulogne; which marriage Thomas Becket did work against, and did dissolve, by reason whereof he procured himself great displeasure with the said earl, &c. A.D. 1161.[1] Becket a dissolver of marriages.

The same year a certain child was crucified of the Jews in the town of Gloucester.[2] After the same manner the wicked Jews had crucified another child before in the city of Norwich, in the days of King Stephen, A.D. 1145. Two children crucified by the Jews. *See Appendix.*

A collection was gathered through all England and France, of two pence in every pound, for the succour of the East Christians against the Turks, A.D. 1167.[3]

Babylon was taken and destroyed, and never since repaired, by Almaric, king of Jerusalem, A.D. 1170.[4] Babylon utterly destroyed.

In the year 1173, almost all England was diseased with the cough.[5] About this year also William, king of Scots, was taken in battle and imprisoned in England.

Great war happened in Palestine, wherein the city of Jerusalem, with the cross and king of the city, and others of the temple, was taken by the Saracens, and the most part of the Christians there were either slain or taken. Cruel murder and slaughter were used by the Turk, who caused all the chief of the Christians to be brought forth and beheaded before his face; insomuch that Pope Urban III. for sorrow died, and Gregory VIII., the next pope after him, lived not two months. Then, in the days of Pope Clement III., news and sorrow growing daily for the loss of Palestine, and the destruction of the Christians; King Henry of England, and Philip, the French king, the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Champagne, with divers other christian princes, with a general consent, upon St. George's day, took the mark of the cross upon them, promising together to take their voyage into the Holy Land. At this time the stories say, the king of England first received the red cross, the French king took the white cross, the earl of Flanders took the green cross; and so likewise other princes diversly divers colours, thereby to be discerned every one by his proper cross. But King Henry, after the three years were expired, in which he promised to perform his voyage, sent to the pope for further delay of his promise, offering for the same to erect three monasteries; which thing

The holy-cross taken with the city of Jerusalem, by the Saracens. *See Appendix.*

A voyage against the Turks.

How the difference of the crosses first came in.

(1) Ex chronico bibliothecæ Cariensis. (2) Jornalensis. (3) Ibid.
(4) Ex vetusto manuscripto exempiari historiæ Cariensis. (5) Ex vetusto chron. Acephalo.

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he thus performed: in the church of Waltham he thrust out the secular priests, and set in monks instead of them. Secondly, he repaired Amesbury, and brought in the nuns again, who before were excluded for their incontinent life. And thus performed he his promise made before to the pope, A.D. 1173.

King of Scotland doing homage to the king of England.

The king of Scots[1] did his homage and allegiance to the king of England and to his son, and to his chief lords; promising that all the earls and barons of Scotland should do the like with their posterity. Item, all the bishops and abbots of the church of Scotland promised subjection and submission to the archbishop of York, A.D. 1175.[2]

The custom was in this realm, that if any had killed any clerk or priest, he was not to be punished with the temporal sword, but only excommunicated and sent to Rome for the pope's grace and absolution; which custom, in the days of this king, began first to be altered by the procurement of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1176.[3]

London bridge.

London-bridge first began to be made of stone by one Peter, priest of Colechurch, A.D. 1176.[4]

St. William of Paris was slain by the Jews on Maundy-Thursday, for which the Jews were burned, and he counted a saint, A.D. 1177.

Ireland subdued to England.

Ireland subdued to the crown of England by this king, A.D. 1177.[5]

Pilgrimage to Canterbury sprang up from a lying vision.

About the five and twentieth year of the reign of the said King Henry, Louis the French king, by the vision of Thomas Becket appearing unto him in his dream, and promising to him the recovery of his son, if he would resort to him at Canterbury, made his journey into England to visit St. Thomas at Canterbury, with Philip, earl of Flanders; where he offered a rich cup of gold, with other precious jewels, and one hundred vessels of wine yearly to be given to the covent of the church of Canterbury: notwithstanding, the said Philip in his return from England, taking his journey to Paris to visit St. Dennis, in the same his pilgrimage was stricken with such cold, that he fell into a palsy, and was benumbed in the right side of his body, A.D. 1178.[6]

Stephen, bishop of Rennes, was wont to make many rhymes and gaudish prose to delight the ears of the multitude; to whom a little before his death this verse was sounded in his ear, "Desine ludere temere, nitere propere surgere de pulvere:" A.D. 1178.[7]

Transubstantiation gainsaid.

The Albigenses of the city of Toulouse, denied transubstantiation in the sacrament of Christ's body and blood; also that matrimony was a sacrament, &c. A.D. 1178.[8]

Queen Elenor imprisoned.

King Henry separated himself from his wife Elenor, and held her many years in prison, as some think, for the love of Rosamond; which seemeth to me to be the cause why God afterward stirred up all his sons to war against him, and to work him much sorrow;

(1) William, brother of Malcom IV., is the monarch here referred to. He was taken prisoner before Alnwick, by a stratagem, by Rob. Stutevill and Ralph de Glanville, two of King Henry's nobility, and was transported to Falaise, in Normandy, where he was compelled to sign a disgraceful treaty. He returned to Scotland, and in the year 1175 Henry summoned him to meet him at York. All the nobility and landholders of Scotland accompanied him thither; the disgraceful treaty of Falaise was confirmed, and Scotland found herself under the protection of Henry, deprived of liberty and honour.—Ed.

(2) Nicol. Trivet. (3) Ibid.

(4) Ex Chron. cujus initium: "In diebus sanctissimi regis Edvardi," &c. Ex Biblioth. Carnensi. *See Appendix.*

(5) Ex variis Chron. (6) Jornalensis, et alii. (7) Nic. Trivet. (8) Ibid.

A. D. 1179;[1] notwithstanding, the said Elenor was shortly after reconciled to him. *Henry II.*

A.D. 1180.

St. Frideswide was translated unto Oxford in the same year.

In the year 1180, there came to the council of Pope Alexander, one Burgundio of Pisa, a man very cunning both in Greek and Latin, who brought and presented to the council the homilies of Chrysostome upon the gospel of St. John, translated out of Greek into Latin, and said that he had translated likewise a great part of his Exposition upon Genesis; saying moreover, that the said Chrysostome had made expositions in Greek of the whole of the Old Testament, and also of the New.

Expositions made by Chrysostom, of the Old and New Testament. *See Appendix.*

The monks of Charterhouse first entered into this land, A. D. 1180.

In the year 1181, Richard Pech, bishop of Coventry, before his death renounced his bishopric, and became a canon in the church of St. Thomas by Stafford.[2]

The bishop of Coventry renounceth his bishopric.

About the latter time of this King Henry, one Hugo, whom men were wont to call St. Hugh of Lincoln, born in Burgundy, and prior of the monks of Charterhouse, was preferred by the king to the bishopric of Lincoln, who after his death is said to have done great miracles, and therefore was counted a saint. A. D. 1186.[3]

St. Hugh of Lincoln. *See Appendix.*

Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, began the building of his new house and church of Lambeth; but by the letters of Pope Clement III., he was forbidden to proceed in the building thereof, A. D. 1187.[4] *See Appendix.*

I find likewise in the aforesaid old written chronicle remaining in the hands of one William Cary, citizen of London, that King Henry II. gave to the court and church of Rome for the death of Thomas Becket, forty thousand marks of silver, and five thousand marks of gold. A. D. 1187.

King Henry's gift to the church of Rome for the death of Becket

Mention was made a little above of Almaric, king of Jerusalem, who destroyed Babylon, so that it was never after to this day restored, but lieth waste and desolate; wherein was fulfilled that which by the prophets, in so many places, was threatened to Babylon before. This Almaric had a son named Baldwin, and a daughter called Sibylla. Baldwin, from the beginning of his reign, was a leper, and had the falling-sickness, being not able, for feebleness of body, although valiant in heart and stomach, to satisfy that function.

Sibylla, his sister, was first married to one William, marquis of Mount Ferrat, by whom she had a son, called also Baldwin. After him she was married to another husband, named Guido de Lusignan, earl of Joppa and of Ascalon. Upon this it befel that the aforesaid Baldwin the leper, son of Almaric, being thus feeble and infirm, as is said, called his nobles together, with his mother and the patriarch, declaring to them his inability, and by their consents committed the under-government of the city unto Guido, the husband of Sibylla, his sister. But he being found insufficient, or else not lucky in the government thereof, the office was translated to another, named Raimund, earl of Tripolis. In the mean while, the soldan with his Saracens mightily prevailed against the Christians, and overran the country of Palestine, during which time Baldwin the king departed;

A worthy story of Sibylla and Guido.

(1) Nic. Trivet. (2) Ex Chronico pervetusto, cui initium, "In diebus sanctis. regis," &c. (3) Flores. Hist. (4) Nic. Trivet.

Henry II. whereby the kingdom fell next to Baldwin (the son of Sibylla, by her first husband, William), who, being but five years old, was put to A.D. 1189. the custody of the above Raimund. This Baldwin also died in his minority, before he came to his crown, whereby the next succession by descent fell to Sibylla, the wife of Guido above mentioned. The peers and nobles, joining together in council, offered unto the said Sibylla, as to the lawful heir to the crown, that she should be their queen, with this condition, that she should sequester from her, by solemn divorcement, the aforesaid Guido, her husband; but she refused the kingdom offered to her on that condition, till at last the magistrates, with the nobles in general, granted unto her, and by their oaths confirmed the same, that whomsoever she would choose to be her husband, all they would take and obey as their king. Also Guido, her husband, with like petition among the rest, humbly requested her that the kingdom, for his sake, or for his private loss, might not be destitute of government. At length, she, with tears consenting to their entreaty, was contented, and solemnly was crowned their queen, who, after the custom, again received their fidelity by their oath; whereupon Guido, without any hope either of wife or kingdom, departed home quietly to his own. This done, the queen, assembling her states and prelates together, entered talk with them about the choosing of the king, according to that which they had promised, and sworn unto her, namely, to obey him as their king, whom she would name to be her husband. Thus, while they were all in great expectation, waiting every man whom she would nominate, the queen, with a loud voice, said to Guido, that stood amongst them: "Guido, my lord, I choose thee for my husband, and yielding myself and my kingdom unto you, openly I protest you to be the king." At these words all the assembly being amazed, wondered that one simple woman so wisely had beguiled so many wise men; and worthy was she, no doubt, to be commended and extolled for her singular virtue, both of faithful chastity and high prudence; so tempering the matter, that she both obtained to her husband the kingdom, and retained to herself again her husband, whom she so faithfully loved. A. D. 1186.[1]

A worthy example of a true wife to her husband.

As I have hitherto described the public acts of King Henry, so now I mean to touch something of his private conditions. He was of mean stature, eloquent and learned, manly and bold in chivalry, fearful of the mutability and chance of war, more lamenting the death of his soldiers dead, than loving them alive; none more courteous and liberal for the obtaining of his purpose; in peace and tranquillity none more rough; stubborn against the stubborn; sometimes merciful to those whom he had vanquished; straight to his household servants, but liberal to strangers; publicly, of public things, liberal, sparing of his own; whom once he took a displeasure against, hardly, or never, would he receive again to favour; somewhat lavish of his tongue; a willing breaker of his promise; a lover of his own ease, but an oppressor of his nobility; a severe avenger and furtherer of justice; variable of word, and crafty in his talk; an open adulterer; a nourisher of discord amongst his children; moreover, the papists, bearing him for Thomas Becket's quarrel and such

(1) Ex Historia manuscripta cui initium, "Rex Pictorum," ex Bibliotheca Cariensi mutuata.

like, as may be gathered, no good will, term him an adversary of the faith, the mall and beetle of the church. *Henry II.* A.D. 1189.

Also in the chronicle entitled 'Scala Mundi' I find of him, that he followed the steps, manners, and conditions of Henry I. his grandfather, in every point. He preserved firm peace, and executed strict justice, through all his dominions. He loved marvellous well his forests; and again, those who were transgressors either to his crown or person, he most severely punished.

Moreover, in a certain history entitled 'De Regibus Angliæ'[1] I find, that this king was sundry times admonished to reform and amend his life, and first by one who was an old man, in the castle of Cardif in Wales, on the Sunday which is called 'Dominica in albis,' the eighth day after Easter; where also, after that he heard mass, and was going to take his horse, there stood a certain man by him, somewhat yellowish, his hair being rounded, lean, and ill-favoured, having on a white coat, and being barefoot, who looked upon the king, and spake in German on this wise—"Good old king;" that done, thus he proceedeth—"Christ and his blessed mother, John Baptist and Peter, salute you, and straitly charge you, that upon the Sundays, throughout all your dominions, there be no buying and selling, or other servile business (those only excepted which appertain to the preparation of meat and drink); which thing if thou shalt observe, whatsoever thou takest in hand, thou shalt happily finish and bring to pass." Then spake the king, in French, unto the knight that held his horse by the bridle: "Ask of this churl whether he dreamed this or not?" And in the mean while that the knight should have interpreted the king's words in English, he spake in German as before, and said, "Whether this be a dream or not, mark well what day this is; for unless thou do these things and amend thy life, such news shalt thou hear within these twelve months, as will make thee lament and mourn till thy dying day." And when these words were spoken, the man vanished out of his sight; and within one year after, Henry, Geffrey, and Richard, his sons, forsook him, their father, and took part with the French king. The king of Scots, and the earls of Chester and Leicester, made an insurrection against the king. Many other premonitions were given also to the king, but all these did he little esteem. The second who did admonish him, was a certain Irishman, giving him certain secret signs. And thirdly, a certain knight of Lindesey,[2] named Philip de Easterby, sailing with him over into France, declared unto the king, in Normandy, seven articles which he should amend; which thing if he would do, he should reign seven years most honourably, and should take the holy cross from his enemies; or else he, in the fourth year, should die in great ignominy. The three first things were these, which he at his coronation sware to observe, that is, to defend the church, to enact good laws, and to condemn no man to death without judgment; the fourth was, for the restoring of inheritance wrongfully taken; the fifth was, in doing justice without reward; the sixth was, of the due payment of men's wages and stipends; the seventh was, of expelling the Jews, leaving them some money to depart withal. But the king not amending his life, there rose up against him

The king admonished to amend his life.

Sunday to be free from buying and selling.

The second and third admonition to the king to reform his life.

The king's victory falsely imputed to his pilgrimage.

(1) The following anecdote is in Brompton, Script. X. p. 1079, whence several inaccuracies in the text are corrected.—Ed.

(2) One of the three divisions of Lincolnshire.—Ed.

Richard I. A.D. 1189. three strong enemies; that is to say, his three sons, along with the French king. But, after the king, forsooth, had gone a pilgrimage to the martyr's tomb, barefoot, William, king of Scots, and the earls of Chester and Leicester, were taken at Alnwick.[1]

The death of Henry II. July 6th, A.D. 1189. In the five and thirtieth year of his reign, being in the castle of Chinon in Normandy, he died; at whose death those who were present were so greedy of the spoil, that they left the body of the king naked, and not so much could be found as a cloth to cover it, till that a page coming in and seeing the king so ignominiously to lie, threw his cloak upon his nether parts; wherein, saith the author, was verified the surname which from his youth he bare, being called Henry Court Mantil.

RICHARD THE FIRST.[2]

A.D. 1189, Sunday, Sept. 3d. In the year above recited, which was A.D. 1189, King Richard, the eldest[3] son of Henry II., succeeding his father, entered his crown; at which time Pope Clement sat at Rome, succeeding after Gregory, who died a little before with sorrow for the loss of the holy cross.[4]

No Jew to enter the palace or church during Richard's coronation. During the time of his coronation, it befel, that notwithstanding the king, the day before his coronation, by public edict commanded both the Jews,[5] and their wives, not to presume to enter either the church or his palace, during the solemnization of his coronation, amongst his nobles and barons; yet, while the king was at dinner, the chief men of the Jews, with divers others of the Jewish affinity and superstitious sect, against the king's prohibition, together with other press, entered the court gates. Whereat a Christian man being offended, struck one of them with his hand or fist, and bade him stand further from the court gate, as the king had given commandment; whose example others also following, being displeased with the Jews, offered them the like contumely. Others also, supposing that the king had so commanded indeed, as using the authority of the king, fell upon all the Jews that stood by without the court gate. And first they beat them with their fists, but afterwards they took up stones and such other things as they could get, and threw at them, and beat them therewith. And thus driving them from the court gates, some of them they wounded, some they slew, and some they left for dead.

A Jew through fear baptized. There was amongst this number of the Jews one called 'Benedict,' a Jew of York, who was so sorely wounded and beaten with the rest, that, for fear of his life, he said he would become a Christian, and was indeed of William, the prior of the church of St. Mary of York, baptized; whereby he escaped the great peril of death he was in, and the persecutors' hands. In the mean while there was a great rumour spread throughout all the city of London, that the king had commanded to destroy all the Jews. Whereupon, as well the citizens, as innumerable people more, being assembled to see the

The Jews in London slain. king's coronation, armed themselves and came together. The Jews thus being for the most part slain, the rest fled into their houses, where for a time, through the strong and sure building of them, they

(1) See Appendix, for an error here.—Ed.
(2) Edition 1563, p. 70. Ed. 1583, p. 234. Ed. 1597, p. 213. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 265.—Ed.
(3) His third son, though the eldest surviving.—Ed. (4) See Appendix.
(5) The atrocities against the unfortunate Jews here recorded, are fully related in Walter Hemingford, Gale Script. vol. ii. pp. 514—518, and Brompton.—Ed.

were defended. But at length their houses were set on fire, and they destroyed therein. *Richard I.*

A. D. 1189.

These things being declared to the king, whilst he with his nobles and barons were at dinner, he sendeth immediately Ranulfe de Glanvile, the lord high steward of England, with divers other noblemen to accompany him, that they might stay and restrain these so bold enterprises of the Londoners: but all was in vain, for in this so great a tumult none there was that either regarded what the nobility said, or else any whit reverenced their personages, but rather with stern looks and threatening words advised them, and that quickly, to depart. Whereupon they, with good deliberation, thinking it the best so to do, departed; the tumult and insurrection continuing till the next day. At which time[1] also the king, sending certain of his officers into the city, gave them in commandment to apprehend and present some, such as were the chief of the malefactors: of whom three were condemned to be hanged, and so were; the one, for that he had robbed a Christian's house in this tumult; and the other two, for that they fired the houses, to the great danger of the city. After this, the king sent for him who from a Jew was converted to Christianity, and in the presence of those who saw when he was baptized, the king asked him whether he was become a Christian or not? He answering the king, said, No, but to the intent that he might escape death, he permitted the Christians to do with him what they listed.[2] Then the king asked the archbishop of Canterbury, other archbishops and bishops being present, what were best to be done with him? Who unadvisedly answering, said, "If he will not be a man of God, let him be a man of the devil:" and so revolted he again to Judaism.

The small regard to the nobility in tumults and insurrections.

An unadvised answer of an archbishop.

Then the king sent his writs to the sheriffs of every county, to inquire for the authors and stirrers of this outrage; of whom three were hanged, divers were imprisoned. So great was then the hatred of Englishmen against the Jews, that as soon as they began to be repulsed in the court, the Londoners taking example thereof fell upon them, set their houses on fire, and spoiled their goods. The country again, following the example of the Londoners, semblably did the like. And thus the year, which the Jews took to be their jubilee, was to them a year of confusion; insomuch that in the city of York, the Jews obtaining the occupying of a certain castle for their preservation, and afterwards not being willing to restore it to the Christians again, when they saw no other remedy, but by force to be vanquished, first they offered much money for their lives; when that would not be taken, by the counsel of an old Jew amongst them, every one, with a sharp razor, cut another's throat, whereby a thousand and five hundred of them were at that time destroyed.[3] Neither was this plague of theirs undeserved; for every year commonly their custom was, to get some Christian man's child from the parents, and on Good Friday to crucify him, in despite of our religion.[4]

A miserable and deserved destruction of the Jews.

King Richard, after the death of his father, coming unto remembrance of himself, and of his rebellion against his father, sought for absolution of his trespass; and, in part of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip, the French king, at a certain interview,[5] to take

(1) "Sequenti die," Brompton.—Ed.
(2) "Permisit à Christianis sibi fieri quod volebant," Id.—Ed.
(3) Next year, Friday, March 16th, 1190. Hoveden. See Appendix.—Ed.
(4) Ex Chron. Westm. cui initium, "Æneas cum Ascanio," &c.
(5) July 22d, 1189. Hoved. Gerv. Bromp. See Appendix.—Ed.

Richard I. A. D. 1189.

his voyage with him for the recovery of Christ's patrimony, which they called the Holy Land. Whereupon the said King Richard, immediately after his coronation, to prepare himself the better towards his journey, set to sale divers of his manors, whereof Godfrey Lucy, then bishop of Winchester, bought a couple for two thousand marks; to wit, Wergrave and Melenge. The abbot of Bury bought another for a thousand marks, called Middlesay, or Mildenhall. Hugh Puzas, bishop of Durham, bought the lordship of Seggesfield or Sedberga, with the wapentake, and all the appurtenance thereto belonging: he bought also the earldom of Northumberland: whom when the king should solemnize after the manner of secular earls, merrily with a mocking jest, "Lo," said he, "of an old bishop I have made a young earl." And because the said bishop had professed a solemn vow before to visit the Holy Land, to be released of his vow he compounded with the pope for a great sum of money there-for; and moreover gave to the king a thousand marks to remain at home, as chief justice of England. *At that time it appeareth that these taxes, tolls, exactions, and subsidies, either were not known, or not so much had then in use; by reason whereof this king was driven to make other shift, by selling lordships, castles, offices, liberties, privileges, bishoprics, &c.*[1] Over and besides, the king set out all that he had to sale, woods, castles, townships, lordships, earldoms, baronages, *and, as he said himself, he would have sold London also, if he could have found any able to buy it;* ordaining also divers new bishops, and not without some advantage, as appeared, to his purse; feigning moreover his old seal to be lost, that they which had lands to hold might be driven to renew their writings again by the new seal, whereby great substance of money was gained. Above all this, by the commandment of Pope Clement III., a tenth also was exacted of the whole realm, in such sort as that the Christians should make up for the king seventy thousand pounds, the Jews sixty thousand pounds.[2]

The covetous greediness of bishops, in buying great lordships. *See Appendix.*

Sleights to get money.

A tenth gathered through all England. *See Appendix.*

Philip the French king, in the time of his parliament at St. Denis, in the month of November, sent Rotrou, earl of Perche, with certain earls and barons, to King Richard, desiring him to remember his promise made for the recovery of Christ's holy patrimony out of the Saracens' hands; certifying him how he had bound himself by solemn oath, deposing upon the Evangelists, that he, the next year following, about the time of Easter, had certainly prefixed to address himself towards that journey: requiring him likewise not to fail, but to be ready at the term above limited, appointing also the place where both the kings should meet together. Unto whom he sent word again, solemnly swearing on the Evangelists, that he would be ready at the appointed time and place. Whereupon he applied himself diligently to prepare; but especially his care was to make unity and concord between parties that were at variance, and to set them together at one.

Philip and Richard concluding to travel to the Holy Land.

After which the king, in the month of December, sailed to France, where the French king and he conferring together, for the more continuance of their journey assured themselves by solemn oath, swearing fidelity one unto the other; the form of whose oath was this:— That either of them should defend and maintain the honour of the

The oath and fidelity between Philip II. the French king, and Richard I. *See Appendix.*

(1) This and the succeeding passage, between single asterisks, are from the Edition of 1563, p. 69.—Ed.

(2) Ex Gerv. fol. 134. [X Script. col. 1529. Stowe's Ann., A.D. 1188. See Appendix.—Ed.]

other, and bear true fidelity unto him of life, members, and worldly honour; and that neither of them should fail one the other in their affairs; but that the French king should aid the king of England in defending his land and dominions, as he would himself defend his own city of Paris, if it were besieged; and that Richard, king of England, likewise should aid the French king in defending his land and dominions, no otherwise than he would defend his own city of Rouen, if it were besieged, &c. But how slenderly this oath did hold between these two kings, and by whose chief occasion first it fell asunder, the sequel of the story (the Lord willing) shall declare hereafter. But because they could not make ready by Easter, according to the former appointment, they concluded to take a longer day, proroguing their voyage till after Midsummer. In the mean time, the king occupying himself in redressing and establishing such things as further were to be ordered, there determined that Geffrey and John, his brethren, should not enter into England within three years after his departure; nevertheless he released that bond afterward to his brother John.

Richard I. A. D. 1190.

The next year ensued, which was A.D.1190, in the beginning of which year, upon Twelfth-even, fell a foul northern brawl, which turned well near to a fray, between the archbishop newly elected of the church of York and his company, on the one side, and Henry, dean of the said church, with his catholic partakers, on the other side, upon occasion as followeth: Gaufrid, or Geffrey, son of King Henry II. and brother to King Richard, whom the king had elected a little before to the archbishopric of York, upon the even of the Epiphany, which we call Twelfth-day, was disposed to hear evensong with all solemnity in the cathedral church, having with him Hamon the precentor, with divers canons of the church. The archbishop tarrying something long, belike in adorning and attiring himself, in the meanwhile Henry the dean, and Bucard the treasurer, disdaining to tarry his coming, with a bold courage lustily began their holy evensong, with singing their psalms, ruffling of descant, and merry piping of organs. Thus, this catholic evensong, with as much devotion begun, as to God's high service proceeding, was now almost half complete, when as at length (they being in the midst of their mirth) cometh in the newly-elect with his train and gardeviance, all full of wrath and indignation, for that they durst be so bold, not waiting for him, to begin God's service, and so eftsoons commanded the quire to stay and hold their peace. The precentor likewise, whose name was Hamon, by virtue of his office, commandeth the same. But the dean and treasurer, on the other side, willed them to proceed; and so they sung on, and would not stint. Thus, the one half crying against the other, the whole quire was in a roar, their singing was turned to scolding, their chanting to chiding; and if instead of the organs they had had a drum, I doubt they would have 'sol-fa-ed' by the ears together.

A.D.1190. A northern brawl in the cathedral church of York. Henry, dean of York, and Bucard, begin service, not tarrying for their archbishop.

See Appendix

The dean and treasurer would not cease evensong at the archbishop's commandment.

At last, through the authority of the archbishop, and of the precentor, the quire began to surcease and give silence. Then the newly elect, not contented with what had been sung before, with certain of the quire, began the evensong over again. The treasurer, upon the same, *not thinking to take such a foil,* caused, by virtue of his office, *all the tapers and* the candles to be put out, *and so their unhappy

The archbishop beginneth evensong again.

The treasurer putteth out the candles.

Richard I. A.D. 1190. evensong was ceased again.[1]* For, like as without the light and beams of the sun there is nothing but darkness in all the world, even so ye must understand the pope's church can see to do nothing, *for the popish evensong is blind without candlelight, yea, though the sun should shine in the quire never so bright; by reason whereof they went away evensongless, and so left their God in the church, that night, unserved.* This being so, the archbishop, thus disappointed on every side of his purpose, made a grievous plaint, declaring to the clergy and to the people what the dean and treasurer had done; and so upon the same, suspended both them and the church from all divine service, till they should make to him due satisfaction for their trespass.

The pope's church can do nothing without candle light.

The church of York suspended from service.

Where note, by the way, good reader, that either the singing of the popish service doth little serve to God's honour, or else how could this archbishop be so injurious to God, to stop him of his honour because they had dishonoured him? But to the purpose again.

The next day, which was the day of Epiphany, when all the people of the city were assembled in the cathedral church, as their manner was (namely, in such feasts), devoutly to hear divine service, as they call it, of the church, there were also present the archbishop and the precentor, with the residue of the clergy, looking when the dean and treasurer would come and submit themselves, making satisfaction for their crime. But they, still continuing in their stoutness, refused so to do, exclaiming and uttering contemptuous words against the archbishop and his partakers. Which when the people heard, they in a great rage would have fallen upon them; but the archbishop would not suffer that. The dean then and his fellows, perceiving the stir of the people, for fear, like pretty men, were fain to flee, some to the tomb of St. William of York; some ran unto the dean's house, and there shrouded themselves, whom the archbishop then accursed. And so, for that day, the people returned home without any service.[2]

The dean and treasurer do not submit to the archbishop.

The people incensed against them.

Contention betwixt Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks of Christchurch.

At which time the long contention began also to be appeased, which so many years had continued between Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and his monks of Christchurch; the discourse whereof, although it be somewhat tedious, to be set forth at large, being enough to make a whole tragedy, yet to the intent the age now present may see what great conflicts and disquietness, upon what little trifles, have been stirred up, what little peace and unity hath been not only in this church, but commonly in all other churches under the pope's catholic regiment, I thought it not labour ill bestowed somewhat to intermeddle in opening to the eyes of the reader the consideration of this matter; wherein first is to be understood, that the archbishops of Canterbury, commonly being set up by the pope, especially since the time of the Conquest, have put the kings of this land to much sorrow and trouble, as appeared by William Rufus and Lanfranc, and also Anselm; by Henry I. and Anselm;[3] King Stephen and Theobald; Henry II. and Becket, &c. For which the kings of this land have used the more care and circum-

Archbishops of Canterbury commonly were wont to work the king of England much sorrow.

(1) For the words between asterisks, see Ed. 1563, p. 70.—Ed.

(2) Ex veteri Chronico manuscripto, qui initium, 'Anno gratiæ millesimo,' &c.

(3) "Anselm, who brought in the conception of our Lady to be hallowed, stirred coals in England against his king, Henry." Ed. 1563, p. 31.—Ed.

spection, to have such archbishops placed in the see as either should stand with them, or at the least should not be against them.[1] *Richard I.* A. D. 1137 to 1190.

Now to the purpose of our matter intended. First, after Lanfranc, who was archbishop twenty years, the see standing vacant five years, succeeded Anselm, and sat fifteen years; after whom, the see standing vacant five years, succeeded Rodulph, and continued eight years; then followed William, who sat thirteen years, and died A.D. 1137; after whom came Theobald, in the time of King Stephen. This Theobald, being no great favourer of the monkish generation, fell out with Jeremias, prior of the house of Canterbury, for certain causes between them; for which the archbishop, taking stomach against the prior, would lay the sentence of interdiction against him. The prior, seeing that, to save himself, made his appeal to Pope Innocent. The archbishop, provoked the more by that, deposed him from his priorship, and placed one Walter in his room. Jeremias, notwithstanding, making his complaint and appeal to Rome, obtained letters from the pope to Henry bishop of Winchester, being the pope's legate, by virtue whereof, he, against the heart of the archbishop, was restored, and Walter displaced. Nevertheless, the said Jeremy, not willing there to continue with displeasure of the archbishop, shortly after, of his own accord, renounced his priory, and Walter again was received in his stead. Not long after this followed the general council at Rheims, A.D. 1148. To that council, Theobald, contrary to the commandment of the king, would needs resort, to show his obedience to the pope; wherefore, at his returning home again, the king took such displeasure with him, that, within a while after, the archbishop was driven to void the realm, and fly into France, where he, by censure of interdiction, suspended divers churches and religious houses which refused to come to the council; and also, hearing how the king had seized upon all his goods, he interdicted likewise all the king's land whatsoever, belonging to the crown: so that the king, in conclusion, was fain to compound with him, and fall to agreement, which was about A.D. 1148.[2]

Or sixteen as some reckon. *See Appendix*

Jeremy, prior of Canterbury, appealeth to Pope Innocent.

After this, A.D. 1151, after the death of Hugh, abbot of St. Austin's in Canterbury, Silvester was elected by the covent to be their abbot in the reign of King Stephen. When this Silvester came unto Theobald the archbishop, to make his profession of subjection unto him, and to receive of him consecration, the archbishop was contented, if that the abbot would come to Christchurch in Canterbury, and there make his profession. But to this, Silvester in no case would yield to take his consecration there; but, in any other church, wheresoever the archbishop would, he was contented. To this, when the archbishop in nowise would agree, Silvester, making a great bag of money, went to Rome, where he obtained of the pope for money (for what cannot money do at Rome?) letters that the archbishop should consecrate the abbot in his own church of St. Austin, and also not exact of him any profession of canonical subjection. Hereupon the archbishop was compelled, against his will, to come to the abbot's church, and there, at the pope's commandment, to consecrate him simply, and without any further profession to be required.

A frivolous strife between Theobald, archbishop, and Silvester, abbot of St. Austin's.

Silvester goeth up to Rome.

(1) Ex Chron. Gervas. (2) Ibid.

Richard I. A. D. 1137 to 1190.

Then Walter, prior of Christchurch in Canterbury, seeing that, and perceiving how prejudicial and derogatory the example thereof would be to the honour and majesty of their church, through counsel of his brethren, went thither; and, notwithstanding the doors were straitly watched and kept, yet, by means, he at last got in; and as he saw the archbishop attired in his pontificalibus, ready to minister consecration to the abbot, he stepped straight to the archbishop, and at once appealeth him up to Rome, for the great injury wrought against the church of Canterbury, forbidding him in the name of him to whom he appealed, to proceed any further. And so this holy consecration was for the present time staid, for which Silvester, with a new purse of money, was fain to travel and trot again to Rome, where he, complaining of the archbishop, and accusing him of contempt of the pope, in not executing the commandment sent down, obtaineth again new letters with more effectual charge to the aforesaid archbishop, that he, without any profession, simply should give to Silvester his consecration in his own church, "omni occasione et appellatione remota," "all manner of stay, or let, or appellation to the contrary notwithstanding." And so, in conclusion, the abbot, contrary to whatsoever the archbishop and all the monks of Canterbury could do, was, in his own church, made abbot, and had the victory for that time. Notwithstanding, the archbishop left not the matter so, but within five years after obtained of Pope Adrian, that Silvester should make profession of his obedience to the archbishop, and so he did.[1]

The monks of Christchurch, against the monks of St. Austin.

Silvester trudgeth again to Rome.

Silvester consecrated abbot in his own church.

In a few years after this died King Stephen, A.D. 1154; and after him Theobald, the archbishop, A.D. 1161, after he had sat three and twenty years; after whom, through the instant procurement of King Henry II., was placed Thomas Becket, the king's chancellor, A.D. 1162, of whose sturdy rebellion against the king because sufficient hath been said before, it shall not need to make a double labour now about the same.

After the death of Becket, much ado there was between King Henry II. and Odo, prior of Canterbury, about the election of a new archbishop. For the king seeing the realm so oftentimes encumbered by those popish archbishops, and fearing lest the monks of Canterbury should elect such another as would follow the steps of Thomas Becket, most humbly, with cap in hand, and courtesy of knee, desired Odo the prior, that at his request, and for contentation of his mind, such a one might be elected as he would appoint (appointing and naming a certain bishop, who was a good simple man after the king's liking); but the prior dissemblingly answering the king again, that he neither could nor would, without the consent of his covent, give promise to any man; in fine, contrary to the king's so humble request, he agreed to the election of another, who was the prior of Dover, called Richard, A.D. 1173, and who continued in that see eleven years.

Odo, prior of Canterbury.

Richard, prior of Dover, elected archbishop of Canterbury.

And here was renewed again the like variance between this archbishop, and Roger, abbot of the Austin monks in Canterbury, as was before mentioned between Theobald and Silvester; for, when

Another frivolous contension

(1) Ex Gervas.

the said Roger, after his election to be abbot, must needs take his consecration at the archbishop's hand, the archbishop would not grant it unto him, unless he made profession of obedience, according to the ancient custom of his predecessors. Then Roger, consulting with his monks, at first refused so to do; but at length was contented, so it might not be done in the archbishop's church, but in any other church where he would, underwriting this clause withal, "salvis utriusque ecclesiæ privilegiis;" that is, "saving the privileges of both churches." To this the archbishop said again, first, that he should make his due and canonical profession, and that he should not come to him with writing or underwriting, but should say in his heart, "salve sancta parens," or "salve festa dies," not "salvis privilegiis," or any such like thing. Whereunto when the Austin monks in no case would consent, nor the archbishop otherwise would grant his benediction, Roger the abbot was fain to post to Rome, and there to bring the archbishop in hatred in the court of Rome, and made his abbey tributary to Pope Alexander. A.D. 1177.

Richard I. A.D. 1137 to 1190.

The pope, well contented with this, not only granteth the abbot his desire, but also, in contumely of the archbishop, dubbeth the abbot with all such ornaments as to a prelate appertain; and so, A.D. 1178, sent home the abbot triumphantly with his ring and mitre, and other ensigns of victory, with letters also to the archbishop, enjoining him, immediately upon the sight thereof, to consecrate the abbot in his own church, and without making any profession. Although with these letters the archbishop was shrewdly pressed, yet, notwithstanding, his stout heart would not stoop for this; but he laid his appeal against the same, and so the consecration for that time was suspended.

Roger the abbot returneth home with triumph.

Then Roger, for his more defence, getting the king's letters, travelled up the second time to Rome, where grievously he complained to Pope Alexander of the archbishop. At the same time a general council was summoned to be kept at Lateran, where Richard the aforesaid archbishop was also looked for amongst other bishops to be present, who came as far as Paris, but, being there, durst approach no further, and so retired home again; whereupon the pope being offended with his contempt, without any more delay, exalted the abbot with his own consecration, and invested him with all pomp and glory; howbeit, providing before that the said consecration should redound to no prejudice against the liberties of the mother church of Canterbury, and so, upon the same, wrote to the archbishop his letters of certificate, with this addition annexed, "salvo jure et dignitate Cant. ecclesiæ:" that is to say, "saving the liberties and dignities of the church of Canterbury."

Concilium Lateranum sub Alexandro Papa.

Roger travelleth again to Rome.

Is consecrated.

The council ended, Roger the abbot returneth home, although with an empty purse, yet full of victory and triumph. The archbishop, again thinking to work some grievance to the Austin monks, had procured, in the mean time, letters from Pope Alexander to the bishop of Durham and the abbot of St. Alban's, that they should cause the said Roger, abbot of the Austin monks, to show unto the archbishop all the old privileges of his house; which indeed, being showed, seemed to be rased and new written, with bulls of lead, not after the manner or style of that age, nor pretending any such

Richard I. A. D. 1137 to 1190.

antiquity as should seem to reach from the time of Austin, but rather newly counterfeit.

All this notwithstanding, the abbot, bearing him bold upon the pope's favour, ceased not still to disquiet and overcrow the archbishop by all ways he could, in exempting all his priests and laymen belonging to his jurisdiction from the archbishop's obedience; forbidding also that any of his should come to his chapters or synods, or fear any sentence of his curse or excommunication. Whereupon the archbishop, about the month of November the same year, sailing over to Normandy, where the king was, thought to take his journey to the pope to complain of the abbot; but being stayed by the king, he was not suffered to pass any further, the king labouring what he could to bring them to agreement. Nevertheless the pope and his "Romans," saith my story, "caring more for gold and silver, than for justice, still stirred coals of sedition and debate between them."[1]

Richard, the archbishop, staid by the king.

The Romish court set men at variance to get their money.

The next year after this ensuing, which was A. D. 1184, died Richard, the archbishop aforesaid, in the thirtieth year of King Henry II., after whose decease much trouble happened about the election of a new archbishop, between the king and the monks of Canterbury. And now, to enter here into the story of Baldwin, above mentioned: first, the king sent to the monks, that they should consider with themselves about the election of their archbishop, and be ready against the time that he would send for them to the court. Upon this the covent, gladly assembling together, agreed in themselves upon one, whom they thought chiefly to prefer; yet naming four more, that if the king should refuse one, the other yet might stand. Now the practice of the monks was, first, to keep the election in their own hands only, as much as they could. And secondly, ever to give the election either to some prior or monk of their own house, or to some abbot or bishop who sometimes had been of their company; whereby, as much inconvenience and blind superstition was bred in the church of England, so the same disliked both the king and the bishops not a little.

See Appendix.

Monks of Canterbury sent for by Henry II. about choosing their archbishop.

As this past on, King Henry II., when he saw his time, willed the monks of Canterbury to be cited or sent for, to understand what they had concluded in their election. Whereupon the monks sent up their prior, called Alanus, with certain other monks, to Reading, where the king then lay, about the month of August; who at first were courteously entertained, but, after the king had intelligence whom they had nominated and elected, they were sent home again with cold cheer; the king willing them to pray better, and to advise more earnestly upon the matter amongst themselves. Alanus, the prior, with his fellows, thus departed; who coming home, in conclusion, so concluded amongst themselves, that they would remit no jot of their liberties to the king, without the pope's consent and knowledge. The king understanding hereof, sent his ambassadors likewise to the pope, for the fortifying of his cause, being in the mean time grievously offended with the prior, saying, that he was proud, and would make archbishop whom he listed, and would be the second pope in England, &c.

Sent for to the king a second time.

The king offended with Alan, the prior, and with the stubborn monks of Canterbury.

(1) "Aurum et argentum magis quam justitiam sitientes, seditiones inter eos et litigia commovebant."—Ex Historia Gervasii.

Not long after this, as these letters were sent up to Rome, the king sent for Alanus, the prior, and more of the monks, to come to him; whom he entreateth, desiring them in gentle speech that they would show as much gentleness and favour to him being their lord and king (as becometh his friends and subjects to do), as to confer with the bishops of the realm about this matter, and to take some better counsel, such as might redound to God's glory, his honour, and the wealth of the public state, with other like words to the same effect; to whom when the prior had answered again, with thanks and due reverence, according to the king's request, the bishops and monks went to confer together about the matter. And first, the bishops marvelled why the monks should exclude them out of the election, seeing they were professed and suffragans to the said church of Canterbury; "Neither is there any prince," quoth the bishop of Bath, "that will refuse our counsel." "There be some counsels," said the monks, "whereat you may be called; but as touching the doing of this election, it pertaineth not unto you further than to publish only, and denounce the party whom we have chosen." The bishop of London then asked if they had already made an election? "No election," said the prior, "as yet, but only we have denominated the persons." "Then have ye proceeded further," quoth he, "than ye ought, having commandment from the pope not to proceed without us." And with that was brought forth the pope's letter, commanding that within forty days the bishops of England, and the prior and covent of Canterbury, should elect an able and fit person for their archbishop. About the scanning of these letters was much ado. The bishops said, they were first named, and therefore ought to have most interest in this election. The monks said again, that they also were not excluded, and required to have a transcript of the letter, whereof much doubt was made.

Richard I. A. D. 1137 to 1190.

Bishops of England claim to have interest in the election of the archbishop of Canterbury.

The pope's letter.

After long concertation, when they could not agree, the king, coming between them both, called away the bishops from the monks; supposing, by separating the one from the other, to draw both parties to his sentence. But that would not be; for the monks, stiffly standing to their liberties, would lose no pre-eminence of their church, still alleging how, by the ancient privileges of the church of Canterbury, the covent should choose their pastor and bishop, and the prior was but to publish and denounce the person. The bishops again replied, "That it was their right to appoint their archbishop and metropolitan, who were bishops and suffragans; and namely, the bishop of London, also being dean of the said church of Canterbury." The king then, as umpire between them, yet favouring rather the side of the bishops, desired them to agree together in peace. When that would not prevail, he set the lord steward, and other noblemen, to entreat the prior to draw to some agreement; at least to be contented with this form of election, which was, that the bishop of London, or some other bishop, should declare the election in these words:—

King Henry II separateth the bishops from the monks.

The monks will lose no pre-eminence of their church.

"We bishops, and the prior and covent of Christ's church, in Canterbury, with the assent of our lord the king, do choose such a person to be archbishop," &c. Or else thus, that the prior should pronounce the election in these words, saying: "The bishops of

The form of election of the archbishop.

Richard I. England, and I prior, and the covent of Canterbury, with the assent of our lord and king, do choose such a person," &c.

A.D. 1137 to 1190.

Upon this, the prior said he would convent with his covent. The latter, with much ado, were content to yield to the king's desire; but afterward, being required to put down the same in writing, that they refused to do; yet notwithstanding, relented at last to the king. But when the bishops made excuses for the absence of their fellow bishops, the matter for that time staid; and the king, sending home the monks again to their house in peace, deferred that business to a further day, which was till the first day of December; commanding the prior with his fellows the same day not to fail, but to be at London about the choosing of the archbishop. A.D. 1184.

The bishops and monks could not agree about the form of election.

The election of the archbishop deferred.

As the day prefixed came, the prior with his company were also present; who, giving attendance all that day, and also the day following, were thus driven off till the third day after. At length the lord steward, with other nobles of the realm, were sent to them from the king, to declare, that whereas the king before had divided the bishops from the monks, that they both might have their election by themselves, after the form of a bill which was put down in writing: now, the mind of the king was, that the monks, taking another way, should join with the bishops, and so, having the matter in talk together, should proceed jointly in the election.

Against this, many things were alleged by the prior and his mates, complaining much of the bishops, who said, that the bishops had ever holden with the kings, against the liberties of their church and archbishops. As first, they stood against Anselm for King William; then against Theobald for King Stephen; after that against Becket for King Henry; and after him, did supplant the election of Richard, their archbishop; and now again, went about to practise and work against this their election present. At last, the prior with his fellows concluding, desired they might speak with the king himself; who, presently coming unto them, willed them as good men to be contented, and go talk with the bishops about the election, promising, that whom they agreed upon, he also would grant his assent unto the same. To whom, when the prior again had objected the writings that before were made; "True it is," said the king, "such writings were made, but I neither may nor will go against the council of my realm; and therefore agree," said he, "with my bishops and abbots, and remember that the voice of the people is the voice of God."

The monks of Canterbury compelled against their wills to join with the bishops, touching the election of the archbishop.

Upon this the prior with his monks, seeing no other remedy, went to the bishops to confer, according to the king's request, about the election; who then were willed by the bishops to nominate whom they would, and the bishops would likewise name theirs. So, when the prior with his accomplices had named three, after their choosing, the bishops said they would nominate but one; and so did, who was the bishop of Worcester; willing the prior to go home, and to confer with his covent about the same, to whom, shortly after, the bishops sent certain priests, to signify to the covent, that they, according to the pope's letters, should repair to the bishops concerning the election of the archbishop; and to declare, moreover, to them, that the persons whom they had named were good men, but that

he whom they had nominated was a more worthy man, whom they both had nominated, and also would elect. The monks, marvelling hereat, sent two monks with the archdeacon of Canterbury to the king. *Richard I.* A.D. 1137 to 1190.

This done, immediately after the return of the priests, the bishops caused all the bells of the city to be rung, and 'Te Deum' to be sung for the archbishop newly elect; and when the two monks brought tidings to the covent at Canterbury of what was done at London, they were all in a marvellous dump. The king hearing this, and perceiving the stiffness of the monks, in all haste sent messengers to Canterbury, with gentle words, to will the prior to come to the king, and certify him of the purpose of his monks. Unto whom the prior, soon coming, declareth in the name of the whole covent, that in no case he nor the monks would ever, while the world stood, agree to that election of the bishops, unless the king, in his own person, would come to Canterbury, and there openly, before the whole covent, would protest, by his own mouth, the aforesaid election to be nought and void; and so returning to London again, would likewise openly, before the clergy and people, repudiate and reject the same: and, furthermore, that the party also elected should openly, in the same place, protest and say, that he neither would nor ought to take that function upon him, unless he entered with the consent of the prior and covent of Canterbury; and that all this should be done in the same place where the bishops had made their election before; and so, peradventure, said they, at the king's so earnest suit and request, they would gratify his will, and ratify the said election with the voices of their consent. To make the story short, after great hold between the secular clergy on the one side, and the regular order on the other side, and after the king's indignation against the prior, and the swooning of the prior before the king, at length the king to take up the matter, and to save the prior's life, was fain to perform in his own person all those conditions above prescribed by the monks.[1] A.D. 1184.

The bishops make their election without the monks of Canterbury.

Conditions prescribed to the king by the monks of Canterbury, for the ratification of the archbishop made by the bishops.

And thus have ye heard the tragical election of the bishop of Worcester, named Baldwin, made archbishop of Canterbury. Now what a troublesome time the said Baldwin had with the monks in governing the church of Canterbury, here followeth likewise not unworthy to be considered.

Baldwin bishop of Worcester elected archbishop of Canterbury.

THE TROUBLES BETWEEN BALDWIN, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, AND THE MONKS OF THE SAME CHURCH.

In the first year the archbishop showed himself friendly and loving to the monks; the year following he began to appear somewhat rough unto them. The manner then was of the house of Christchurch, toward the time of the Nativity and of Easter, to receive certain presents or gifts of their farmers or tenants, which the cellarer should take and lay up. Those presents the archbishop began first to intercept from the monks, and to bestow them upon his secular clerks. After this he took three churches or benefices, which the A.D. 1184 to 1190.

(1) Ex Gervas. fol. 1660.

Richard I. A. D. 1184 to 1190.

monks claimed as proper to themselves, and placed in them three of his chaplains. After this he encroacheth to his hands certain tenements, revenues and victuals, belonging before to the monks, as they said, and committed the custody thereof to certain of his own clerks and household servants.

The monks of Canterbury appeal to the pope against their archbishop.

The monks, who had borne so much with the archbishop before, seeing this, could forbear with him no longer, but needs would make their appeal against him. The archbishop, not much regarding that, waxed thereby the more fierce against them, insomuch that such farms and tenements as he before had let alone, he now received to his own occupying, with many other grievances wherewith he greatly ve ed the monks, so that three abbots were fain to come and reconcile the archbishop and the monks; which reconciliation was this, that the monks should let fall their appeal, and the archbishop should restore again to them their farms and tenements. But as touching the benefices and the presents, the archbishop still kept them in his hands for a further trial of their obedience and patience. Nevertheless, some there were of the ancient monks who in no case would give over the aforesaid appeal, before the archbishop made a full restitution of all together.

Reconciliation between the archbishop and the monks, which did not hold long.

The archbishop sendeth to the pope.

After this agreement, such as it was, between the monks and him, the archbishop soon after sent up to Rome one of his chaplains, unto whom he had given one of the benefices aforementioned, partly for confirmation of his benefice, partly also to obtain license for the archbishop to build a church, which he intended to erect, of secular priests near unto the town of Canterbury. Which being obtained of the pope, the archbishop, not a little glad thereof, began now more and more to wax fierce against the monks, not only in taking from them their churches and oblations, but also in aggravating the whole state of their house, which he intended either to subvert or greatly to diminish, to pluck down the pride and stubbornness of the monks. Wherefore, taking with him certain other bishops, who, he knew, bare no good will to that monkish generation, he went to the king, declaring how he had a good purpose in his mind to erect a new and a solemn church, in honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury, of secular priests or canons, and therefore desired of the king to have his favourable license to the same. The king, right well perceiving the purpose of the archbishop whither it tended, as to the bridling of the stiff-necked monks, was the more willing to give assent, if he were not also the chief worker of that matter himself.

The archbishop goeth about to pluck down the pride of the monks.

The purpose of the archbishop in building his new church at Canterbury.

The intent of the archbishop in planting of that new church, was to found there divers prebends, and to make both the king and every bishop, being his suffragans, prebendaries thereof, so that every one of them should confer one prebendship on the same foundation; minding there to consecrate bishops, to make his chrismatory, to celebrate his synods, and to administer all other things belonging unto the function of his see, and the same to be called Hakington church.

Three causes alleged against the archbishop by the monks.

The monks, not ignorant how the archbishop privily intended the desolation and subversion of their house and liberties, consulting upon the matter, determined at length among themselves to appeal to the see of Rome, for these three causes against the archbishop; namely, first, for spoiling them of their gifts and oblations: secondly,

for depriving them of their churches and benefices: and thirdly, for erecting a new foundation of secular canons, to the derogation and overthrow of their religious order; giving admonition to the archbishop beforehand by their monks sent to him, of this their appellation. To whom the archbishop answered, that the foundation, which he went about, was to no derogation, but rather to the fortification and honour of their house. Who answered again, that it was, and could not otherwise be, but to their subversion. "And what should let me then," said the archbishop, "but I may build on my own ground what I will?" "No," said they, "no ground of yours, but your ground is our ground, as all other things that you have by right are ours, forasmuch as you have them not of yourself, but of the church, and for the church's cause. All which things have been given neither to you nor to the archbishops, but unto the church of Christ; and therefore," said they, "all such as appertain unto us inwardly and outwardly, with the persons also, and the whole state of our church, we submit under the pope's protection, and now here make our appeal to the see apostolic, assigning also the term when to prosecute the same."

The monks claim all the goods of the archbishop. The monks put themselves and their house in the pope's protection.

The archbishop receiving this appellation, and saying that he would answer to the same either by himself or by his responsal, within three days after, which was the sixteenth of December, came to Canterbury, where the monks, understanding how he was in mind to place new secular priests in the church of St. Stephen, where the monks had served before, came to the church, to stop the proceeding of the archbishop by way of appeal. Whereof the archbishop having warning beforehand, deferred the matter till the next day, on which day the monks, again being sent by Honorius, the prior, into the church, charged the archbishop in the name of Almighty God, and by virtue of their appeal made to the apostolic see, to surcease those his doings; forbidding also the parson of the church in any wise to suffer those secular clerks to be admitted into the church: all which yet notwithstanding, the archbishop proceedeth in his business. And first, placing in his clerks, he suspendeth the prior from his administration. Then he abjureth the porters of the gate, upon their oath, to let none of the monks pass out of the house without his license. The monks likewise he commanded, by virtue of obedience, not to stray any where abroad without his leave. And furthermore, one of the aforesaid monks, who served the appeal against him, he utterly banished from that covent. Upon this, on the day following, Honorius, the prior, trusting, saith the story, on God and St. Thomas, took his way to Rome, sent in commission by the covent, to prosecute the appeal against the archbishop.

The prior of Canterbury suspended.

In the mean season, a new jar began between the said archbishop and the monks, about their rents and revenues, which the archbishop would have committed to the receiving and keeping of three monks, but the sub-prior Geffery, with the covent, in no case would suffer that: whereabout there was a foul stir. The archbishop craving the aid of the king, first had three bishops sent down to him, namely, those of Coventry, Norwich, and Worcester, who, being instant with the monks to submit their cause into the king's hands, like as the archbishop had done, they utterly refused it; especially seeing they

Another jar between the monks and their archbishop.

Richard I. A.D. 1184 to 1190.

had already referred the whole state of their cause to the determination of the apostolical see. The king, seeing no other remedy, came himself with the archbishop into the chapter-house; where he commanded first the doors to be kept fast, that none should enter but those who by name were called for. Among whom were two bishops, to wit, those of Norwich and Durham, and one Peter of Blois, a learned man, whose epistles be yet extant in libraries, a chief worker in this matter against the monks. Then was called in Geffery, the sub-prior, with a few other monks whom he brought with him. The king then first talking with the archbishop and his company, and afterwards with the monks, laboured to entreat them that they would let fall their appeal, and so stand to the arbitrement of him and of the bishops, concerning the cause which was between the archbishop and them in traverse.

The king cometh into the chapter of Canterbury.

To this the monks answered, that these were good words, but served not for that time, forasmuch as their cause was already translated to the court of Rome, and now was presently in hearing before the pope's holiness; and therefore they neither could nor would do that injury to their lord pope, to refuse him, and to put the matter unto the judgment of any other. Then was it required of the monks, that they would put the matter in compromise, in case the prior would consent thereto; upon this intent, that if the prior consented, and the monks not, then should they run in contempt and disobedience; or if the monks would consent, and the prior not, then should the prior be excluded the realm. The wily monks, being not unprovided of this subtilty, made their answer, that seeing they had sent their prior forth in their commission, it stood not with their honesty to give any determinate consent without the knowledge and before the return of the said prior, unless the archbishop first would promise to make full restitution of all that he had wrongfully wrested from them. When the king could get no other answer of the monks, neither could move the archbishop to release the sentence of their suspension, unless they would confess and acknowledge their fault, he, so parting from them, passed over into France.

The monks refuse to put their matter from the pope to the king's hearing.

The monks' excuse to the king.

Not long after this came a messenger from Rome, bringing letters from Pope Urban to the archbishop, wherein the pope, considering and tendering, as he said, the enormous grievances done against the monks, straitly enjoined and commanded him, within ten days after the receiving thereof, to release the sentence of his suspension against the prior and others of the said covent, and also to retract and restore again to the monks whatsoever he had plucked from them since the time of their appeal first made. Who, in case he should deny, or foreslack the doing hereof, commission was given to three abbots, those of Battle, Feversham, and St. Austin's, with ample authority to perform the same, &c. The archbishop, receiving these letters brought to him by a monk of the aforesaid house, first made his excuse that the pope was misinformed. But the monks not contented with that excuse, when they would needs know what answer he would make to the pope's nuncio, his answer was, that "he had yet ten days given him of the pope." In the mean time the archbishop went to London, and there, in the church of St. Paul, consecrated his holy oil and cream (making one of the pope's seven sacraments), which was

The first letter of Pope Urban to Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury.

The answer. The archbishop maketh his oil and cream at London.

grievously taken in the church of Canterbury. At last, the ten days being ended, when the archbishop refused to accomplish that which was in the pope's letter enjoined him, the three abbots aforesaid, to execute the pope's commandment, came at their day assigned to Canterbury, and there assoiled all such as the archbishop before had suspended, and, in the end, certified Pope Urban by letters what they had done.

The archbishop, hearing this, within four days after, sent two of his clerks, who appealed the three abbots aforesaid up to Rome; and he himself, in the mean time, prepared busily for the building of his church, sending to all churches in England upon releasement from their sins, to confer unto the same; and to make the more haste, for lack of freestone he made up his building with timber, and such other stuff as he could get.

The archbishop's new church made of wood.

The prior Honorius all this while remained still at the court of Rome, giving attendance upon the pope, who, having intelligence of the archbishop's doings, procured another letter of Pope Urban to the whole clergy of England, straitly enjoining them that none should confer with the new fraternity of Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury. To these letters the archbishop showed such reverence, that whereas before he had planted his chapel of wood and boards, now he provided the same to be builded of lime and stone.

A letter of Pope Urban against the archbishop. *See Appendix.*

By this time Peter of Blois, with other messengers of the archbishop, seeing Honorius the prior to be gone from the court to France, resorted to the court of Rome, bringing with them letters of credit from the king, from the archbishop, and also from other bishops of the realm; but the pope, reading only the king's letters, and the archbishop's, the residue he cast into a window by, saying, he would read them at further leisure. Then the pope giving audience in his consistory to hear their cause, first came in Peter of Blois, with the agents of the archbishop, exhibiting their letters, and propounding their requests to the pope, which were, that restitution should be made by the monks to the archbishop, wherein they had injured him. Secondly, That the things which had been granted before to the prior in the court, might be called in again. Thirdly, That the archbishop might have license to proceed in building his college of canons, &c. After this was called in Master Pilleus, the attorney for the monks of Canterbury, who, alleging many great things against the archbishop, for his contempt and disobedience to the pope's precepts, required that he should rather make restitution to the monks for the injuries he had done to them; and also that his new foundation of secular canons, tending to the overthrow of the conventual church of Canterbury, should be utterly rased and thrown down to the ground. Thus between these parties pleaing and repleaing one against the other, much hard hold there was; but, in conclusion, for all the king's letters, and for all that the archbishop's and bishops' could do, the matter went on the monks' side; so that there was no remedy, but the pope would needs have the archbishop's new building to come down, and the monks to be restored again to their full possessions: the execution whereof was committed to the three abbots aforesaid, to wit, those of Battle, Feversham, and St. Austin's, Canterbury, and to Geffrey, sub-prior of Canterbury.

The archbishop's messengers come to the pope's court. Letters of the king, the archbishop, and of other bishops to the pope.

Mr. Pilleus, attorney in the pope's court for the monks of Canterbury.

Richard I. A.D. 1184 to 1190.

These things being thus determined at Rome, Radulph Granville, lord steward of England, writing to the said abbot of Battle, and to the sub-prior and covent of Canterbury, commandeth them, in the king's name, and upon their oath and fealty given unto him, that neither they nor any of them do proceed in this controversy between the monks and the archbishop of Canterbury, before they come and talk with him, there to know further of the king's pleasure: and, furthermore, charging the covent of Canterbury not to enter further into any examinations concerning the archbishop's matters; and also citing the sub-prior of the said house to appear before him in London, at the feast of St. James, the same year, which was A.D. 1187. Notwithstanding, he excusing himself by sickness, sent two monks in his stead, and so kept himself at home; to whom commandment was given, that the monks of Canterbury, within fifteen days, should sail over to Normandy to the king, and there show the tenor and evidences of their privileges; and also that such stewards and bailiffs as they had placed in their farms and lordships, contrary to the will of the archbishop, should be removed. And likewise the three abbots, in the king's name, were commanded in no wise to execute the pope's commandment against the archbishop. Not long after this, the archbishop took shipping at Dover, and went over to the king, where he ordained three principal officers over the monks of Christ-church—the sacrist, the cellarer, and the chamberlain, contrary to the will of the covent, with other grievances more, whereby the monks were not a little offended, so that upon the same they made a new appellation to the pope; whereupon Pope Urban, by the setting on of Honorius the prior, who was now come again to the court, wrote to him another letter after a sharper and more vehement sort, to the effect as followeth.

The pope holdeth to the monks, against the king and bishops of the realm.

The pope's executors commanded not to proceed against the arch bishop.

Another appellation of the monks against the archbishop.

The tenor of Pope Urban's Letters to Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury.[1]

In that we have borne with your brotherhood hitherto, and have not proceeded in such a grievous manner against you as we might, although being thereto greatly provoked; the chiefest cause was this, that we supposed your heart would have relented from the oppression of the conventual church of Canterbury, committed unto you; if not for our reverence, which you seem to have contemned more than became you, yet at least for fear of God's judgment. For well we hoped, our conscience persuading us to the same, that after you had obtained that high state and dignity in the church of England, you would have been an example to others of obedience and reverence to be given to the see apostolic of all ecclesiastical persons. Wherefore, at the first beginning both of our and also of your promotion, we did not spare to advance and honour you as we have done few others besides, thinking no less than that we had found a faithful friend of the church for our honour; wherein we perceive now, which maketh us not a little to marvel, our expectation greatly deceived, and him whom we well trusted to be a sure stay for the maintenance of our estate, we now find a persecutor against us in our members.

Note how the popes stand all upon their honour.

For whereas we sundry times have written to you in the behalf of our brethren, and the church committed to your charge, that you should desist from disquieting them, and not vex or disturb their liberties, at least for reverence of us; you, not only in this, but in other things more, as commonly is reported of you in all places, setting at light our letters and appellations made unto the apostolical see; what you have wrought against them after their so manifold

The pope expostulateth with Baldwin for contempt of his see.

(1) "Urbanus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Baldwino Cantuar. archiepiscopo et apostolicæ sedis legato, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem," &c.

appellations laid unto us, and our inhibitions again unto you, we are ashamed to utter. But revolve and consider in your mind, if ye have well done, and advise in your own conscience what you have done. We, for our part, because we neither may nor ought with deaf ears to pass over the clamours of the brethren, and such contempt of the apostolic see, although our biddings and warnings given to you seem to be all in vain; yet, notwithstanding, we send our mandates again unto your brotherhood, in these apostolical writings, directly and in virtue of obedience, commanding you, that whether you be present in your church, or absent, all that notwithstanding, whatsoever you have done in building of your chapel, which you to the destruction of the monastery of Canterbury have erected, after the time of their appeal made to us, or our inhibition sent to you, you fail not of your proper costs and charges to demolish; undoing again and making void whatsoever ye have begun and innovated, concerning the institution of the canons, and other things belonging to the erection of the said chapel; accounting moreover and reputing the place where the chapel was, to be accursed and profane; and also that all such, whosoever have celebrated in the same place, shall stand suspended till the time they appear before our presence. Commanding, furthermore, that all those monks whom you have presumed to remove from their office, or to excommunicate, since the time of their appeal made, you shall restore and assoil again, rendering also and restoring all such farms, manors, tenements, and oblations, as you, after their appeal made, have inveigled from them; and, finally, that you innovate nothing touching the state of that monastery, during the time of this controversy depending before us: giving you to understand that in case you shall continue in your stubbornness and rebellion upon this present warning, or defer the execution of this precept thirty days after the receiving thereof, we shall appoint others to execute the same; enjoining also your suffragans, that as you shall show yourself disobedient and rebelling to us, so they all shall refuse likewise to give any obedience or reverence unto you, &c.—Given at Ferrara, 5th Non. Oct. 1187.

Richard I. A. D. 1184 to 1190.

The archbishop to throw down the building of his new church, of his own costs.

To restore the monks whom he did deprive and excommunicate.

The archbishop threatened by the pope.

Another letter besides this the pope also sent to the three abbots aforesaid, for the correction of these enormities. Likewise another letter was sent to King Henry II., wherein the pope enjoineth and requireth him, upon remission of his sins, not to dissemble and bear with the archbishop in his oppression of his monks, but to help those things to be amended, wherein he hath trespassed against them.

The pope writeth to the abbots, and to the king.

These pontifical letters were written A.D. 1187, the third day of October; and on the eighth day after, the eleventh of the same month, the said Pope Urban died. In the which year, and about the which month, Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, was taken with many noblemen of Saladin the Saracen, and Jerusalem lost, after that it had been in the possession of the Christians and had so continued the space of eighty-eight years and eighty days, from the time that Godfrey of Bouillon did first win it from the infidels.

Pope Urban dieth. Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, with many nobles, taken of the Saracens, and the city won.

After the receiving of those letters of Pope Urban above specified, both the king and archbishop, with all the bishops of the realm, were marvellously quailed, glad now to please, and speak fair to the monks, promising all things to be done and restored to them after the best sort; neither were now the king and the archbishop so submissive, but the monks on the other side were as brag and jocund, being fully assured that all now was their own: in the narration of which history, as it is set forth in Gervasius at large, this we have to note by the way, in what fear and thraldom kings in those days were under the pope, who could not be masters over their own subjects, but that every pilled monk, or pelting prior, upon virtue of their appeal to the court of Rome, and making their house tributary to the

The monks get the upper hand over the archbishop and the king. *See Appendix.*

The miserable subjection of kings to the pope.

Richard I. A. D. 1184 to 1190.

pope, was able not only to match, but to give checkmate unto the best king christened, as not in this story only may appear.

It followeth then in the story of these monks, that as they were thus in the midst of their joy and jollity, suddenly cometh news of the death of Pope Urban, their great caliph,[1] and also how that Gregory VIII. was placed in his room, who was a special friend and favourer of the archbishop; which as it did greatly encourage the king and the archbishop, so the monks, on the other side, were as much discomforted, so that now all was turned upside down. For whereas, before, the king and the archbishop thought they had lost all, and were glad to compound with the monks, and to seek their favour, now were the monks on the contrary side fain to crouch to the king, and glad to have a good countenance; who then resorting to him, and finding him altered both in word and gesture, desired he would confirm and grant that which of late before he had promised.

The king's answer to the monks of Canterbury.

To whom it was answered again by the king, that seeing the archbishop had granted to them their sacrist, their chamberlain, and their cellarer, they should have no more restored by him; neither would he suffer the liberties and privileges of the archbishop to be impaired, or take any wrong. "As touching the new chapel of St. Thomas," said he, "whereabout ye strive so long, with the canonships and other buildings belonging thereto, the same I receive into my hands, so that none shall have any thing to do therein but myself," &c. In like manner from the archbishop such another like answer they received, and from bishops little better. So the monks, sent away with a flea in their ear, went home again out of Normandy unto their cell.

Pope Gregory VIII. dieth.

Now the archbishop having the monks where he would, wrought them much grievance; but that continued not very long. For within two months after and less died Pope Gregory VIII., about the sixteenth day of the December following. After him succeeded

Pope Clement III.

Pope Clement III., who, following the steps of Urban, bent all his power with the monks against the archbishop, sending divers precepts and mandates in the year following, which was A.D. 1188, with an

Letters to the archbishop.

imperious letter, willing and commanding him to desist from his oppression of the monks, and to throw down his new chapel. Hereupon the archbishop made his appeal, and minded to go to Rome, but was called back by the king, being ready to sail over. In the

Honorius, the prior of Canterbury, died at Rome.

same year Honorius, the prior, died at Rome of the plague, which was some help and comfort to the archbishop, for whom the archbishop made Roger Noris, prior, against the wills of the covent. After this, about the latter end of the same year, Pope Clement

The second letter of Pope Clement to the archbishop.

sent down his legate, called Radulph, a cardinal, to Canterbury, with another letter more sharply written to the same effect unto the archbishop.[2]

Henry II. died.

Furthermore, in the year next after, he wrote also the third letter to him. In the same year also died King Henry II., after whom

Richard I. joined with the archbishop.

succeeded King Richard, his son, who joining likewise with the archbishop, took his part strongly against the said monks. At last, after

See Appendix.

(1) Caliph is the high priest of the Saracens sitting in Damascus, to whom all the sultans were subject, as our princes now are to the pope. [Caliph is the title assumed by the successors of Mahomet.—Ed.]

(2) Ex Hist. Gervas.

much ado on both parts, and after great disturbance, and imprisoning divers of the monks, King Richard, preparing his voyage towards Jerusalem, and studying first to set peace between them, consulted and agreed with the bishops and abbots about a final concord in this matter, between the archbishop and monks of Canterbury; which at length on both parts was made, upon these conventions which follow:— *Richard I.* A.D. 1184 to 1190. *See Appendix.*

First, That Roger Noris should be deposed, whom the archbishop had made prior against their wills: whom the king then at the request of the archbishop promoted to be abbot of Evesham.

Item, That the archbishop should pluck down his chapel, which he builded in the suburbs of Canterbury, against the minds of the monks.

Item, That the aforesaid monks should make profession of their obedience and subjection to the archbishop, as they had done to his predecessors.

Item, As touching all other complaints and injuries (except only the chapel, and the deposition of Roger Noris, the prior), the monks should stand to the arbitrement of the king, the archbishop, and the prelates.

Item, That the monks kneeling down before the king in the chapter-house, should ask the archbishop forgiveness.[1]

This being done, they went altogether to the church, and sang Te Deum for this reformation of peace; the next day, the archbishop coming into the chapter, restored to the covent their manors and farms again; also he discharged the prior whom he had made before; desiring them likewise, that if he had offended them either in word or deed, they would, from their heart, remit him. This reconciliation having been made between the archbishop and the covent, the archbishop then going about to dissolve the building of his new church, though he changed the place, yet thought not to change his intent, and therefore, making exchange of lands with the bishop and monks of Rochester, purchased of them their ground in Lambeth, A.D. 1191. Which done, he came to his clerks whom he had placed to be canons in his new college of Hakington, and also willed them to remove all their goods and furniture to Lambeth, over against Westminster, where he erected for them another church, and there placed the said canons. About which college of Lambeth afterwards much trouble likewise ensued, by the stirring of the said monks of Canterbury, in the time of Hubert, the archbishop, in the reign of the said King Richard, A.D. 1196. Furthermore, after the deposing of Roger Noris, prior of Canterbury aforesaid, Baldwin, the archbishop, being enforced to grant them another prior by the assent of the king and of the covent, assigned Osbern to be their prior, who had taken part before with the archbishop; but the monks not pleased with him, after the death of Baldwin, the archbishop, removed him again.

Archbishop of Canterbury purchaseth land in Lambeth to build his house upon.

And thus have you the tedious discourse of this catholic tragedy between the monks of Canterbury and their archbishop, scarce worth the rehearsal; notwithstanding, this I thought to give the reader to see, in order, first, to show forth unto the world the stout sturdiness of this monkish generation, who, professing profound humility in their coat, what little humility they had in their heart, what pride and arrogancy in their conversation, and what hypocrisy in their religion, that one example, among a thousand others, may give some experience

Three things to be observed in this story of the monks.

Hypocrisy in monkery

(1) Ex lib. anonymo. et ex Hist. Gervasii Monachi Cantuariensis.

Richard I. A.D. 1184 to 1190. Secondly, that posterity now may see how little kings could then do in their own realms, for the pope. And thirdly, to the intent it may more notoriously appear to all readers, what strife and debate, what dissension and division, what little unity and concord hath always followed the pope's catholic church, wheresoever the corrupt religion and usurped ambition of the pope prevailed. For, not to speak only of this monkish house of Canterbury, what church, cathedral, collegiate, or conventual; what see, church, monastery, or chapel, was entirely under the pope's government, but ever there happened some variance, either between the king and the archbishop, as between King William and Lanfranc, King Henry I. and Anselm, King Stephen and Theobald, King Henry II. and Becket, King John and Stephen Langton, King Henry III. and Boniface, &c.; or else between archbishop and archbishop, for making profession, for carrying the cross, for sitting on the right hand of the pope's legate, &c.; or else between archbishops and their suffragans, or between archbishops and their covents, or between bishops and monks, between dean and chapter, between monks and secular priests, monks of one sort against another, friars of one order against another, students against friars, townsmen against scholars, &c. As for example:—What discord was between the archbishop of Canterbury and Roger, archbishop of York, between Lanfranc and Archbishop Thomas, between Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and Sylvester, abbot of St. Austin's; between Walter, of Christchurch, and Sylvester, abbot aforesaid; between William, archbishop of Canterbury, and Jeremias, prior of Canterbury, A.D. 1144; between the monks of Canterbury, and Odo, their prior, for translating the relics of Dunstan; between King Stephen, and Roger, bishop of Salisbury; between the bishop of Lincoln, and Roger, bishop of Ely, his son, A.D. 1138; between Pope Innocent and Anacletus, for the space of seven years; the cardinals for money (saith Gervasius) sometimes holding with the one, sometimes with the other; at last the election was determined by a sore battle between Lothaire, the emperor, and Roger, duke of Apulia, A.D. 1137; also between Pope Innocent IV. and the Emperor Frederic II.; between King Henry III. and William Rale, bishop of Winchester, when the king bade the gates of Winchester town to be shut against him, A.D. 1243; between Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, and the canons of St. Paul.[1] Item, between the said Boniface and the monks of St. Bartholomew, who sat there in harness in his visitation, A.D. 1250; between the abbot of Westminster and monks of the same house, A.D. 1251. Item, between the aforesaid William Rale, bishop of Winchester, and Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, for a priest of the hospital in Southwark, A.D. 1252; between the said Boniface and canons of Lincoln, after the death of Robert Grosthead, for giving of prebends, A.D. 1253; between the monks of Coventry and canons of Lichfield, for choosing their bishop in the time of King Henry III.

Kings made slaves under the pope.

No concord nor unity in popish churches. *See Appendix.*

What discord, and how little unity, is in the pope's church. *See Appendix.*

And what should I speak of the discord which cost so much money between Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks of Rochester, for choosing Richard Wandor to be their bishop, A.D. 1328; between Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, and the

(1) Matth. Paris

canons of the same house, for which both he and they were driven to travel to Rome, A.D. 1244; between Gilbert, bishop of Rochester, delegate to Archbishop Baldwin, and Robert, the pope's legate, for sitting on the right hand of the legate in his council at Westminster, A.D. 1190; between the abbot of Bardney and the said Grosthead, about the visitation of their abbey, A.D. 1242. Item, between the covent of Canterbury and the said Robert, bishop of Lincoln, A.D. 1243; between Hugo, bishop of Durham, and Hubert, bishop of Sarum, and Geffery, archbishop of York, A.D. 1189; between William, bishop of Ely, the king's chancellor, and the canons of York, for not receiving him with procession, A.D. 1190; between the abbot of Westminster and his covent of Black Monks, whom King Henry III. had much ado to still and make to agree, A.D. 1249. Item, between the aforesaid bishop of Lincoln and the abbot of Westminster; likewise between Nicholas, bishop of Durham, and John, abbot of St. Alban's, A.D. 1246; also between Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks there, for the house of Lambeth, A.D. 1146; and what a stir was between the preaching friars and the grey friars, mentioned in Matthew Paris, for superiority, A.D. 1243; also between the said grey friars and the prelates and doctors of Paris, about nine conclusions, condemned of the prelates to be erroneous.

Richard I. A.D. 1184 to 1190.

Conclusions of the friars condemned for erroneous, by the prelates of Paris.

I. Concerning the Divine Essence, that it cannot be seen by the angels or by men glorified.

II. Concerning the Essence of the Holy Ghost.

III. Touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, that, as he is love, he proceedeth from the Father only.

IV. That our bodies and souls glorified, shall not be "in cœlo empyreo" with the angels, but in "cœlo aqueo vel crystallino" above the firmament.

V. That the evil angel at his first creation was evil, and never good.

VI. That there have been many verities from eternity which were not God.

VII. That an angel in one instant may be in divers places, and even every where, if he please.

VIII. That the evil angel never had whereby he might stand; no more had Adam in his state of innocency.

IX. That he which hath "meliora naturalia" (that is to say, more perfect strength of nature working in him) shall, of necessity, have more full measure to obtain grace and glory.

To the which articles the prelates answering, did excommunicate the same as erroneous, affirming, that grace and glory shall be given according to that God hath elected and predestinated, &c.[1]

Contention between friars about the conception of our Lady.

In like manner between the said Dominic friars and the grey friars,[2] what a brawl and tumult there was about the conception of our Lady, whether she was conceived without original sin or not, in the reign of King Henry VII. and King Henry VIII., A.D. 1509. Add moreover to these, the four and twenty heinous schisms, and not so few, which happened between pope and pope, in the church and see of Rome. But why do I stand to recite the divisions and dissensions of the pope's church, which is as much almost as to reckon the sands of the sea? for what church, chapter, or covent, was in all that religion, which either had not some variance with themselves or with others? Upon which continual strife and variance among them, the readers hereof may judge of them and their religion as pleaseth them: in the mean time, my judgment is this; that

Continual variance in the pope's church.

(1) Matt. Paris, [Edit. Lond. 1640, pp. 612, 613: whence the articles are revised.—Ed.]
(2) See infrà vol. iv. 167—172; and Harl. MSS. Brit. Mus. No. 419, art. 19.—Ed

Richard I. A. D. 1190.

where such dissension dwelleth, there dwelleth not the spirit of Christ.

These things thus discoursed, touching the tragical dissension between Baldwin, the archbishop, and the monks of Canterbury; now let us proceed, by the Lord's assistance, in continuation of our story. After King Richard had thus, as is declared, set the monks and the archbishop in some agreement, and had composed such things as were to be redressed within the realm, he sailed (as is above said) to France.[1] After which, preparing to set all things in an order before his going, he committed the whole government of the realm principally to William, bishop of Ely, his chancellor, and to Hugh, bishop of Durham, whom he ordained to be the chief justice of all England in his absence; the one to have the custody of the Tower, with the oversight of all other parts of the land on this side of Humber; the other, who was the bishop of Durham, to have charge over all other his dominions beyond Humber, sending, moreover, unto Pope Clement, in the behalf of the aforesaid William, bishop of Ely, that he might be made the pope's legate through all England and Scotland, which also was obtained. Thus the bishop being advanced in high authority, to furnish the king towards his setting forth, provideth out of every city in England two palfreys, and two sumpters, and also out of every abbey and royal manor one palfrey and one sumpter.

See Appendix.

The chief overseers of the realm in the king's absence.

King Richard taketh his journey toward Jerusalem.

These things and others set in a stay, the king advanced forward his journey, and came to Chinon. There he appointed the captains and constables over his navy, and set laws to be observed in his journey upon the seas. Furthermore, touching the laws and ordinances appointed by this King Richard for his navy, the form thereof was this:—

See Appendix.

I. That whosoever killed any person on shipboard, should be tied with him who was slain, and thrown into the sea.

II. And if he killed him on the land, he should in like manner be tied with the party slain, and be buried with him in the earth.

III. He that shall be convicted by lawful witness of drawing out his knife or weapon, to the intent to strike any man, or that hath stricken any to the drawing of blood, shall lose his hand.

IV. He that striketh any person with his hand, without effusion of blood, shall be plunged three times in the sea.

V. Whoso speaketh any opprobrious or contumelious words, in reviling or cursing another, for as often as he hath so reviled, shall pay so many ounces of silver.

VI. A thief or felon that hath stolen, being lawfully convicted, shall have his head shorn, and boiling pitch poured upon his head, and feathers or down strewed upon the same, whereby he may be known; and so at the first landing place they shall come to, there to be cast up, &c. Witness myself at Chinon.

These things thus set in readiness, King Richard sending his navy by the Spanish seas, and by the straits of Gibraltar, between Spain and Africa, to meet him at Marseilles, he himself went to Tours, and after that to Vezelay, to meet the French king. The two kings from thence went to Lyons, where the bridge over the flood Rhone with press of people brake, and many, both men and women, were drowned. By reason whereof, the two kings, for the cumbrance of their trains, were constrained to dissever themselves for the time of their journey, appointing both to meet together in Sicily; and so Philip, the

See Appendix.

They come to Lyons.

(1) The narrative of the brawl in York Cathedral, sup. pp. 278—280, should be introduced here. —Ed.

French king, took his way to Genoa, and King Richard to Marseilles, where he remained eight days, having appointed his navy to meet him there. *Richard I. A. D. 1190.*

The seventh day of August, in the year aforesaid, King Richard departed out of Marseilles, after he had there waited seven days for his navy, which came not; and so hiring twenty galleys, and ten great barks, to ship over his men, he sailed by the sea-coast of Italy [1] to Genoa, where the French king was; thence he passed forward by the coast of Italy, and entered the Tiber, not far from Rome, where meeting with Octavian, the cardinal and bishop of Ostia, he did complain greatly of the filthy simony of the pope and the pope's court, for receiving seven hundred marks for consecrating the bishop of Le Mans; also a thousand and five hundred marks of William, the bishop of Ely, for his office legatine; and likewise an infinite sum of money of the bishop of Bordeaux, for acquitting him when he should be deposed for a certain crime laid to his charge by his clergy, &c. *See Appendix.* Richard complaineth of the pope's court. *See Appendix.*

From thence he coasted along, and came to Naples, and, passing on horseback to Salerno, he came to Calabria; where, after that he had heard his ships were arrived at Messina, in Sicily, he made the more speed; and so, on the twenty-third of September, came to Messina, with such a noise of trumpets and shawms, with such a rout and show, that it was the great wonderment and terror both of the Frenchmen, and of all others that did hear and behold the sight. *See Appendix.* The king's ships arrive at Messina.

To the said town of Messina the French king had come before, the sixteenth day of the same month of September, and had taken up the palace of Tancred, king of Sicily, for his lodging. To whom King Richard, after his arrival, eftsoons resorted; and when the two kings had communed together, immediately the same day the French king took shipping, and entered the seas, thinking to sail toward the land of Jerusalem; but after he was out of the haven, the wind arising contrary against him, returned him back again to Messina. Then King Richard, whose lodging was prepared in the suburbs without the city, after he had resorted again, and talked with the French king, and also had sent to Tancred, king of Sicily, for the deliverance of Joan, his sister (who had been sometime queen of Sicily), and had obtained her to be sent unto him, the last day of September passed over the flood of Faro, and there getting a stronghold called De la Bagnara, or Le Bamre, and placing therein his sister, with a sufficient retinue and garrison, he returned again to Messina. On the second of October King Richard won another certain stronghold, called 'Monasterium Griffonum,' situated on an island in the midst of the river of Faro, between Messina and Calabria; from whence the monks being expelled, he reposed there all his store and provision of victuals, which came from England or other places. Richard and Philip at Messina. Richard obtaineth his sister Joan, queen sometime of Sicily, to be sent to him. *See Appendix.* *See Appendix.*

The citizens of Messina, seeing that the king of England had won the castle De la Bagnara, and also the island and monastery of the Griffons, and doubting lest the king would extend his power further to invade their city and (if he could) the whole isle of Sicily, began to stir against the king's army, and to shut the Englishmen out of the gates, and keep their walls against them. The Englishmen, seeing Discord between the citizens of Messina and the English army.

(1) Several inaccuracies in this and the next page are corrected from Hoveden.—Ed.

Richard I. A. D. 1190.

that, made to the gates, and by force would have broken them open; insomuch that the king, riding among them with his staff, and breaking divers of their heads, could not assuage their fierceness; such was the rage of the Englishmen against the citizens of Messina. The king seeing the fury of the people to be such that he could not stay them, took boat, and went to the palace of King Tancred, to talk of the matter with the French. In which time the matter was so taken up by the wise handling of the ancient of the city, that both parties, laying down their armour, went home in peace.

The king could not stay the rage of the people.

On the fourth day of October came to King Richard the archbishop of Messina, with two other archbishops, also the French king, and sundry other earls, barons, and bishops, for entreatance of peace. As they were together consulting, and had almost concluded upon the peace, the citizens of Messina issuing out of the town, some went up upon the mountains, some with open force invaded the mansion or lodging of Hugh Brun, an English captain. The noise whereof coming to the ears of the king, he suddenly breaking off talk with the French king and the rest, departed from them, and coming to his men, commanded them forthwith to arm themselves; who then with certain of his soldiers, making up to the top of a mountain, which seemed to pass their power to climb, there put the citizens to flight, chasing them down the mountain, unto the very gates of the city; whom also certain of the king's servants pursued within the city; of whom five valiant soldiers and twenty of the king's servants were slain, the French king looking on, and not once willing to rescue them, contrary to his oath and league before made with the king of England; for the French king, with his men, being there present, rode in the midst of them safely and without harm to and fro, and might well have eased the king's party more than he did, if it had so liked him.

Communication about peace.

A skirmish between the citizens of Messina and the Englishmen.

The French king against the Englishmen.

This being known to the English host, how their fellows were slain, and the Frenchmen permitted in the city, and that they were excluded, and the gates barred against them, being also stopped from buying of victuals and other things; they in great indignation gathered themselves in arms, brast open the gates, and scaled the walls, and so winning the city, set up their flags with the English arms upon the walls. Which when the French king did see, he was mightily offended; requiring the king of England, that the arms of France might also be set up and joined with his; but King Richard to that in no case would agree. Notwithstanding, to satisfy his mind, he was well contented to take down his arms, and commit the custody of the city to the Hospitallers and Templars of Jerusalem, till the time that Tancred, king of Sicily, and he should agree together upon conditions.

Englishmen win the city of Messina.

These things being done on the third and fourth days of October, it followed then upon the eighth day that peace between the kings was concluded. In which peace, first, King Richard and Philip, the French king, renewed again their oath and league before made, concerning their mutual aid and society, during all the time of that peregrination. Secondly, peace also was concluded between King Richard and Tancred, king of Sicily aforesaid, with this condition, that the daughter of Tancred should marry Arthur, duke of Bretagne, the king's nephew, and, in case King Richard should die without issue, next heir to his crown; whereof a formal chart was drawn, and letters

The league renewed between Richard and the French king.

Peace concluded between King Richard and Tancred.

were sent thereof to Pope Clement, dated the eleventh[1] day of November. *Richard I.* A. D. 1190.

In the mean time, as these two kings of France and England were thus wintering at Messina, the emperor, Frederic I. (the same on whose neck Pope Alexander did tread in the church of Venice, saying the verse of the psalm, "Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis," &c. whereof read before), and his son Conrad, with a mighty army of Almains and others, were coming up likewise toward the land of Jerusalem to the siege of Acre; where, by the way, the good emperor, through a great mischance, falling off his horse into a river called Salef,[2] was therein drowned. After whose decease, Conrad, his son, taking the government of his army, came to the siege of Acre (in which siege also he died); upon whose coming, such a dearth followed in the camp, which lasted two months, that a loaf of bread, which, before their coming, was sold for one penny, was afterwards sold for three pounds, by reason whereof many Christian soldiers did there perish through famine. The chiefest food which the princes there had to feed upon, was horse-flesh. This famine being so miserable, some good bishops there were in the camp, namely, Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, with certain other good bishops, who, making a general collection through the whole camp for the poor, made such a provision, that in this penury of all things, yet no man was so destitute and needy, but somewhat he had for his relief; till, within a few days after, by the merciful providence of God, who is the feeder of all creatures, ships came unto them with abundance of corn, wine, and oil.

Frederic the emperor drowned in going to the siege of Acre.

God's providence in time of need.

The siege of this town of Acre endured a long season, which, as it was mightily oppugned by the Christians, so it was strongly defended by the Saracens, especially by the help of wild-fire, which the Latins call "Græcus ignis," so that there was great slaughter on both sides. During the time of which siege many noble personages, and also bishops, died, among whom was Conrad, the emperor's son; Radulph, earl of Fougeres; Rotrou, earl of Perche; Robert, earl of Leicester; Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury; with four archbishops, and divers other bishops, abbots, earls, and also barons, to the number of four and thirty, and not so few. All this while King Richard, and King Philip of France, still kept at Messina in Sicily, from the month of September till April, for lack, I suppose, of wind or weather, or else of necessity for repairing their ships. In which mean time King Richard, hearing of Joachim, abbot of Corazzo,[3] a learned man in Calabria (who was then thought to have the spirit of prophecy, and told many things of a people that should come), sent for him, with whom he and his bishops had much conference about the coming and time of antichrist; *to[4] whom the said Joachim expounding the place of St. John's Revelation—"There be seven kings, of whom five are fallen, one is now, and another is yet to come," &c.—declareth seven persecutors of the church to be thereby signified: Herod, Nero, Domitian, Maxentius, Mahomet, Turca, and the last, which

Siege of Acre. Greek fire much used by the Saracens.

See Appendix.

(1) Hoveden, Rymer, tom. i. p. 53 (Edit. Nov.)—Ed.

(2) Or Cydnus.—Ed.

(3) Afterward he became abbot of Flora, in Calabria. Moreri.—Ed.

(4) This passage, in single asterisks, is republished from the edition of Foxe of 1563, pp. 70, 71. It slightly differs from the Latin edition of 1559, p. 57; an extract from which is subjoined: "Reges 7, inquit, septem sunt persecutores: Herodes, Nero, Constantius, Mahumet, Melsemutus, Saladinus, Antichristus, &c. Hæc Hovedenus. Annus vero hujus abbatis erat 1290." Joachim flourished early in the thirteenth century, and the first edition of his prophecies appeared at Venice in 1517.—Ed.

Richard I. A. D. 1190. he said was then to come, to be Antichrist. And this Antichrist, he said, was already born in the city of Rome, and should be there exalted in the apostolical see; bringing to that purpose the saying of the apostle, "he is an adversary, and advanceth himself against all that is called God: and then shall the wicked man be revealed whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming."[1] "Why," said the king, "I had thought all this while that antichrist should have been born in Antioch, or Babylon, out of the tribe of Dan, and should have ruled in the Lord's temple of Jerusalem, and should have sojourned in the land where Christ had sojourned, and borne rule three year and a half in the same, and disputed against Enoch and Elias, and then put them to death, and then have died himself; after whose death the Lord should have given sixty days of repentance, wherein those that erred from the truth, and were seduced by the preaching of antichrist, and his counterfeit apostles, might repent."

See Appendix.

This, and such like talk, had they together; and though the abbot declared at that time that antichrist was born at Rome, yet were there certain prelates, the very members of that wicked head, who in no wise could abide to hear the tale of truth, but devised somewhat to reply against it. Among these were Walter, archbishop of Rouen, the archbishop of Apamea,[2] and Gerard, archbishop of Auch, John, bishop of Evreux, and Bernard, bishop of Bayonne;[3] whose replications and opinions, if they were here put down, they would appear in that behalf good and substantial gear, I do warrant you.*

Abbot Joachim condemned in the council of Lateran.

This Joachim, belike, in his book and revelations uttered some things against the see and pride of Rome, for the which he was less favoured of the popes, and judged an enemy to their see; and so he was condemned with his books for a heretic by Pope Innocent III. in his idolatrous general council of Lateran, A.D. 1215, as ye may read in Antoninus.

Henry, son of Frederic, emperor.

After this, Henry king of Almains, son of Frederic the emperor, hearing of the decease of his father, standing now to be emperor, first restored to Henry duke of Saxony, and to others, whatsoever his father before had taken from them. That done, he sent to Clement and his cardinals, promising in all things to confirm the laws and dignities of the church of Rome, if they would grant him their assent to be emperor. Whereupon Pope Clement, by advice of the Romans, assigned him the term of Easter in the next year ensuing, for his coronation. But before the Easter came, Pope Clement died, after he had sat three years and about four months; after whom succeeded Celestine III., of whom more hereafter, God willing.

See Appendix.

A.D. 1191. The time thus passing over, in the month of February, the next year following, which was A.D. 1191, King Richard sent over his galleys to Naples, there to meet his mother Elenor, and Berengaria, the daughter of Sancho, king of Navarre, whom he was purposed to marry, who by that time were come to Brundusium, under the conduct of Philip, earl of Flanders, and so proceeding unto Naples, there found the king's ships, wherein they sailed to Messina. In this mean space, King Richard showed himself exceedingly bounteous

(1) 2 Thess. ii. 4, 8.—Ed. (2) Apamea in Syria.—Ed.

See Appendix. (3) For this corrected list see Hoveden, Hollinshed, and Gallia Christiana.—Ed.

and liberal unto all men. To the French king first he gave divers ships; upon others likewise he bestowed rich rewards; and of his goods and treasure he distributed largely unto his soldiers and servants about him. Of him it was reported that he distributed more in one month, than ever any of his predecessors did in a whole year; by reason whereof he purchased great love and favour, which not only redounded to the advancement of his fame, but also to his singular use and profit, as the sequel afterwards proved.

Richard I. A.D. 1191.

Bountiful liberality of King Richard.

To proceed then in the progress of King Richard, it followeth: on the first day of March, he, leaving the city of Messina, where the French king was, went on unto Catana, a city where Tancred, king of Sicily, then lay, where he was honourably received, and there remained with King Tancred three days and three nights. On the fourth day, when he should depart, Tancred offered him many rich presents in gold and silver, and precious silks; whereof King Richard would receive nothing but one little ring for a token of his good will. For this King Richard again gave him a rich sword. At length, when King Richard should take his leave, King Tancred would not so let him part, but needs would give him four great ships and fifteen galleys; and furthermore, he himself would needs accompany him, the space of two days' journey, to a place called Tavernium.

Honourable entertainment of Richard by Tancred.

Then the next morning, when they should take their leave, Tancred declared unto him the message which the French king, a little before, had sent unto him by the duke of Burgundy, the purport whereof was this: "That the king of England was a false traitor, and would never keep the peace that was between them. And if the said Tancred would war against him, or secretly by night invade him, he, with all his power, would assist him, and join with him to the destruction of him and all his army." To whom Richard the king protested again, that he was no traitor, and never was; and, as touching the peace begun between them, the same should never be broken through him, neither could he believe that the French king, being his good lord, and his sworn copartner in that voyage, would utter any such words of him. Which, when Tancred heard, he bringeth forth the letters of the French king, brought to him by the duke of Burgundy; affirming, moreover, that if the duke of Burgundy would deny the bringing of the said letters, he was ready to try with him by any of his dukes. King Richard, receiving the letters, and musing not a little upon the same, returneth again to Messina The same day that King Richard departed, the French king cometh to Tavernium to speak with Tancred, and there abode with him that night, and on the morrow returned to Messina again.

Philip, the French king, traitorously seeketh the destruction of Richard.

Faithful part of Tancred towards Richard.

From that time King Richard, moved in stomach against King Philip, never showed any gentle countenance of peace and amity, as he before was wont; whereat the French king greatly marvelling, and inquiring earnestly what should be the cause thereof, word was sent him again by Philip, earl of Flanders, what words he had sent to the king of Sicily; and for the testimony thereof, the letters were showed, which he wrote by the duke of Burgundy to the king of Sicily. When the French king understood this, he first held his peace, as guilty in his conscience, not knowing well what to answer.

First occasion of discord between the French king and King Richard.

King Richard chargeth the French

Richard I. A.D. 1191.

At length, turning his tale to another matter, he began to quarrel with King Richard, pretending as though he sought causes to break with him, and to malign him, and therefore he forged these lies (said he) upon him, and all because he by that means would void to marry with Alice, his sister, according as he had promised: adding, moreover, that if he would so do, and would not marry the said Alice his sister, according to his oath, but would marry another, he would be an enemy to him and his, while he lived.

king with falsehood. Quarrel about a marriage.

To this King Richard said again, that he could by no means marry that woman, forasmuch as his father had had by her a son: for proof whereof he had there presently to bring forth divers and sundry witnesses to the king's face, to testify with him. In conclusion, through counsel and persuasion of divers about the French king, agreement at last was made, so that King Philip did acquit King Richard from his bond of marrying his sister; and King Richard again should be bound to pay to him every year, for the space of five years, two thousand marks; with certain other conditions besides, not greatly material in this place to be deciphered. Thus, peace being between them concluded, on Saturday the thirtieth day of the said month of March the French king launching out of the haven of Messina, on the two and twentieth day after, in Easter week, came with his army to the siege of Acre.

†

Agreement between the two kings, with the conditions.

The French king cometh to Acre, Apl. 20th.

Berengaria, or as some do call her, Berengara, daughter to the king of Navarre, brought to be married to King Richard.

After the departure of the French king from Messina (King Richard, with his army, yet remaining behind), Queen Elenor, the king's mother, arrived, bringing with her Berengaria, the king of Navarre's daughter, to be espoused to King Richard. This done, Elenor, leaving Berengaria behind her, departed, taking her journey toward Rome, to entreat the pope for Geffrey, her other son above mentioned, to be consecrated in the archbishopric of York, he having been before elected by the procurement of King Richard, his brother, as ye heard. At this time, as Queen Elenor was travelling toward Rome, Pope Clement above mentioned died on the tenth day of April, in whose room succeeded Pope Celestine III., who, the next day after his consecration, came from Lateran to St. Peter's church, where in the way met him Henry, the emperor, and Constantia, his wife, with a great rout of armed soldiers; but the Romans, making fast their gates, would not suffer them to enter their city. Then Pope Celestine, standing upon the stairs before the church door of St. Peter, received an oath of the said Henry, king of the Almains (his army waiting without), that he should defend the church of God, and all the liberties thereof, and maintain justice; also that he should restore again the patrimony of St. Peter, full and whole, whatsoever hath been diminished thereof; and finally, that he should re-surrender to the church of Rome the city of Frascati. Upon these conditions and grants, the pope then took him to the church, and there anointed him for emperor, and his wife for empress; who, there sitting in his chair pontifical, held the crown of gold between his feet, and so the emperor, bowing down his head to the pope's feet, received the crown; and in like manner the empress also. The crown thus being set upon the emperor's head, the pope, immediately, with his foot struck it off again from his head unto the ground, declaring thereby, that he had power, to depose him in case he

See Appendix.

The pope of Rome in the full top of his pride.

Pope Celestine crowneth Henry the emperor with his feet.

The pope striketh

so deserved. Then the cardinals, taking up the crown, set it upon his head again.[1] *Richard I.*

A.D. 1191.

Not long after the departure of King Philip from Messina, which was in the month of March, King Richard, in April following, about the tenth day of the said month sailing from the haven of Messina with a hundred and fifty great ships and three and fifty great galleys well manned and appointed, took journey towards Acre; who being upon the seas on Good Friday, about the ninth hour rose a mighty south wind with a tempest, which dissevered and scattered all his navy, some to one place and some to another. The king with a few ships put into the island of Crete, and afterwards in the haven of Rhodes cast anchor. The ship that carried the king's sister, the queen of Sicily, and Berengaria, the king of Navarre's daughter, with two other ships, were driven to the isle of Cyprus. The king, making great moan for the ship his sister was in, and Berengaria, his wife that should be, not knowing what had become of them, after the tempest was overblown, sent forth his galleys diligently to search for the rest of his navy dispersed, but especially for the ship wherein his sister was, and the maiden whom he should marry; who at length were found safe and merry at Port Limisso, in the isle of Cyprus. Notwithstanding the two other ships, which were in their company before in the same haven, were drowned, with divers of the king's servants, and men of worship; amongst whom was Master Roger, called 'Malus Catulus,' the king's vice-chancellor, who was found having the king's seal hanging about his neck. The king of Cyprus was then Isaac (called also the emperor of the Griffons), who took and imprisoned all Englishmen who by shipwreck were cast upon his land, also inveigling into his hands the goods and prizes of those who were found drowned about his coasts; neither would he suffer the ship wherein the two ladies were, to enter within the port.

off the emperor's crown with his foot. *See Appendix.*

Richard overtaken with a tempest going to Acre.

Isaac, king of Cyprus, a cruel enemy to Englishmen.

The tidings of this being brought to King Richard, he, in great wrath, gathering his galleys and ships together, boardeth the land of Cyprus, where he first in gentlewise signifieth to King Isaac, how he with his Englishmen, coming as strangers to the supportation of the Holy Land, were, by distress of weather, driven upon his bounds; and, therefore, with all humble petition besought him, in God's behalf, and for reverence of the Holy Cross, to let go such prisoners of his as he had in captivity, and to restore again the goods of those who were drowned, which he detained in his hands, to be employed for the behoof of their souls. And this the king, once, twice, and thrice, desired of the emperor. But he, proudly answering again, sent the king word, that he would neither let the captives go, nor render the goods of them that were drowned.

Richard maketh suit to the king of Cyprus for his soldiers in captivity.

The disdainful answer of Isaac.

When King Richard heard how little the Emperor Isaac made of his so humble and honest petition, and how nothing there could be gotten without violent force; immediately he giveth commandment through all his host, to put themselves in armour, and to follow him, to revenge such injuries received of that proud and cruel king

(1) Ex veteri chronico manuscripto anonymo, de gestis Richardi Regis, cui initium, "Anno gratiæ," &c. Item ex alio ejusdem vetustatis chronico manuscripto, cui initium, "Æneas cum Ascanio," &c.

Richard I. A.D. 1191.

of Cyprus; willing them to put their trust in God, and not to doubt but that the Lord would stand with them, and give them the victory. The emperor, in the mean time, with his people, stood warding the sea coasts, where the Englishmen should arrive, with swords, bills, and lances, and such other weapons as they had, setting boards, stools, and chests before them instead of a wall. Howbeit but few of them were harnessed, and for the most part all inexpert and unskilful in the feats of war. Then King Richard with his soldiers, issuing out of their ships, first set his bowmen before, who with their shot made a way for others to follow. The Englishmen, thus winning the land upon them, so fiercely pressed upon the Griffons, that after long fighting and many blows, at last, the emperor was put to flight; whom King Richard valiantly pursued, and slew many, and divers he took alive, and had gone near also to have had the emperor, had not the night come on and parted the battle. And thus King Richard, with much spoil and great victory returning to the port town of Limisso, which the townsmen had left for fear, found there great abundance of corn, wine, oil, and victuals.

Richard setteth upon Isaac, emperor of the Griffons, who is put to flight.

The same day after the victory, Joan, the king's sister, and Berengaria, the maiden, entered the port and town of Limisso, with fifty great ships, and fourteen galliots; so that all the whole navy there meeting together, were two hundred and fifty-four tall ships, and above threescore galliots. Then Isaac the emperor, seeing no way for himself to escape by the sea, the same night pitched his tents five miles off from the English army, swearing that the third day after he would surely give battle to King Richard. But he preventing him before, suddenly, the same morning before the day of battle should be, setteth upon the tents of the Griffons early (they being unawares and asleep,) and made of them a great slaughter; insomuch that the emperor was fain naked to run away, leaving his tents and pavilions to the Englishmen, full of horses and rich treasure, also with the imperial standard, the lower part whereof, with a costly streamer, was covered and wrought all with gold. King Richard then returning with victory and triumph to his sister and Berengaria, shortly after, in the month of May following, and the twelfth day of the same month, married the said Berengaria, daughter of Sancho, king of Navarre, at Limisso in the isle of Cyprus.

The king of Cyprus again put to flight.

King Richard marrieth Berengaria in the isle of Cyprus. *See Appendix.*

The king of Cyprus, seeing himself overmatched, was driven at length to yield himself with conditions; to give King Richard twenty thousand marks in gold, for amends of such spoils as he had gotten of them that were drowned; also to restore all his captives again to the king; and, furthermore, in his own person, to attend upon the king to the land of Jerusalem, in God's service and his, with four hundred horsemen, and five hundred footmen; in pledge whereof he would give into his hands his castles, and his only daughter, and would hold his kingdom of him. This done, and the emperor swearing fidelity to King Richard, before Guido king of Jerusalem, and the prince of Antioch (who were come thither to King Richard a little before), peace was taken, and Isaac was committed to the ward of certain keepers. Notwithstanding, shortly after, he, breaking from his keepers, was again at defiance with the king. Whereupon King Richard, besetting the island of Cyprus round about with ships and

Isaac yieldeth himself to King Richard.

He subsequently breaketh conditions.

Again submitteth himself, and

galleys, did in such sort prevail, that the subjects of the land were constrained to yield themselves to the king, and at length the daughter also of the emperor, and at last the emperor himself, whom King Richard caused to be kept in fetters of silver and gold, and to be sent to the city of Tripolis. *Richard I.* A.D. 1191. is kept in golden fetters.

These things thus done, and all set in order touching the possession of the isle of Cyprus, the keeping whereof he committed unto Radulph, son of Godfrey, lord chamberlain, being then the first day of June; upon the fifth of the said month, King Richard departed from the isle of Cyprus, with his ships and galleys towards the siege of Acre, and on the morrow came unto Tyre, where, by procurement of the French king, he was constrained by the citizens to enter. Richard's journey to Acre.

The next day after, which was the seventh day of June, crossing the seas he met with a great bark, fraught with soldiers and men of war to the number of one thousand five hundred; who, pretending to be Frenchmen, and setting forth their flag with the French arms, were indeed Saracens, secretly sent with wild-fire and certain barrels of unknown serpents, to the defence of the town of Acre. This King Richard at length perceiving, eftsoons set upon them, and so vanquished them; of whom the most were drowned, and some taken alive; which being once known in the city of Acre, as it was a great discomfort there, so it was a great help unto the Christians for winning the city. The next day after, which was the eighth of June, King Richard came to Acre, which at that time had been long besieged of the Christians; after whose coming it was not long before the pagans within the city seeing their walls to be undermined and towers overthrown, were driven by composition to escape with life and limb, to surrender the city to the two kings. Another great help to the Christians in winning the city was this: in the said city of Acre there was a secret Christian among the Saracens, who, in time of the siege there, used at sundry times to cast over the walls, into the camp of the Christians, certain bills written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, wherein he disclosed unto the Christians, from time to time, the doings and counsels of the enemies, advertising them how and in what way they should work, and of what to beware; and always his letters began thus: "In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti; Amen;" by reason whereof, the Christians were much advantaged in their proceedings. But this was a great heaviness unto them, that neither would he utter his name, nor, when the city was got, could they ever understand who he was.[1] Saracens sent to the rescue of Acre, vanquished on the sea by King Richard. *See Appendix.* The city of Acre yielded to the Christians. *See Appendix.* Honest part of a secret Christian in the city of Acre.

To make of a long siege a short narration, upon the twelfth day of July in the year aforesaid, A.D. 1191, the princes and captains of the pagans, upon agreement, resorted to the tent of the Templars, to commune with the two kings touching peace and giving up of their city, the form of which peace was this: That the kings should have the city of Acre freely and fully delivered unto them, with all that was within; and that five hundred captives of the Christians should be restored unto them, which were in Acre: also that the holy cross should be to them rendered, and a thousand christian captives, with two hundred horsemen, whosoever they themselves would choose out The form of peace concluded between the kings, and the princes of Acre.

(1) Ex chronico manuscripto, de gestis Richardi.

Richard I. A.D. 1191.

of all those which were in the power of Saladin: over and besides, they should give to the kings, two hundred thousand bisants, so that they themselves would remain as pledges in the kings' hands for the performance hereof; that if, in forty days, these aforesaid covenants were not accomplished, they would abide the kings' mercy touching life and limb. These covenants being agreed upon, the kings sent their soldiers and servants into the city, to take one hundred of the richest and best of the city, to close them up in towers under strong keeping, and the residue they committed to be kept in houses and streets, ministering unto them according to their necessities: to whom notwithstanding, this they permitted, that as many of them as would be baptized, and receive the faith of Christ, should be free to go whither they would. Whereupon, many there were of the pagans, who for fear of death pretended to be baptized, but who, afterwards, as soon as they could, revolted again to the Saladin; on which account it was afterwards commanded by the kings, that none of them should be baptized against their wills.

Religion should be taught and not coacted.

See Appendix.

The thirteenth day of July, King Philip of France, and King Richard, after they had obtained the possession of Acre, divided between them all things therein contained, as well the people, as the gold and silver, with all other furniture whatsoever remaining in the city; who, in dividing the spoil, were such good carvers unto themselves, that many knights and barons, with other soldiers, who had there sustained the whole travail two years together about the siege, seeing the kings to take all unto themselves, and their part to be but little, retracted themselves without the uttermost trench; and there, after consultation had together, sent word to the kings that they would leave and forsake them, unless they were made partakers also of the gains for which they had so long travailed. To whom answer was sent again by the kings, that their wills should be satisfied: howbeit, because of long deferring of their promise, many, constrained by poverty, departed from them.

The two kings divide the city of Acre, with all the spoil thereof, between themselves.

Commonly seen, whoso taketh most pains, their part to be the least.

The twentieth day of July, King Richard, speaking with the French king, desired him that they two with their armies would bind themselves by oath to remain there still in the land of Jerusalem the space of three years, for the winning and recovering again of those countries. But he would swear, he said, no such oath: and so the next day, King Richard, with his wife and sister, entereth into the city of Acre, and placed there himself in the king's palace; the French king remaining in the houses of the Templars, where he continued till the end of the month. About the beginning of the month of August, Philip, the French king, after he and King Richard had made agreement between Guido and Conrad, the marquis, about the kingdom of Jerusalem, went from Acre to Tyre; notwithstanding, King Richard and all the princes of the christian army, with great entreaty, desired him to tarry; showing what a shame it were for him to come so far, and now to leave undone that for which he came; and on the third of August he departed from Tyre, leaving his half part of the city of Acre in the hands of the aforesaid Conrad, the marquis. After Philip's departure, the pagans refused to keep their covenants; who neither would restore the holy cross, nor the money, nor their captives, sending word to King Richard, that if he beheaded the

King Richard requireth of the French king to remain three years with his army, but he would not.

See Appendix

pledges left with him at Acre, they would chop off the heads of such captives of the Christians as were in their hands. Shortly after this, Saladin, sending great gifts to king Richard, requested the time limited for beheading of the captives to be prorogued, but the king refused to take his gifts, and to grant his request; whereupon the Sultan caused all the christian captives within his possession forthwith to be beheaded, which was the eighteenth day of August. Albeit King Richard understood this, yet would not he prevent the time before limited for the execution of his prisoners, being the twentieth of August. Upon that day he caused the prisoners of the Saracens, openly in the sight of the Sultan's army, to lose their heads; the number of whom came to two thousand five hundred, save only that certain of the principal of them he reserved for purposes and considerations, especially to make exchange for the holy cross, and certain others of the christian captives.

Richard I. A. D. 1191.

Christian captives slain by the Sultan.

Saracen captives slain by King Richard

After this, King Richard purposed to besiege the city of Joppa; where, by the way, between Acre and Joppa, near to a town called Azotus, Saladin with a great multitude of his Saracens came fiercely against the king's rearward; but, through God's merciful grace, in the same battle the king's warriors acquitted them so well, that Saladin was put to flight (whom the Christians pursued the space of three miles) and lost the same day many of his nobles and captains, in such sort as it was thought the Saracens had not been put to such confusion for forty years before; and but one christian captain, called James d'Avesnes, in that conflict was overthrown. From thence King Richard proceeding further went to Joppa, and then to Ascalon. He found the city of Joppa forsaken of the Saracens, who durst not abide the king's coming. Ascalon Saladin had thrown down to the ground, who likewise forsook the whole land of Syria; through all which land the king had free passage without resistance, neither durst the Saracen prince encounter after that with King Richard. Of all which his achievements the said King Richard sent his letters of certificate as well into England, as also to the abbot of Clairvaux in France; well hoping that he, God willing, should be able to make his repair again to them by Easter next.

See Appendix.

Saladin put to flight.

A noble victory by God's power gotten by King Richard.

King Richard in possession of Syria.

A BRIEF STORY OF WILLIAM, THE PROUD BISHOP OF ELY, THE KING'S CHANCELLOR.

A. D. 1190 to 1191.

And now, to leave King Richard awhile in the field, let us make a step into England, and look a little at what is doing at home while the king is abroad, and so return to the king again. Ye heard before how King Richard, at his setting forth, committed the government of the realm to Hugh, bishop of Durham, and to William, bishop of Ely, so that to the bishop of Durham was committed the keeping of the castle of Windsor. The other, who was the bishop of Ely, had the keeping of the Tower of London, about which he caused a great ditch with a rampart to be made, which is yet remaining. Furthermore, to these two bishops the king also assigned four other chief justices, who, jointly with them, should have the hearing and oversight of all causes, as well to the clergy as to the laity apper-

Four chief justices with two bishops appointed overseers of the realm in the king's absence.

Richard I. A.D. 1190 to 1191.

taining: to wit, Hugh Bardolf, William Marshal, Geoffrey Fitz-Piers, and William Briwere; but the bishop of Ely was the principal, or at least he that took most upon him, who both was the king's chancellor, and bought with his money to be the pope's legate through England, Ireland, and Scotland, as is before specified. *For[1] the said Ely, being more ambitious, so practised with the king, that with the king's ambassadors sending his letters to the pope he obtained there the authority legantine upon the whole realm of England, as by the pope's letters[2] to him again directed may appear.* Touching the excessive pride and pomp of this bishop, his rufflings outrageous, and fall most shameful, it would make a long tragedy to relate the whole circumstances at full; to demonstrate only certain specialities thereof, for our present purpose may suffice.

The church and bells of York suspended, because the lord legate was not ushered in with procession.

First, this William, called Longchamp, being thus advanced by the king to be his high chancellor, and chief justice of the realm, and also the pope's legate, to show abroad the authority of his legateship, began to suspend the canons, clerks, and vicars of the church of St. Peter in York, because they received him not with procession: under which interdiction he held them, till they were fain at last, both canons, clerks, and vicars, to fall down at his feet, causing all their bells to be let down out of the steeple. After this cometh Hugh, bishop of Durham, whom the king sent home out of Normandy with his letters; who, meeting with the aforesaid William, bishop of Ely, in the town of Ely, showed him the king's letters, wherein was granted to him the keeping of Windsor castle, and to be the king's justice from the river Humber to the borders of Scotland. To these letters the chancellor answered, that the king's commandment should be done, and so brought him with him to Suwel, where he took him and kept him fast, till he was forced at last to surrender to him the castle of Windsor, and other things which the king had committed to his custody; and moreover, he was constrained to leave with the said chancellor, Henry de Puteaco, his own son, and Gilbert Leigh, for pledges and hostages of his fidelity, to be true to the king and realm. And thus the bishop of Durham, being set at liberty, went to his town of Hoveden; where, after he had made his abode a few days, cometh thither Osbert Longchamp, the chancellor's brother, and William Stutiville, with a great company of armed men sent by the chancellor to apprehend him. But the said bishop of Durham, putting in sureties not to depart that town without license of the king and of the chancellor, there still remained till he got letters to be sent to the king, signifying how he was used. Whereupon the king, writing his letters from Marseilles to the bishop of Ely, set the said bishop of Durham free, and confirmed to him all the possessions and grants that he before had given him.

Bishop of Ely getteth the castle of Windsor from the bishop of Durham.

The excessive pride and enormities of

It is almost incredible to think how intemperately this bishop and chancellor misconducted himself, after the king's departure into Syria, in excess of pride, and in cruel exactions and oppressions of the

(1) For this passage, with Pope Clement's letter, see Edition 1563, p. 70.—Ed.

(2) *The Letter of Pope Clement III. to the Bishop of Ely.*—"Clemens Episcopus, &c. Juxta commendabile desiderium charissimi in Domino filii nostri illustrissimi Anglorum regis, fraternitati tuæ legationis officium in tota Anglia et Wallia, tam per Cantuariensem quam per Eboracensem archiepiscopatum, et in illis Hyberniæ partibus, in quibus nobilis vir Joannes Comes Moretonii, frater ipsius regis, potestatem habet et dominium, autoritate apostolica duximus committendum. Datum nono Junii pontif. nostri anno 3."

king's subjects. First, his fellow-justices, whom the king joined with him for government of the realm, he utterly rejected and refused to hear their counsel, reputing none to be equal with him in all the realm. Neither was he contented with the authority of a prelate, but played both king and priest in the realm. All castles, lordships, abbeys, churches, and all other appropriations belonging to the right of the king, he claimed to himself; and, by virtue of his legateship, when he came to any bishop's house, abbey, priory, or any other religious house, he brought with him such a superfluity of men, horses, dogs, and hawks, that the house was the worse for it three years after; for commonly he rode never under fifteen hundred horse, of chaplains, priests, and other serving-men waiting upon him. From the clergy and laity he took away their churches, their advowsons, their livings, and their lands, to bestow upon his nephews and other waiting chaplains, to serve his vain glory; or else converted them to his own use, to maintain his pomp and vanity. In getting and gathering of treasures he had no measure; in mis-spending the same he kept no order; and that no vice should be wanting where such avarice taketh root, the money, which he wrongfully got, he committed to the bank to be increased by usury. What wantonness and lasciviousness were used in that so riotous life, the stories do shame to declare. All ruffianly runagates, idle bellies, and light persons, wheresoever he went, hung upon his court. To increase the vain jollity of this royal prelate, there was lacking no kind of musical instruments and melodious noise, to refresh belike his wearied senses, too much beaten and macerated with continual labour and study of hunting, hawking, and gaming: of preaching and reading, I should have said.

Richard I. A. D. 1191.

William, bishop of Ely.

Bishop of Ely never rode under 1500 horse.

Briefly, this aforesaid prelate, bearing the authority both of the king and of the pope, kept such a stir in England, that the whole realm was at his beck, with cap and knee, crouching to him; neither durst any man, rich or poor, displease him; yea, there was none in all the realm so noble or worshipful, but was glad to please him, accounting himself happy if he might stand in his favour. At his table, all noblemen's children did serve and wait upon him, with whom he coupled in marriage his nieces and kinswomen; and, when any one that stood waiting before him, durst once cast up his eyes, or did not demurely look downward upon the ground, he had a staff in his hand with a prick, wherewith he used to prick him; learning, belike, by the carter his father, who used at the plough or cart to drive his oxen. Furthermore, as kings used to have their guard about them, so he, because he would not also be unguarded, refusing men of the English nation, had his waiters and warders mostly of Frenchmen and Flemings.

Playeth both king and priest.

It happened after this, A.D. 1191, that a great discord arose between John, earl of Morton, the king's brother, with other states of the realm, and the said William, bishop of Ely; so that, universally, they all wrote over to the king concerning the misgovernment and enormities of the said bishop. Richard, understanding the case, sent from Messina into England Walter, archbishop of Rouen, and William Marshal, earl, unto the bishop of Ely, with letters, commanding him that in all his doings he should associate unto him the archbishop of Rouen, William Marshal, Geoffrey Fitz-Piers, William

General complaint to the king, of the bishop of Ely.

Richard I. A. D. 1191. Briwere, and Hugh Bardolf above mentioned; who, when they came into England, durst not deliver their letters, dreading the displeasure of the chancellor, for he despised all the commandments of the king, nor would suffer any fellow to join with him in his kingdom.

Another dissension between John, the king's brother, and William, bishop of Ely. *See Appendix.*

Hitherto have you heard of the glorious vanity of this lordly legate and chancellor of the realm; now ye shall hear of his shameful fall, after his shameless exaltation. For shortly after this followeth another breach between the said Earl John the king's brother, and him, about the besieging of the castle of Lincoln. Concerning that castle the said John sent him word, that unless he raised his siege the sooner from thence, he would send him away by force of sword. The bishop, either not able to make his party good, or not daring to resist, thought best to fall to some composition with the earl, and so did. In that composition, he was contented, against his will, by mediation of divers bishops and others, to make surrender, not only of the castle of Lincoln, but also of Nottingham, Tickhill, Wallingford, and many more places, which were then committed to the custody of sundry men of worship and honour. And thus was that controversy settled, wherein the bishop of Ely began to be cut a little shorter.

Another broil between the chancellor and Geffrey, archbishop of York.

It followed then not long after, in the same year, that another like business began to kindle between Geffrey, the archbishop of York, the king's brother, and the aforesaid glorious bishop of Ely upon this occasion. Ye heard before how the king, at his setting out, left order that Earl John and Geffrey, his brethren, should not enter into the realm for the space of three years after his departure (howbeit his brother John was shortly after released of that bond), and also after that, how King Richard, being at Messina, sent his mother Elenor to the pope for his brother Geffrey (elected before to the see of York) to be consecrated archbishop. Whereupon the said Geffrey being consecrated through license of Pope Celestine by the archbishop of Tours; the said Geffrey, immediately upon his consecration, lost no time, but would needs come into England. Of this the bishop of Ely having intelligence, sent him word, being at Wissland in Flanders, not to presume to adventure into the realm, contrary to his oath before made to King Richard; commanding, moreover, that if he came, he should be apprehended. All which notwithstanding, the archbishop letted not for all that, but needs would repair to his see, and so arrived at Dover in the month of September, where the chancellor's men stood on the sea-side to apprehend him; but he, by changing his apparel, and by the swiftness of his horse, escaped their hands, and came to the monks' house of Dover; but the chancellor's men, whom he sent to take him, beset the church of the monks round about, so that in nowise he could avoid their hands.

The cruel handling of Geffrey, archbishop of York, by the bishop of Ely, the pope's legate, and chancellor of England. *See Appendix.*

To make the story short: as the archbishop, on a day when he had said mass, was standing at the altar, with his garments yet about him, the rude soldiers having little good manners, and less devotion, spared not boldly to rush into the church, and there laid hands upon the archbishop as he stood; took him, bound him, and dragged him through dirt and mire (and, as we use to say, through thick and thin), and so committed him to Matthew le Clere, the constable of Dover castle, to be kept; whereat the people greatly disdained, seeing that he was a king's son,

and the brother of a king, who was so treated. The news whereof, when it came to the ears of Earl John, his brother, he being not a little offended therewith, sent to know of the chancellor, whether this was his doing or not. To whom when the chancellor sent answer again, and stoutly confessed the fact to be his, the earl sent commandment that his brother should be delivered up, and so he was; who, then coming to London, made his complaint to the earl, his brother, and to other nobles of the realm, of the injuries done to him by the chancellor. On this the earl sent for the aforesaid chancellor, and appointed a day peremptory for him to appear before the whole body of the council, to make answer to such injuries as he had done, both to the archbishop of York, and also to the bishop of Durham above mentioned; but the chancellor, driving off the time with delays, would neither come nor send. Then the earl, with the bishops about him, made their journey towards London, to have the matter there handled in a great audience.

Richard I. A.D. 1191.

Geffrey delivered out of prison.

The chancellor, seeing that, withdrew himself from Windsor to the city of London, where by the way it happened, that the servants of the earl and of the chancellor meeting, did skirmish together; in which fray one of the earl's family was slain, but yet his men had the better; and the chancellor with his men were put to flight, and so fled to the Tower, where they did hide themselves. The next day, which was about the twelfth day of October, Earl John, the king's brother, and the archbishop of Rouen, with all the bishops, earls, and barons, and citizens of London, assembled together in Paul's church, where many and great accusations were laid against the said chancellor; so that in fine it was agreed in that assembly, that the said chancellor should be deposed, and in his place was substituted the archbishop of Rouen, according to the tenor of the king's letters sent from Messina; which was, that certain other persons should be associated with the chancellor for the government of the realm, by whose counsel, if he would not be directed, the archbishop of Rouen should be set in his place, and he should be deposed. The third day after this, the chancellor firmly promised not to depart out of the realm, before he had delivered out of his hands all such castles, the keeping whereof he committed to certain foreigners and strangers; and, for assurance thereof, he gave his two brethren and his chamberlain for pledges, and so went to Canterbury, where, he said, he would take the cross of a pilgrim, and leave the cross of his legateship.

A skirmish between the servants of the bishop of Ely, and those of Earl John.

Nobles assembled in council against the bishop of Ely.

Bishop of Ely deposed, resigneth his castles.

Now when he was come to the castle of Dover, and there had remained a few days, contrary to his promise made, his purpose was to take ship, and to pass over the seas. And because he durst not do it openly, he devised a new kind of disguising, decking himself in the apparel of a woman; and so, gouty as he was, he went to the sea-side in his woman's weeds, having in his hand a measuring yard, and on his arm a piece of linen cloth. And thus, as he was sitting upon a rock, waiting for his ship to come and convey him over, a certain fisherman espying him, and supposing him to be a harlot, came to him, and found him to be, as he was indeed, a man, in likeness of a woman; whereat he wondered and began to make an outcry upon him. But the bishop's servants, being not far off, came running, and stilled him as well as they could.

Clotheth himself in woman's apparel.

A fisherman taketh the bishop to be a woman.

Richard I. A.D. 1191.

The fisherman then going to the next village, and there belike, declaring what he had seen, to try out the matter further, came out certain women; who, seeing the linen cloth hanging on his arm, began to question with him of the price of his cloth, and what he would take for it; but to this he would answer never a word, but smiled upon them. Whereat they musing with themselves, and whispering one with another, at last with their hands were so bold as to pluck down his muffler, and there his Balaam's mark, or shaven crown, appeared on his head; and so, with a loud exclamation, raised the village upon him, and would have fallen upon him with stones. Then came running a great multitude both of men and women; who, wondering at him, as birds are wont at an owl, laid hands upon him, and plucked him down to the ground, hauling and drawing him by the sleeves and collar of his gown through stones and rocks, whereby he was shrewdly hurt. His servants once or twice made out to rescue their old master, or new mistress, but could not for the press of the people; who, beating him with their fists, and spitting at him, drew him through the whole town, and so, with shame enough at length laid him in a dark cellar instead of a prison, of whom all the country about wondered and cried out. In conclusion, Earl John, hearing thereof, within eight days after sent word, that they should deliver him and let him go.

Balaam's mark.

The bishop baited by women at the sea-side.

Cast into a dark cellar.

Set at liberty by John earl of Morton.

The bishop, set at liberty, sailed over as he could to Flanders, where he had but cold welcoming; from thence he went to Paris, where he gave Maurice, their bishop, threescore marks of silver to be received into the city with procession, and so he was. Then returned he into Normandy, but the archbishop of Rouen there gave commandment that the church doors should be locked, and no service said so long as he there remained. The bishop, seeing that, directed his letters and messengers to Pope Celestine, and also to King Richard into Syria, signifying to them how John, earl of Morton, and his accomplices, had handled him, and expelled him out of the realm; requiring that he might be restored again to what was taken from him, and also offering himself to be tried by the law for what he had done; so that if the king should dislike in any thing what he had done, he was ready to satisfy the king's contentation in all things wherein justly he could be charged.

Complaineth to the king and the pope.

Upon this, Pope Celestine, inflamed with an apostolical zeal in behalf of the said bishop of Ely, his legate, wrote a sharp and thundering letter to the archbishops, bishops, and prelates of England; commanding them, by his authority apostolical, that, forasmuch as the injuries, done to his legate, did redound to the contumely of the whole mother church of Rome, they should not fail therefore, but with severe censures of the church, that is, with book, bell, and candle, proceed as well against the said John, earl of Morton, as also against all others, whosoever had, or should attempt any violence or injury against the said his legate, the bishop of Ely, with no less severity than if the said injury should be offered to the person of the pope himself, or any other of his brethren, the cardinals.

Letter of Pope Celestine in behalf of the bishop of Ely.

The bishop of Ely, the pope's legate, bearing himself bold upon the favour and letters of the pope, who took his part, writeth to Henry, bishop of Lincoln, charging and requiring, that he, in virtue of

The bishop bold upon the Pope's favour.

obedience, should execute the pope's sentence and mandate in excommunicating all such as were offenders in that behalf, and there reciteth the names of divers, against whom he should proceed, as the archbishop of Rouen, the bishop of Winchester, William Marshal, Geoffrey Fitz-Piers, Briwere and Bardolf, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Mellent, Gilbert Basset, John, archdeacon of Oxford, and especially Hugh, bishop of Coventry; also Master Benet, and Stephen Ridle, chancellor to Earl John, the king's brother; to the which earl he reserved a further day of respite before he should be excommunicate, with a number of other more beside these; howbeit the said bishop of Ely could find none to execute this commandment of the pope. Then they, with a general consent, wrote again to King Richard, complaining of the intolerable abuses of the said bishop, his chancellor. In like sort the said chancellor also, complaining of them, wrote his letters to the king, signifying how Earl John, his brother, went about to usurp his kingdom, and would also shortly set the crown upon his own head, unless he made the more speed homeward. The king then was busy in repulsing Saladin, and was preparing to lay siege against Jerusalem, and had got Ascalon, with divers other towns, from the Saracens, which was in the year A.D. 1192, having divers conflicts in the mean time with Saladin, and ever put him to the worse. As the king was thus preparing to lay his siege against Jerusalem, Saladin, glad to fall to some composition with the king, sent unto him, that if he would reduce Ascalon to the same dismantled state in which it was when he took it,[1] he would grant to him, and to all Christians in the land of Jerusalem, truce for three years, and offered himself thereunto to be sworn. The king, seeing the duke of Burgundy and the Frenchmen to shrink from him, and his own men to decay, and also his money and health to diminish; but especially for that he understood by the bishop of Ely, his chancellor, that the French king intended to set up John, his brother, to possess his kingdom; being counselled thereto by the Templars, took the truce offered of the Saracens, and so began to draw homeward.

Richard I. A. D. 1192.

Many who stood against the bishop of Ely, appointed to be excommunicated. *See Appendix.*

The bishop of Ely complaineth of the earl of Morton, his brother. *See Appendix.*

In this mean while, much grudge and strife increased more and more between the bishop of Ely and the archbishop of Rouen above specified, insomuch that the archbishop, being excommunicate, sent up his clerks to Pope Celestine to complain of the bishop; but the pope ever stood in his purgation. At last he sent two of his cardinals, to wit, Octavian, bishop of Ostia, and Jordan de Fossa Nova,[2] to break the strife between the bishop of Ely and the archbishop of Rouen.

Strife between the bishop of Ely and the archbishop of Rouen.

After this King Richard being taken, and in the custody of Henry the emperor, the bishop of Ely, resorting to him, was sent by him into England to Elenor, his mother, and other nobles; who then returning into England again, not as chancellor, nor as legate, as he said, but as a simple plain bishop, so by that means was received.[3]

But of this vain-glorious prelate enough and too much. Now to return again to Richard, concerning whose worthy acts done abroad in getting of Cyprus, and Ptolemais or Acre, and in pacifying Joppa, &c. is partly spoken of before. Many other valiant and famous acts were by him and the French king achieved, and more would have been, had not those two kings, falling into discord, dissevered themselves;

What discord doth.

(1) See suprà, p. 309, and Appendix.—Ed.
(2) A Cistercian monastery in Latium, where Thomas Aquinas died. Hoffman.—Ed.
(3) Ex Matth. Paris.; et ex aliis incerti nominis manuscriptis codicibus.

Richard I. by reason whereof Philip, the French king, returned home again within short space; who, being returned again, eftsoons invaded the country of Normandy, exciting also John, the brother of King Richard, to take on him the kingdom of England, in his brother's absence. Who then made league upon the same with the French king, and did homage unto him, which was about the fourth year of King Richard; who, then being in Syria, and hearing thereof, made peace with the Turks for three years. And not long after, King Richard, in October next following,[1] returned also: who, in his return, driven by stress of weather about the parts of Istria, in a town called Synaca, was there taken by Leopold, duke of the same country, and so sold to the emperor for sixty thousand marks; who, for no small joy thereof, writeth to Philip, the French king, the letter inserted below.[2]

A. D. 1192.

Philip returneth from Palestine.

A.D.1192.

King Richard returneth from Palestine.

See Appendix.

King Richard, thus being traitorously taken and sold to the emperor by the duke of Austria, was there kept in custody a year and three months.[3] In some stories it is affirmed, that King Richard, returning out of Asia, came to Italy with a prosperous wind, where he desired of the pope to be absolved from an oath made against his will, and could not obtain it; and so setting out from thence towards England, passing by the country of Conrad the marquis, whose death (he being slain a little before) was falsely imputed by the French king to the king of England, was there traitorously taken, as is before said, by Leopold, duke of Austria. Albeit, in another story, I find the matter more credibly set forth, which saith thus: that King Richard slew the brother of this Leopold, playing with him at chess in the

(1) Diceto, Hoveden, and William of Newbury date his embarkation at Acre, Oct. 9th, and his capture Dec. 20th. See date in next note.—Ed.

(2) *The Letter of the Emperor, to Philip the French King, concerning the taking of King Richard.*—"Henricus, Dei gratia Romanorum imperator, et semper Augustus, dilecto et speciali amico suo Philippo, illustri Francorum Regi, salutem, et sinceræ dilectionis affectum. Quoniam Imperatoria celsitudo non dubitat regalem magnificentiam tuam lætiorem effici, de universis, quibus omnipotentia Creatoris nostri nos ipsos et Romanum imperium honoraverit et exaltaverit, nobilitati tuæ tenore præsentium declarare duximus, quod inimicus imperii nostri, et turbator regni tui, rex Angliæ, quum esset in transeundo mare ad partes suas reversurus, accidit ut ventus, rupta navi sua in qua ipse erat, induceret eum in partes Histriæ, ad locum qui est inter Aquileiam et Venetias; ubi rex, Dei permissione, passus naufragium, cum paucis evasit. Quidam itaque fidelis noster comes Mainardus de Gortze, et populus regionis illius, audito quod in terra erat, et considerato diligentius qualem nominatus rex in terra promissionis proditionem et traditionem, et perditionis suæ cumulum exercuerat, insecuti sunt, intendentes eum captivare: ipso autem rege in fugam converso, ceperunt de suis octo milites. Postmodum processit rex ad Burgum in archiepiscopatu Salseburgensi, qui vocatur Frisorum, ubi Fredericus de Betesow, rege cum tribus tantum versus Austriam properante, noctu sex milites de suis cepit. Dilectus autem consanguineus noster Leopoldus, dux Austriæ, observata strata, sæpe dictum regem juxta Wenam in villa viciniori in domo despecta captivavit. Cum itaque in nostra nunc habeatur potestate, et ipse semper tibi molestationis et turbationis operam præstiterit, ea quæ præmisimus nobilitati tuæ insinuare curavimus, scientes ea dilectioni tuæ beneplacita existere, et animo tuo uberrimam importare lætitiam. Datum apud Ritheounten, 5. Calendas. Januar." [Hoveden.—Ed.]

(3) Thus ended the third Oriental Crusade, A.D. 1192. But as, after a fruitlessly victorious career, the adverse events which accompanied one of the bravest men whom the world has produced, cannot fail to interest the reader, a few words which our history seems to require are added, respecting the dangers which subsequently befel King Richard. Having arrived at a town, which was probably Goretz, he narrowly escaped detection, in consequence of a generous offer of a splendid ruby which he made to the chieftain of the province; aware of the suspicions which he excited, and the solicitous inquiries which were made respecting him, Richard thought it prudent to retire in the night. Still new dangers awaited him; he travelled forward in company with a knight, and a lad, who understood German, and after three days arrived at Audberg, on the Danube, near Vienna. Here, sojourning in a retired cottage, his lad inadvertently went to market with his prince's gloves in his girdle; the sight of these, and the unsatisfactory answers of the lad, induced the local authorities to examine him by torture; in the extremity of his agony, and under the threat of repeated sufferings, he disclosed the name of his royal master. The result may be anticipated: the duke of Austria, who unfortunately was in that neighbourhood, immediately surrounded the cottage, and Richard surrendered himself to the duke in person. He was sold to the Emperor of Germany, as some say, for sixty thousand pounds of silver, and England paid the price of the ransom of her brave monarch. The reader doubtless remembers the romantic tale of the minstrel commencing a favourite ballad, and the king completing the stanza, which eventually betrayed the place of his confinement. Mr. Sharon Turner, to whom the Editor is indebted for the substance of the above remarks, refers to an interesting and detailed account of the captivity of Richard, in the "MS. Chronicle of Johannes de Oxenedes, monachus St. Benedicti de Hulmo, in the Cotton Library."—Ed.

French king's court; and that Leopold, taking his advantage, was the more cruel against him, and delivered him, as is said, to the emperor: in whose custody he was detained during the time above mentioned, namely, a year and three months. During the which time of the king's indurance, the French king in the mean season stirred war in Normandy, and Earl John, the king's brother, made stir and invaded England; but the barons and bishops of the land mightily withstood him, and besieged him in the castle of Windsor, where they took from him all the castles and munitions which before he had got. Thus the earl, seeing no hope to prevail in England, and suspecting the deliverance of the king, his brother, made into France, and kept with the French king. At length it was so agreed and concluded with the emperor, that King Richard should be released for a hundred thousand pounds, of the which money part should remain to the duke of Austria, the rest should be the emperor's.[1] The sum of this money was here gathered and made in England of chalices, crosses, shrines, candlesticks, and other church plate; also with public contribution of friaries, abbeys, and other subjects of the realm. Whereof part was presently paid, and, for the residue remaining, hostages and pledges were taken; which was about the fifth year of his reign. And then it was obtained of the pope, that priests might celebrate with chalices of latin and tin (and so it was granted and continued long after, which mine author, in his chronicle entitled 'Eulogium,'[1] doth testify himself to have seen), at what time this aforesaid money was paid, and the hostages were given, for the ransom of the king. I have an old story that saith how the aforesaid duke of Austria, shortly after, was plagued by God with five sundry plagues: first, with burning of his chief towns; secondly, with the drowning of ten thousand of his men in a great flood, happening no man could tell how; thirdly, by turning all the ears of his corn fields into worms; fourthly, by taking away almost all the nobles of his land by death; fifthly, by breaking his own leg by falling from his horse, which leg he was compelled to cut off with his own hands, and after died upon the same; who is said at his death to have forgiven King Richard fifty thousand marks, and to have sent home the hostages that were with him.[2] The book entitled 'Eulogium,' before mentioned, declareth thus; that the said Leopold, duke of Austria, fell into displeasure with the bishop of Rome, and died excommunicate the year after, A.D. 1195.

Richard I. A. D. 1194.

Confederacy of the French king and Earl John against King Richard.

A.D.1194.

The just punishment of God upon the duke of Austria.

A.D.1195.

Thus the said King Richard being ransomed, as hath been declared, from the covetous captivity of the emperor, was restored again, and made his repair to England; at whose return Earl John, his brother, resorting unto him with humble submission, desired to be pardoned his transgressions. To whom King Richard answered again, "Would God," saith he, "this your trespass, as it dieth with me in oblivion, so it may remain with you in remembrance!" and so gently forgave him. And after he had again recovered his holds and castles, he caused himself to be crowned again; which done, he made his power against the French king, and drove him out of Normandy. After that he turned his voyage against the Welshmen, and subdued them.

Feb. 20th, A.D.1194.

The answer of King Richard to his brother.

Apl. 17th, A.D.1194.

The next year following,[3] which was A.D. 1197, Philip, the French

(1) Eulogium, MSS. Cott. Galba E vii. 23 b. "Latin," *i. e.* l'étain, pewter. See Appendix.—Ed.
(2) Ex variis chron.
(3) That is, the year following the signing of the peace between Richard and the French king, which took place Jan. 15th, 1196. L'Art de Ver. des Dates.—Ed.

Richard I. A. D. 1197. king, brake the truce made between him and King Richard; whereupon the king was compelled to sail over again to Normandy, to withstand the malice of his enemy. About which time my story[1] recordeth of one, called Fulco; some record it of the archbishop of Rouen, called Walter. This Fulco being then in England, and coming to the king's presence, said unto him with great courage and boldness, "Thou hast, O mighty king! three daughters, very vicious and of evil disposition; take good heed of them, and betimes provide for them good husbands; lest, by untimely bestowing of the same, thou shalt not only incur great hurt and damage, but also utter ruin and destruction to thyself." To whom the king, in a rage, said, "Thou lying and mocking hypocrite, thou knowest not where thou art, or what thou sayest: I think thou art mad, or not well in thy wits; for I have never a daughter, as all the world knoweth; and, therefore, thou open liar, get thee out of our presence." To whom Fulco answered, "No, and like your grace, I lie not, but say truth; for you have three daughters, who continually frequent your court, and wholly possess your person, and such three naughty packs, as never the like hath been heard of; I mean, mischievous Pride, greedy Covetousness, and filthy Luxury; and, therefore, again I say, O king! beware of them, and out of hand provide marriages for them, lest in not so doing, thou utterly undo both thyself and the whole realm."

Three daughters of the king noted.

†

See Appendix. These words of Fulco the king took in good part, with correction of himself, and confession of the same; whereupon incontinently he called his lords and barons before him, unto whom he declared the communing and motion of Fulco, who had willed him to beware of his three daughters—Pride, Avarice, and Luxury, with counsel out of hand to marry them, lest further discommodity should ensue both to him and to the whole realm: "whose good counsel, my lords, I intend to follow, not doubting of all your consents thereunto. Wherefore, here before you all, I give my daughter, swelling Pride, to wife unto the proud Templars; my greedy daughter, Avarice, to the covetous order of the Cistercian monks; and, last of all, my filthy daughter, Luxury, to the riotous prelates of the church, whom I think to be very meet men for her; and so severally well agreeing to all their natures, that the like matches in this our realm are not to be found for them." And thus much concerning Fulco.

See Appendix. Not long after this, it befel that a certain noble personage, lord of Limoges, in Aquitaine, Ademar by name, found a great substance of treasure, both of gold and silver, hid in the ground, whereof a great part he sent to King Richard, as chief lord and prince over the whole country; which the king refused, saying, He would have all or none, for that he was the principal chieftain over the land. But the finder would not condescend to that; wherefore the king laid siege to a castle of his, called Chaluz, thinking the treasure to lie there. But the keepers and warders of the castle, seeing themselves not sufficient to withstand the king, offered to him the castle, desiring to depart with life and armour. To this the king would in no wise grant, but bade them to re-enter the castle again, and to defend it in all the forcible wise they could. It so befel, that as the king, with the captain of the Brabanters,[2] went about the castle, viewing the places

He that all would have, shall all forego.

Mar. 26th, A. D. 1199.

(1) See Hoveden, Polychronicon, Brompton, Knyghton, &c.: also Appendix.—En.
(2) See Appendix.

thereof, a soldier within, named Bertrand Gordoun, struck the king with an arrow in the arm; whereupon, the iron remaining and festering in the wound, the king, within nine days after, died; who, because he was not content with the half of the treasure that another man found, lost all his own treasure that he had. The king, being thus wounded, caused the man that struck him to be brought unto him, and asked him the cause why he so wounded him? The man answered, as the story saith, 'that he thought to kill rather than to be killed; and what punishment soever he should sustain, he was content, so that he might kill him who had, before, killed his father and brethren.' The king, on hearing his words, freely forgave him, and caused a hundred shillings to be given him; albeit, as the story addeth, after the death of the king the Brabant captain, after great torments, caused him to be hanged.[1] The story of Gisburn saith, that the killer of King Richard, coming to the French king, thinking to have a great reward, was commanded to be drawn asunder by horses, and his quarters to be hanged up.[2]

John. A.D. 1199. Covetous greediness plagued. Death of King Richard I. Richard forgiveth him that had mortally wounded him.

Another story affirmeth, and Gisburn partly doth testify the same, that a little before the death of King Richard, three abbots, of the Cistercian order, came to him, to whom he was confessed: and when he saw them somewhat stay at his absolution, he spake these words:— 'That he did willingly commit his body to the earth, to be eaten of worms, and his soul to the fire of purgatory, there to be tormented till the judgment, in the hope of God's mercy.'[3]

Vain fear of purgatory.

About the reign of this king, Jornalensis maketh mention of Roger, archbishop of York, who put out of his church the monks, and placed for them secular priests; saying, 'That he would rather wish ecclesiastical benefices to be given to wanton priests, than to abominable monks; and that Thurstin did sin never worse in all his life, than in building that house for monks.' Another story I have, which saith, that this was not the bishop of York, but of Coventry.

Monks put out, and secular priests put in.

The king, not long after, departing without issue, John, his brother, reigned after him; in whom, although some vices may worthily be reprehended, especially his incontinent and too licentious life, yet was he far from deserving that, for the which he hath been so ill reported of divers writers, who, being led more with affection to popery, than with true judgment and due consideration, depraved his doings more than the sincere truth of the history will bear. Concerning his history, after so many writers, we thought also to bestow a little labour; although in this matter we cannot be so long as we would, and as the matter requireth.

JOHN.[4]

After the death of King Richard, called Cœur de Lion, reigned his brother, John, Earl of Morton. Afterwards, the archbishop put the crown on his head, and sware him to defend the church and to

A.D. 1199.

(1) Ex Historia Regis Richardi Secundi, cui initium, "De patre istius Bruti," &c. Ex Bibliotheca Cariensi.
(2) Ex Gualtero Hemingford, monacho Gisburn.
(3) Ex Jornalens. Gisburn. et aliis.
(4) Edition 1563, p. 71. Ed. 1583, p. 249. Ed. 1596, p. 226. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 281. – Ed

John. maintain the same in her good laws, and to destroy the evil; and
A.D. 1199. except he thought in his mind to do this, the archbishop charged him not to presume to take on him this dignity. On St. John Baptist's day next following, King John sailed into Normandy and came to Rouen, where he was royally received, and truce concluded between him and the French king for a time. And thither came to him the earl of Flanders, and all the other lords of France that were of King Richard's band and friendship, and were sworn unto him.

Arthur of Bretagne. Not long after this, Philip, the French king, made Arthur knight, and took his homage for Normandy, Bretagne, and all other his possessions beyond the sea, and promised him help against King John. After this, King John and the French king talked together with their lords about one hour's space; and the French king asked so much land for himself and Knight Arthur, that King John would grant him none; and so he departed in wrath.

The same year a legate came into France, and commanded the king, on pain of interdiction, to deliver one Peter out of prison, who was elected to a bishopric; and thereupon he was delivered.

After that the legate came into England, and commanded King John, under pain of interdiction, to deliver the archbishop whom he had kept as prisoner two years; which the king refused to do, till he had paid him six thousand marks, because he took him in harness in a field against him, and swore him, upon his deliverance, that he should never wear harness against any christian man.

At this time divorce was made between King John and his wife, daughter of the earl of Gloucester, because they were in the third degree of kindred; and afterwards, by the counsel of the French king, King John wedded Isabella, daughter of the earl of Angouleme; and then Arthur of Bretagne did homage to King John, for Bretagne and others.

Marriage in the third degree forbidden by the pope.

A.D. 1200. At this time arose strife between King John, and Geffrey the archbishop of York, for divers causes: first, because he would not suffer and permit the sheriff of York, in such affairs as he had to do for the king within his diocese. Secondly, because he did also excommunicate the said sheriff. Thirdly, because he would not sail with him into Normandy, to make the marriage between Louis, the French king's son, and his niece, &c.

A.D. 1202. After this, A.D. 1202,[1] Philip, the French king, in a communication between King John and him, required that the said King John should part with all his lands in Normandy and Poictou which he had beyond the sea, unto Arthur, his nephew, and that incontinent, or else he would war against him; and so he did. For when King John denied that request, the next day following, the French king, with the said Arthur, set upon certain of his towns and castles in Normandy, and put him to much disquietness.[2] But he (the Lord so providing, who is the giver of all victory) had such repulse at the Englishmen's hands, that they pursuing the Frenchmen in their flight, did so follow them in their hold, and so pressed upon them, that not only they took the said Arthur prisoner, with many others of the Frenchmen, but also gave such an overthrow to the

The French king driven out of Normandy.

Prince Arthur taken.

(1) In A.D. 1202, the fourth Oriental Crusade set out from Venice, and Constantinople was taken by the French and Venetians.—Ed.
(2) Matt. Paris [p. 207], in Vita Johannis Regis.

rest, that none was left to bear tidings home. This Arthur was nephew to King John, and son to Geffrey, who was the elder brother to John; for King Henry II. (to make the matter more evident) had eight children: one was William, who died in his childhood; the second, Henry, who died also. his father being yet alive; the third, Richard Cœur de Lion, king; the fourth, Geffrey, earl of Bretagne, who likewise deceased in his father's days, leaving behind him two children, Arthur and Breeca; the fifth, John, now reigning; and three other daughters besides. The same Arthur, being thus taken in war, was brought before the king, at the castle of Falaise, in Normandy; who, being exhorted with many gentle words to leave the French king, and to incline to his uncle, answered again stoutly, and with great indignation; requiring the kingdom of England, with all the other dominions thereto belonging, to be restored to him, as to the lawful heir of the crown. By reason whereof, he, provoking the king's displeasure against him, was sent to the tower of Rouen, where at length (whether by leaping into the ditch, thinking to make his escape, or whether by some privy hand, or by what chance else, it is not yet agreed upon in stories) he finished his life; by occasion whereof, the aforesaid King John was had, after, in great suspicion, whether justly or unjustly, the Lord knoweth.

John. A. D. 1205.

See Appendix.

Mysterious end of Prince Arthur.

The year following, historiographers write, that King John, for lack of rescue, lost all his holds and possessions in Normandy, through the force of the French king. After these losses came other troubles upon him, with other as great or greater enemies (that is, with the pope and his popelings), by occasion of choosing of the archbishop of Canterbury; as in this history following, by Christ's grace, is to be declared.

A.D.1203 Normandy lost, and gotten by the French.

In the year of our Lord 1205, about the month of July, Hubert, the archbishop of Canterbury, deceased; whose decease, after it was known in Canterbury to the monks, and before his body was yet committed to the earth, the younger sort of the monks there gathered themselves together at midnight, and elected their superior, Reginald, and, without the king's license, or yet knowledge, privily placed him in the metropolitan seat, singing 'Te Deum' at midnight. And because the king should not make their election void, they charged him, by virtue of his oath, to keep all secret by the way, and to show nothing that was done before he came to the pope; but he, contrary to his oath, as soon as he came into Flanders, opened all abroad the matter, and uttered their counsel: whereupon the monks, being not a little grieved with him, sent him privily unto the court of Rome, out of hand. The next day, the elder monks sent to the king, desiring him, of his gracious license, canonically to choose their archbishop. The king most gently and favourably granted their petition, requiring them instantly, and desiring them for his sake, to show favour to John Gray, then bishop of Norwich; as they did indeed, erecting him into that seat of their high primacy. Moreover, because the authority of kings and princes was then but small in their own dominion, without the pope's consent and confirmation to the same, he sent also to Rome, of his own charges, to have the aforesaid election ratified by the pope. The suffragans of Canterbury then, being not a little offended at these two elections, sent

A.D.1205. Striving for the election of the archbishop of Canterbury.

John. A.D. 1205. speedily to Rome to have them both stopped, because they had not been of counsel with them; and hereupon at last grew a most prodigious tumult.

*[1]In this year the clergy grew so unruly, that they neglected their charge, and thereby incensed the king's displeasure so sorely against them, that he took order about the goods of such as in that case were faulty; as shall appear more manifestly by that which followeth.

A Letter of King John, touching the Lands and Goods of such Clerks as refuse to celebrate Divine Service.[2]

The king to all clerks and lay people within the bishopric of Lincoln, greeting: Know ye that from Monday next before the feast of Easter,[3] we have committed to William of Cornhill, archdeacon of Huntingdon, and to Joselin of Canvil, all the lands and goods of the abbots and priors, and of all the religious persons; and also of all clerks within the bishopric of Lincoln, which will not from that time celebrate divine service. And we command you, that from thence you assist them as our bailiffs; and believe them in those things which they shall tell you privately on our behalf. Witness ourself at A.D.1208. Clarendon, the eighteenth day of March, in the ninth year of our reign.

Prelates of the church had then money enough, it seems, that they could keep play at Rome against their prince; which thing caused the princes afterwards to seek such means to cut them short.

The like was written to all within the bishopric of Ely. So that hereby we see the dissoluteness and wilfulness of those popish churchmen, whom conscience of discharging their duty did so little move, as that they thought upon nothing less, till the king was driven to use such austerity and sharpness against them. But to proceed in this troublesome election: you shall understand,* that the next year after, the suffragans of the province of Canterbury on the one side, and the monks of Canterbury on the other side, came before the pope with their brawling matter. First the monks, presenting Reginald, their superior, desired that their election might be confirmed. The suffragans likewise complained that the monks would presume to choose the archbishop without their consent, and therefore desired, by divers reasons, the first election to be of none effect. The pope, deciding the matter between both, pronounced with the monks; charging the suffragans and bishops to meddle no more with A.D.1207. that election, but to let the monks alone. The monks of Canterbury, now having the whole election in their own hands, fell also at square among themselves, the younger sort with the elder. The younger sort, who had chosen Reginald their superior, would have that election to stand. The elder sort of the monks replied again, saying, that the first election was done by stealth, and by night, and by the younger part; also without the counsel of other monks. Over and besides, it was done without the king's license or appointment, and without the due solemnity thereunto belonging.

Dissension among the monks of Canterbury about the election of the archbishop.

And as concerning our election, said they, it was done in the clear light of the day, by which it had authority in presence of our liege lord the king, and his council being willing to the same.

This allegation thus proponed, the suffragans' proctor or man of law stood forth, and proved the former election to be good, and this latter to be void and of no value, after this sort. "Whether the

(1) This passage is not found in the Edition of 1583, but appears in that of 1596.—Ed.

(2) "Rex omnibus de episcopatu Lincolniæ clericis et laicis, salutem. Sciatis quod a die lunæ proxime ante Floridum paschatis commisimus," &c.—Turris Lond.

(3) Some think that 'Floridum paschatis' is Palm Sunday; but Easter is rather thought to be meant thereby, sith the Spaniards, at this day, call the same Florida.

first election," saith he, "were just or unjust, ye ought first by the law to have condemned it before ye should have presumed to the second; but thus ye did not: therefore is this your latter doing no election at all, and the first therefore is rather to be ratified than yours." When they had thus multiplied talk on both sides, with many frivolous allegations a long time, and could not agree upon one person, Pope Innocent condemned both their elections, commanding them to choose Stephen Langton, then cardinal of St. Chrysogon, for their archbishop. The monks then answered, that they durst not so do without consent of their king, and for that it was prejudicial to their ancient liberties. The pope by and by (saith the text), as one in a fury, taking the words out of their mouths, said thus unto them: "We will ye to know, that we have full power and authority over the church of Canterbury; neither are we wont to tarry the consent of princes, therefore we command you, on pain of our great curse, that ye choose him only whom we have appointed." *John.* A. D. 1207. The pride and tyranny of the pope.

The monks, at these words abashed and terrified, though they much murmured in their hearts, yet consented they all in one, and thereupon sang Te Deum; only Dr. Elias Brantfield withdrew himself from that election, whom the king had sent for the admission of the bishop of Norwich.

Thus was Stephen Langton, in the high church of Viterbo, by the pope's hand made archbishop of Canterbury. Stephen Langton made archbishop of Canterbury. *See Appendix.*

*[1]This election thus passed with the pope's grace and favour, the said Stephen had in England, among others that solicited his cause to the king, a brother named Master Simon Langton, who also in course of time became archbishop of York, as appeareth in the course of this story, in the reign of Henry III. A.D. 1228. In this behalf the king seemed tractable, so he might have his sovereignty entire; against which, because the said Stephen had vowed to oppose himself, and the king misliked such demeanour, he sent abroad his letters certificatory about the realm; therein giving intimation to all people of proud Stephen Langton's countenance. The form of the said letters followeth.

Letters certificatory of King John, touching the contumacy of Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, by the Pope's Election.[2]

The king to all men, &c. Know ye that Master Simon Langton came to us at Winchester, on the Wednesday next before Mid-lent, and, in presence of our bishops, besought us that we would receive his brother, Master Stephen Langton, to be archbishop of Canterbury. And when we spake unto him touching the reservation and saving of our dignity unto us, he told us that he would do no such thing for us, unless we would wholly rely ourselves upon his courtesy and gentleness. This therefore we command, that you know evil and wrong to be done unto us in this behalf: and we charge you, that you believe those things which Reginald of Cornhill shall tell you on our part, touching the aforesaid deed between us and the bishops above-named, &c.—Witness the king at Winchester, the fourteenth day of March, in the ninth year of his reign.* [A.D. 1208.]

(1) This passage is not in any edition previous to that of 1596. See Appendix.—En.

(2) "Rex omnibus hominibus, &c. Sciatis quod magister Simon de Langton venit ad nos apud Winton die Mercurii proxime ante mediam quadragesimæ." &c.—Turris Lond.

John. A. D. 1208. Now, albeit the king took indignation at this proceeding in the election of Stephen, "yet, from thenceforth," saith Matthew Paris, "the pope could do no less than mightily defend him from all vexation and danger; considering that he was his own dear darling, and a child of his own creation."

Furthermore, upon this occasion King John conceived an extreme displeasure against the clergy and monks of Canterbury, as he had good cause, they doing so many evils against his princely prerogative. Without his license they elected their archbishop, and put by the bishop of Norwich, whom he had appointed. They wasted a great part of his treasure for the wars; and, to bring all to the devil, they made Stephen Langton their high metropolitan, whom he took for a grievous enemy to the whole realm, being always so familiar with the French king: wherefore, in his anger, he banished them out of the land, to the number of threescore and four, for this their contumacy, and contempt of his regal power.

Monks of Canterbury banished.

The king expostulates with the pope for consecrating Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury. *See Appendix.*

The monks of Canterbury thus being expulsed, the king forthwith sendeth messengers to the pope with his letters, wherein he doth sharply and expressly expostulate with the pope, for that so uncourteously he repulsed the election of the bishop of Norwich, and set up one Stephen Langton, a man unknown to him and brought up amongst his enemies a long time in the kingdom of France, consecrating him archbishop of Canterbury, and letting the other go; and for that, notwithstanding the monks of Canterbury had not before made him privy and obtained his consent (who should so have done), yet he rashly presumed to promote and prefer the said Stephen; all which greatly redounded to the subversion and derogation of the liberties appertaining to his crown. Wherefore he cannot marvel, he saith, enough, that neither the said pope, nor the court of Rome, doth consider and revolve with themselves, how necessary his love and favour hath been always hitherto to the see of Rome; and that they consider not what great profit and revenues have proceeded hitherto to them out of the realm of England; the like whereof hath not been received out of any other country besides on this side the Alps. He addeth moreover, and saith, that for his liberties he will stand, if need be, unto death, neither can he be so removed and shaken off from the election of the bishop of Norwich, which he seeth to be so commodious to him and profitable. Finally, he thus concludeth, saying, that in case in this his request he be not heard, he will so provide by the seas that there shall be no such gadding and coursing any more over to Rome, suffering the riches of the land no more to be transported over, whereby he should be himself the less able to resist his enemies And, seeing he hath of his own at home, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the church, both of Englishmen and of others, sufficiently provided and instructed in all kind of knowledge, therefore, he shall not need greatly to seek for judgment and justice further abroad.

His bold threatening.

When these things came to the pope's knowledge, he directeth this letter again to the king in these words: —

The Pope's Letter to King John.

Innocent, pope, servant of the servants of God, to our well-beloved son in Christ, the king of England, health, and apostolical blessing. Whereas we

have written to you heretofore, exhorting and entreating you after an humble, diligent, and gentle sort (concerning the church of Canterbury), you have written to us again after a threatening sort and upbraiding manner, both spitefully and also frowardly. And whereas we have borne and given to you more and above what our right and duty required; you again, for your part, have given to us not so much as by right and duty you are bound to do. And though your devotion, as you say, hath been to us very necessary, yet consider again that ours also is not a little opportune and expedient for you. And whereas we, in such like cases, have not showed at any time the like honour to any prince as we have unto you; you again have so much derogated our honour, as no prince else hath presumed to do besides; pretending certain frivolous causes and occasions, I cannot tell what, why you would not condescend to the election of Stephen Langton, cardinal of St. Chrysogon, chosen by the monks of Canterbury; for that the said Stephen (as you say) hath been conversant and brought up amongst your enemies, and his person is to you unknown. But you know what is the proverb of Solomon :—" The net is cast, but in vain, in the sight of the flying birds," &c.

John

A. D. 1208.

It is pity but this pope should be honoured of kings and princes.

With much other matter in the same epistle, wherein he falleth into the commendation of Stephen Langton his cardinal, declaring how learned he was in the liberal arts and in divinity, insomuch that he was prebendated at Paris; also that he was come of an honest stock, and was an Englishman born, and not unknown to the king, seeing the king had written his letters thrice to him before. Declaring, moreover, in the said letter, how the messengers of the king had specified to him another cause; which was, that the monks of Canterbury, who had to do in the election, came not to him before for his consent. Declaring, moreover, in the said letter, how the said messengers of the king entreated in the king's behalf, that forasmuch as the pope's letters (wherein the king was commanded to send his proctors to Rome, for the same matter) came not to the king's hand, neither did the monks direct any such letters or message to the king to have his consent; therefore the pope, considering the same, would grant so much for the regard of the king's honour, that the monks of Canterbury should not proceed without the king's assent therein. And forasmuch as that hath not been done as yet, therefore they desired some delay therein to be given, sufficient for the doing thereof. Whereunto he said, that he had granted and fulfilled their request, in sending his letters and messengers once or twice to the king for the same purpose, although he said it was not the manner of the see apostolic (which had the fulness of power over the church of Canterbury) to wait for princes' consents in such elections, who then could not be suffered to do that which they came for. Wherefore, in knitting up his letter, he thus concludeth in these words :—

A pitiful case that a king cannot constitute an archbishop within his own realm.

" And therefore, seeing the matter so standeth, we see no cause why we should require or tarry for the king's favour or consent any more therein, but intend so to proceed in this matter, neither inclining to the right hand nor to the left, according as the canonical ordinances of the holy fathers shall direct us; that is, (all impediments and delays set aside) so to provide, that the church of Canterbury be not any longer destitute of her pastor. Wherefore, be it known to your discretion or kingly prudence, that forasmuch as this election of Stephen Langton hath orderly and in concord thus proceeded without fraud or deceit, upon a person meet for the same; therefore we will not, for man's pleasure, neither may we, without danger of fame and of conscience, defer or protract any longer the consummation of the said election. Wherefore, my well-beloved son, seeing we have had respect to your honour, above what our right and duty requireth, study to honour us so much as your duty requireth

A glorious letter of a proud pope.

John. A.D. 1208.

again, so that you may the more plentifully deserve favour, both at God's hand and ours: lest that by doing the contrary, you bring yourself into such a peck of troubles, as afterwards you shall scarce rid yourself of again. For this know for a certainty, in the end it must needs fall out, that he shall have the better, unto whom every knee (of heavenly, earthly, and infernal creatures) doth bow, whose turn I serve in earth, though I be unworthy. Therefore settle not yourself to obey their persuasions, who always desire your unquietness, whereby they may fish the better in the water when it is troubled; but commit yourself to our pleasure, which undoubtedly shall turn to your praise, glory, and honour. For it should not be much for your safety in this cause to resist God and the church; in whose quarrel that blessed martyr, and glorious bishop, Thomas [Becket] hath of late shed his blood; especially seeing your father and your brother of famous memory, then kings of England, did give over those three wicked customs into the hands of the legates of the see apostolic. But, if you yield yourself humbly into our hands, we will look that you and yours shall be sufficiently provided for, that no prejudice may arise hereupon to you-ward.—Given at Lateran the tenth year of our popedom."

Note the proceedings of this ambitious pope.

Princes must be subject to the pope

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, the glorious letter of the proud pope: I beseech thee mark it well. Now to the story.

After this letter was sent out, not long after proceedeth a charge and commandment sent into England, unto certain bishops there, requiring them, by authority apostolical, that if the said king would not receive the prior of Canterbury and his monks, then they should interdict him throughout all his realm. For the executing of this, three bishops were appointed by the usurped power of the pope's bulls; namely, William, bishop of London, Eustace, bishop of Ely, and Mauger, bishop of Worcester. Which said three bishops went unto the king, and showed him their commission from the pope, as is above said, willing him to consent thereto; but the said king refused the same, and would by no means grant to their request. Whereupon they, departing from his grace, went the morrow after the Annunciation of our Lady, and pronounced the said general interdiction throughout all England, so that the church-doors were shut up with keys and other fastenings, and with walls, &c.

Three bishops appointed to interdict the realm.

See Appendix.

Now when the king heard of this, he began to be moved against them, and took all the possessions of the said bishops into his hands, appointing certain men to keep the livings of the clergy throughout the realm, and that they should enjoy no part thereof. This being done, the bishops, seeing the same, cursed all them that kept, or should meddle with church goods, against the will of them that owned them: and understanding, for all that, that the king nothing regarded their doings, they went over sea to the bishop of Canterbury, and informed him what had happened: who hearing the same, willed them again to return to Canterbury, and he would come thither to them, or else send certain persons thither in his stead, that should do as much as if he were there himself. Then when the bishops heard this, they returned again to England, to Canterbury; on which tidings came shortly to the king, that they were come again thither. And because he might not himself travel to them, he sent thither bishops, earls, and abbots, to entreat them that the Archbishop Stephen, whom he had chosen, might be admitted; promising the prior and all the monks of Canterbury in his behalf, that he should never take any thing of the church goods against the will of them that owned them, but would make amends to them from whom he had

Discipline of the church abused for private revenge.

taken any such goods, and that the church should have all her franchises in as ample manner as she had in St. Edward the Confessor's time. *John.* A.D. 1209.

When the form of agreement was thus concluded, it was engrossed in a pair of indentures, and the afore-mentioned bishops to the one part thereof, set their seals; and the other part the said bishops, earls, and abbots, carried to show the king. When the king saw the order thereof, he liked it well, saving he would not agree to make restitution of the church goods. So he sent to the said bishops again that they should put out that point of restitution. But they answered stoutly, that they would not put out one word. Then the king sent word to the archbishop, by the said bishops, that he should come to Canterbury to speak with him, and for his safe conduct to come and go again at his will, he sent his justices as pledges, Gilbert Peitewin, William de la Briwere, and John Letfitz. This done, the Archbishop Stephen came to Canterbury, and the king, hearing thereof, came to Chilham; from whence he sent his treasurer, the bishop of Winchester, to him, to have the king's name put out of the indentures in the clause of restitution aforesaid: who refusing to alter any word of the same, moved the king in such sort, that immediately it was proclaimed throughout England, at the king's commandment, that all those that had any church-livings, and were over the sea, should come again into England by a certain day, or else lose their livings for evermore. And further in that proclamation, he charged all sheriffs within the realm, to inquire if any bishops, abbots, priors, or any other churchman (from that day forward) received any commandment that came from the pope, and that they should take his or their body and bring it before him; and also that they should take into their hands, for the king's use, all the church lands that were given to any man through the Archbishop Stephen, or by the prior of Canterbury, from the time of the election of the archbishop: and further charged that all the woods that were the archbishop's should be cut down and sold.

The inconsiderate stoutness of the prelates against the king.

Stephen Langton stout against his king

The king moved against him.

When tidings came to the pope that the king had thus done, being moved thereby with fiery wrath, he sent to the king two legates, the one called Pandulph, and the other Durant, to warn him, in the pope's name, that he should cease his doings to holy church, and amend the wrong he had done to the archbishop of Canterbury, to the prior and monks of Canterbury, and to all the clergy of England. And further, that he should restore the goods again that he had taken of them against their will, or else they should curse the king by name; and to do this, the pope gave them his letters in bulls patent. These two legates, coming into England, resorted to the king to Northampton, where he held his parliament, and, saluting him, said, they came from the pope of Rome, to reform the peace of holy church. And first, said they, "we admonish you in the pope's behalf, that ye make full restitution of the goods, and of the lands, that ye have ravished from holy church; and that ye receive Stephen, the archbishop of Canterbury, into his dignity; and the prior of Canterbury and his monks; and that ye yield again unto the archbishop all his lands and rents without any withholding; and, sir, yet moreover, that ye shall make such restitution to them as the church shall think sufficient."

Two legates sent from the pope.

Restitution required of the king.

John. A. D. 1210.

Then answered the king, as touching the prior and his monks of Canterbury, "All that ye have said I would gladly do, and all things else that you would ordain; but as touching the archbishop, I shall tell you as it lieth in my heart. Let the archbishop leave his bishopric; and if the pope then shall entreat for him, peradventure I may like to give him some other bishopric in England; and upon this condition I will receive and admit him."

Fierce altercation between the king and Pandulph.

Then said Pandulph to the king, "Holy church was wont never to disgrade archbishop without cause reasonable; but she was ever wont to correct princes that were disobedient to her."

See Appendix.

"What? How now," quoth the king; "threaten ye me?" "Nay," said Pandulph, "but ye have now openly told us as it standeth in your heart; and now we will tell you what is the pope's will; and thus it standeth: he hath wholly interdicted and cursed you, for the wrongs you have done unto holy church, and unto the clergy. And, forasmuch as ye will dwell still in your malice, and will come to no amendment, you shall understand, that from this time forward the sentences upon you given have force and strength. And all those that with you have communed before this time, whether that they be earls, barons, or knights, or any other, whatsoever they be, we assoil them safely from their sins unto this day: but from this time forward, of what condition soever they be, we accurse them openly, and specially by this our sentence, that do commune with you. And we assoil, moreover, earls, barons, knights, and all other manner of men, of their homages, service, and fealties, that they should do unto you. And this thing to confirm, we give plain power unto the bishop of Winchester, and to the bishop of Norwich; and the same power we give against Scotland unto the bishop of Rochester, and of Salisbury; and in Wales we give the same power to the bishops of St. David, and of Landaff, and of St. Asaph."

The legate curseth all who commune with the king.

"Also, sir king," quoth Pandulph, "all the kings, princes, and the great dukes christened, have laboured to the pope to have license to cross themselves, and to war against thee, as upon God's great enemy, and to win thy land, and to make king whom it pleaseth the pope. And we here now assoil all those of their sins that will rise against thee here in thine own land."

The pope author of rebellion and disobedience of subjects towards their prince.

Then the king, hearing this, answered: "What shame may ye do more to me than this?"

Pandulph again: "We say to you in the name of God, that neither you, nor any heir that you have, after this day shall be crowned." So the king said, "By him that is Almighty God, if I had known of this thing before ye came into this land, and that ye had brought me such news, I should have made you tarry out this twelve month."

Then answered Pandulph, "Full well we thought, at our first coming, that ye would have been obedient to God and to holy church, and have fulfilled the pope's commandment, which we have showed and pronounced to you, as we were charged therewith. And now ye say, that if ye had wist the cause of our coming, ye would have made us tarry out a whole year; who might as well say, that ye would have taken a whole year's respite without the pope's leave; but for to suffer what death ye can ordain, we shall not spare to tell all the pope's message and will, that he gave us in charge."

Like master like man.

John. A. D. 1211.

In another chronicle I find the words between the king and Pandulph something otherwise described, as though the king should first threaten him with hanging, if he had foreknown of his coming. To whom Pandulph again should answer, that he looked for nothing else at his hand, but to suffer for the church's right. Whereupon the king, being mightily incensed, departed. The king, the same time, being at Northampton, willed the sheriffs and bailiffs to bring forth all the prisoners there, that such as had deserved, should be put to death; to the intent, as some think, to make Pandulph afraid. Among them was a certain clerk, who, for counterfeiting the king's coin, was also condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and, moreover, the king commanded (thereby to anger Pandulph the more, as may be thought) that this clerk should be hanged up highest, above the rest. Pandulph, hearing thereof, notwithstanding he somewhat began to fear lest he should be hanged himself; yet, with such courage as he had, he went to the church to set out book, bell, and candle, charging that no man, under pain of accursing, should lay hands upon the clerk. Upon this the king and the cardinal departed in no little anger, and Pandulph went to Rome, and reported to the pope and the cardinals what had been done.

Pandulph more afraid than hurt.

Then the pope summoned all the bishops, abbots, and clerks of England, to come and repair to Rome, to consult what was to be done therein. This council began the first day of October. It was therein decreed, by the pope and his assembly, that John, king of England, should be accursed, with all such as held with him, every day so long as that council endured; albeit this was not yet granted, that the people should be crossed to fight against him, because as yet he had shed no blood. But afterwards the said Pope Innocent, seeing that King John would by no means stoop under his subjection, nor under the rule of his popish see, sent unto the French king, upon remission of all his sins, and those of all that went with him, that with all the power they might, they should take with them the livery and badge of the cross, to invade the realm of England, and revenge him of the manifold injuries done to the universal church, by that cursed Turk or Pagan, King John.

The pope stirreth up the French king to invade England.

This occasion given, Pope Innocent yet once again commanded, on pain of his great curse, that no man should obey King John, neither yet keep company with him: he forbade all persons to eat and drink with him, or talk with him, to commune or counsel with him; yea, his own familiar household to do him any kind of service either at bed or at board, in church, hall, or stable. And what followed thereof? The greater part of them, who after such sort fled from him, by the ordinance of God, of divers and sundry diseases the same year died; and between both nations, English and French, fell, for that year, great amity; but secret, subtile, and false, to the bitter betraying of England. Neither was the pope content only with this, but, moreover, the said Pope Innocent gave sentence definitive, by counsel of his cardinals, that King John should be put from his seat regal and deposed, and another put in his room. To the speedy execution of this he appointed the French king, Philip; promising to give him full remission of all his sins, and the clear

The pope's great curse.

The just punishment of God upon disobedient subjects.

John. possession of all the realm of England, to him and his heirs, if he did either kill him or expel him.

A. D. 1212. The next year the French king began his attempt, in hope of the crown of England; being well manned with bishops, monks, prelates, priests, and their servants, to maintain the same; bragging of the letters which they had received from the great men there. But behold the work of God: the English navy took three hundred of the French king's ships, well loaden with wheat, wine, meal, flesh, armour, and such other like, meet for the war; and an hundred ships they brent within the haven, taking the spoil with them. In the mean time the priests within England had provided them a certain false counterfeit prophet, called Peter Wakefield, of Poiz, who was an idle gadder about, and a prattling merchant. This Peter they made to prophesy lies, rumouring his prophecies abroad, to bring the king out of all credit with his people. They noised it daily among the commons of the realm, that Christ had twice appeared to this prophet of theirs in shape of a child between the priest's hands, once at York, another time at Pomfret; and that he had breathed on him thrice, saying, "Peace! peace! peace!" and teaching many things which he anon after declared to the bishops; and bade the people amend their naughty living. Being rapt also in spirit, they said he beheld the joys of heaven, and the sorrows of hell. For scant were there three, saith the chronicle, among a thousand that lived christianly. This counterfeit soothsayer prophesied of King John that he should reign no longer than the Ascension Day, A.D. 1213, which was the fourteenth year from his coronation; and this, he said, he had by revelation. Then was it of him demanded, whether the king should be slain, or expelled, or should of himself give over the crown? He answered, That he could not tell; but of this he was sure, he said, that neither he, nor any of his stock or lineage, should reign, that day once finished. The king, hearing of this, laughed much at it, and made but a scoff thereof. "Tush," saith he, "it is but an idiot knave, and such a one as lacketh his right wits." But when this foolish prophet had so escaped the danger of the king's displeasure, and that he made no more of it, he gat him abroad, and prated thereof at large, as he was a very idle vagabond, and used to tattle and talk more than enough; so that they who loved the king caused him anon after to be apprehended as a malefactor, and to be thrown into prison, the king not yet knowing thereof.

The pope found a murderer.

French ships taken by the English.

Peter the false prophet. *See Appendix.*

See Appendix.

His seditious practices.

See Appendix. Peter is thrown into prison.

The fame of this fantastical prophet soon went all the realm over, and his name was known every where, as foolishness is much regarded of people, where wisdom is not in place; especially because he was then imprisoned for the matter, the rumour was the larger, their wonderings were the wantoner, their practising the foolisher, their busy talks, and other idle occupyings, the greater. Continually from thence, as the rude manner of people is, old gossips' tales went abroad, new tales were invented, fables were added to fables, and lies grew upon lies; so that every day new slanders were raised on the king, and not one of them true: rumours arose, blasphemies were spread, the enemies rejoiced, and treasons by the priests were maintained, and what in like manner was surmised, or whatever subtlety was practised, all was then fathered upon this foolish

prophet: as, "Thus saith Peter Wakefield," "Thus hath he prophesied," and, "This shall come to pass;" yea, many times when he thought nothing less. When the Ascension Day was come, which was prophesied of before, King John commanded his regal tent to be spread abroad in the open field, passing that day with his noble council, and men of honour, in greater solemnity than ever he did before, solacing himself with musical instruments and songs, most in sight, amongst his trusty friends. When that day was passed in all prosperity and mirth, his enemies being confused, turned all to an allegorical understanding, to make the prophecy good, and said, "He is no longer king, for the pope reigneth, and not he;" yet reigned he still, and his son after him, to prove that prophet a liar. Then was the king by his council persuaded that this false prophet had troubled all the realm, perverted the hearts of the people, and raised the commons against him; for his words went over the sea by the help of his prelates, and came to the French king's ear, and gave him great encouragement to invade the land: he had not else done it so suddenly; but he was most foully deceived, as all they are, and shall be, that put their trust in such dark, drowsy dreams of hypocrites. The king therefore commanded that he should be drawn and hanged like a traitor, and his son with him, lest any more false prophets should arise of that race.

John. A. D. 1213.

The false prophet proved a liar by King John.

The false prophet hanged

After the popish prelates, monks, canons, priests, &c. saw this their crafty juggling by their feigned prophet would not speed, notwithstanding they had done no little harm thereby, to help the matter more forward, they began to travail and practise with Pope Innocent on the one side, and also with the French king on the other; besides subtle treasons which they wrought within the realm, and by their confessions in the ear, whereby they both blinded the nobility and commons. The king thus compassed about on every side with enemies, and fearing the sequel thereof, knowing the conspiracies that were in working against him, as well by the pope, in all that ever he might, as also by Philip, the French king, by his procurement; and moreover his own people, especially his lords and barons, being rebelliously incited against him; as by the pope's curses and interdictions against such as took his part; and also by his absolutions and dispensations with all those that would rebel against him, commanding them to detain from him such homage, service, duties, debts, and all other allegiance, as godly subjects owe and are bound to yield and give to their liege lord and prince: all which things considered, the king, in the thirteenth year of his reign, because the French king began to make sharp invasion upon him within his own realm, sent speedy ambassadors to the pope, as to the fountain of all this his mischief, pretended to work and entreat his peace and reconciliation with him, promising to do whatsoever the pope should will and command him in the reformation of himself, and restitution of all wrongs done to holy church, and to make due satisfaction there-for unto all men that could complain.

King John submitteth himself to the pope.

Entreateth for peace with the pope.

Then sent the pope again into England his legate Pandulph, with other ambassadors: the king also at Canterbury (by letters, as it should seem, certified from his own ambassadors) waited their coming; where, the thirteenth day of May, the king received

John. A.D. 1213. them, making unto them an oath, That of and for all things wherein he stood accursed, he would make ample restitution and satisfaction. Unto whom also all the lords and barons of England, so many as there were with the king attending the legate's coming, sware in like manner; and That if the king would not accomplish in everything the oath which he had taken, that then they would cause him to hold and confirm the same, whether that he would or not, or "by strength," to use the author's words.

[1]The king, thus compassed about on every side with enemies, and seeing the great danger that was like to follow, and himself to be brought to such a strait, that no other way could be found to avoid the present destruction both of his person and the realm also, but utterly to be subverted; and specially fearing the French king; was enforced to submit himself to that execrable monster and Antichrist of Rome, converting his land into patrimony of St. Peter, as many other had done before him, and so became a sorry subject to the sinful seat of Rome, thinking thereby to avoid all dangers imminent; for of this he was sure thereby, though not without shame, that being under his protection, no foreign potentate throughout the whole empire was able to subdue him.

Submitteth himself, and resigneth his crown.

Then submitted the king himself unto the court of Rome, and to the pope; and, resigning, gave up his dominions and realms of England and Ireland from him and from his heirs for evermore that should come of him: with this condition, that the king and his heirs should take again these two dominions of the pope to farm, paying yearly there-for to the court of Rome a thousand marks of silver. Then took the king the crown from his head, kneeling upon his knees in the presence of all his lords and barons of England to Pandulph, the pope's chief legate, saying in this wise, "Here I resign up the crown of the realm of England to the pope's hands, Innocent III., and put me wholly in his mercy and his ordinance." Then took Pandulph the crown of King John, and kept it five days as a possession and seizin-taking of these two realms of England and Ireland, confirming also all things promised by his charter obligatory as followeth:—

The Copy of the Letter Obligatory that King John made to the Pope, concerning the yielding up of the crown and the realm of England into the Pope's hands, for a certain sum of money yearly to be paid.

Christ was offered a kingdom and would none of it. The pope doth not refuse it.

John, by the grace of God king of England, &c., to all the faithful of Christ, who shall see this charter, health in the Lord.—We wish it to be known to your university by this charter, bearing our seal, that whereas we have in many things offended God and our mother, holy church, and are in great need of the divine mercy for our sins, and yet cannot offer anything worthily, due satisfaction to make to God and the church, but if we meek ourselves and our realms: we therefore, desiring to meek ourselves for the love of him that meeked him even to death, moved by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and not enforced by the interdict or driven by fear, but of our own good and spontaneous will, with the general advice of our barons, assign and freely grant to God and his holy apostles Peter and Paul, and to the holy Roman church, our mother, and

(1) From the Edition 1563, p. (65).—Ed.

to our lord pope Innocent and his catholic successors, the whole realm of England and the whole realm of Ireland, with all their rights and appurtenances, for remission of all our own sins and the sins of all our kin, in behalf as well of the living as of the dead: henceforth retaining and holding them from him and the Roman church as secondary [or vicegerent], in presence of the wise man Pandulph, subdeacon and familiar of our lord the pope. And we have done homage and sworn allegiance to our foresaid lord the pope and his catholic successors, and to the Roman church, in the form hereunder written, in the presence of Pandulph; and we will repeat the same in presence of our lord the pope himself, if we shall be able to go before him: and we bind our successors and heirs by our wife, for ever, in like manner to do homage and render allegiance without gainsaying to the supreme pontiff for the time being and to the Roman church. But in token of this our lasting bond and grant, we will and determine, that from our own special revenues, arising from the foresaid realms, the Roman church shall, for all service and custom which we owe to her, saving always St. Peter's pence, receive annually a thousand marks sterling money; that is to say, five hundred marks at Michaelmas and five hundred at Easter, to wit, seven hundred for the realm of England and three hundred for the realm of Ireland; saving to us and our heirs all our rights, privileges, and royal prerogatives. And for that we desire to ratify and confirm all that is above written, we bind ourselves and our successors not to contravene it; and if we or any one of our successors shall presume to oppose this, but if he being warned will amend him, whosoever he be let him leese his right in the realm. And let this charter of our bond and grant remain firm for ever. Witness myself at the house of the Knights Templars, near Dover, in presence of, &c., this fifteenth day of May, in the fourteenth year of our reign.

John. A.D. 1214.

King John yieldeth to farm his realm of the pope. *See Appendix.*

The rent charges.

Upon this obligation the king was discharged, on the second day of July, from that tyrannical interdiction under which he had continued six years and three months. But, before the releasement thereof, first, he was miserably compelled, as hath been declared, to give over both his crown and sceptre to that antichrist of Rome for the space of five days; and, as his client, vassal, feudary, and tenant, to receive it again of him at the hands of another cardinal; being bound obligatory, both for himself and for his successors, to pay yearly for acknowledgment thereof, one thousand marks for England and Ireland. Then came they thither from all parts of the realm, so many as had their consciences wounded for obeying their liege king, as blind idiots, and there they were absolved, every one by his own bishop, except the spiritual fathers and ecclesiastical soldiers, for they were compelled to seek to Rome, as captives reserved to the pope's own fatherhood. In this new ruffling the king easily granted that abbots, deans, and curates, should be elected freely every where, so that the laws of the realm were truly observed; but against that were the bishops, alleging their canonical decrees and rules synodal, determining the king therein to have nothing to do, but only to give his consent after they had once elected. But among this shaven rabble, some there were who consented not to this wicked error; a sort also there were of the prelates at that time, who were not pleased that the land's interdiction should cease, till the king had paid all that which their clergy in all quarters of the realm had demanded, without reason; yea, what every saucy Sir John for his part demanded, even to the very breaking of their hedges, the stealing of their apples, and their other occasional damages, which grew to an incredible sum, and impossible to be answered. Such was the outrageous cruel noise of that mischievous progeny of antichrist, against their natural king.

See Appendix. The unreasonableness of the clergy against their natural prince.

John. A. D. 1215.

Notwithstanding that which is uttered afore concerning the bitter malice of the clergy against their prince, yet did the pope's legate, Nicholas, cardinal of Frascati, much favour his doings, and allow of his proceedings; wherefore they reported of him that he was exceedingly partial, and regarded not their matters ecclesiastical, as he should have done. For, leaving the account of their restitutions, he went with the king's officers, as the king's pleasure was, to the cathedral minsters, abbeys, priories, deaneries, and great churches vacant; and there, for the next incumbent, he always appointed two, one for the king, another for the parties. But upon him only whom the king nominated he compelled most commonly the election to pass, which vexed them wonderfully. Upon this, therefore, they raised a new conspiracy against the king's person, by help of their bishops, seditious prelates, and such noblemen as they had drawn to their parties. "We beheld," saith Hoveden, "about the same time many noble houses and assemblies divided in many places. The fathers and the aged men stood upon the king's part, but the younger sort contrary; and some there were that for the love of their kindred, and in other sundry respects, forsook the king again." "Yea, the fame went that time," saith he, "that they were confederated with Alexander, the Scottish king, and Llewellyn, the prince of Wales, to work him an utter mischief." A council at Oxford the archbishop called, whereat some would not tarry, considering the confusion thereof; the other sort, having very obstinate hearts, reviled the king most spitefully behind his back, and said, that from thenceforth he ought to be taken for no governor of theirs. Their outrageous and frantic clamour so much prevailed in those days, that it grew to a grievous tumult, and a most perilous commotion.

Great division of opinion respecting the king.

In the year of our Lord 1215, as witnesseth Paulus Æmilius, and other historians, Pope Innocent III. held a general synod at Rome, called the Council of Lateran. The chief causes of that council were these:—In the days of this Innocent, heresy (as he calleth the truth of God, or the doctrine that rebuketh sin) began to rise up very high, and to spread forth his branches abroad, by reason whereof many princes were excommunicate; as Otho, the emperor; John the king of England; Peter, king of Aragon; Raimund, the earl of Toulouse; and a great sort more: and many lands were interdicted, as England, Ireland, Provence, Toulouse, Aquitaine, Sataloni, and such other like, as is said afore: so that it could be no otherwise, saith Hoveden, but with the sharp axe of the gospel (so called the pope his excommunications) they ought of necessity to have been cut off from the church. Therefore was this council provided and proclaimed, and prelates from all nations thereunto called. And, to colour those mischiefs which he then went about, he caused it by his legates and cardinals (very crafty merchants) to be noised abroad, that his intent therein was only to have the church universally reformed, and the Holy Land from the Turks' hands recovered. But all this was craft and falsehood, as the sequel thereof hath manifestly declared; for his purpose thereby was, to subdue all princes, and to make himself rich and wealthy. For there he made this antichristian act, and established it by public decree, that the pope should have, from thenceforth, the correction of all christian princes; and that no emperor should be admitted, except he were sworn before, and were also crowned of him. He ordained moreover, that whosoever he

Council of Lateran holden by Pope Innocent.

See Appendix.

Craft and subtleties of the pope.

The pope to have jurisdiction of all churches.

were that should speak evil of the pope, he should be punished in hell with eternal damnation.[1] He provided confession to help these matters; he allowed their bread a pix to cover him, and a bell when he goeth abroad, and made the mass equal with Christ's gospel. *John.* A.D. 1215.

In this council was first invented, and brought in, transubstantiation; of which Johannes Scotus, whom we call Duns, maketh mention in his fourth book, writing in these words:—"The words of the Scripture might be expounded more easily and more plainly without transubstantiation; but the church did choose this sense, which is more hard; being moved thereunto, as it seemeth, chiefly, because that of the sacraments men ought to hold, as the holy church of Rome holdeth," &c. And in the same place he maketh mention of Innocent III. Transubstantiation first brought in.

Moreover, in the said council was established and ratified the wretched and impious act, compelling priests to abjure lawful matrimony. Whereupon these metres or verses were made the same time against him, which here follow underwritten, in English thus:[2]— Marriages of priests forbidden.

"Nocent, not innocent, he is that seeketh to deface
By word the thing, that he by deed, hath taught men to embrace;
Who being now a bishop old, doth study to destroy
The thing, which he, a young man once, did covet to enjoy.
Priest Zachary both had a wife, and had a child also,
By means of whom, there did to him great praise and honour grow.
For he did baptize him, who was the Saviour of mankind:
Ill him befal, that holdeth this new error in his mind.
Into the higher heavens, good Paul was lifted from below,
And many secret hidden things, he learned there to know:
Returned at length from thence to us, and teaching rules of life,
He said, Let each man have his own, and only wedded wife.
For this and other documents, of them that learned be,
Much better and more comely eke, it seemeth unto me,
That each should have his own alone, and not his neighbour's wife,
Lest with his neighbour, he do fall in hate and wrathful strife.
Thy neighbour's daughters or their wives, or nieces to defile,
Unlawful is; therefore beware, do not thy self beguile.
Have thou thine own true wedded wife, delight in her alway,
With safer mind that thou mayst look, to see the latter day."

Now let us return to king John again, and mark how the priests and their adherents were plagued for their homely handling of his majesty. In the aforesaid council of Lateran, and the same *See Appendix*

(1) Conradus Urspergensis, Hieronymus Marius. See App.

(2) "Non est innocentius, imo nocens vere,
Qui, quod facto docuit, verbo vult delere:
Et quod olim juvenis voluit habere,
Modo vetus pontifex studet prohibere.
Zacharias habuit prolem et uxorem,
Per virum quem genuit adeptus honorem;
Baptizavit etenim mundi Salvatorem:
Pereat qui teneat novum hunc errorem.
Paulus cœlos rapitur ad superiores,
Ubi multas didicit res secretiores;
Ad nos tandem rediens instruensque mores,
Suas, inquit, habeant, quilibet uxores.
Propter hæc et alia dogmata doctorum,
Reor esse melius et magis decorum,
Quisque suam habeat et non proximorum,
Ne incurrat odium vel iram eorum.
Proximorum fœminas, filias, et neptes
Violare nefas est, quare nli deceptes,
Vere tuam habeas, et in hac delectes,
Diem ut sic ultimum tutius expectes."

John. A.D. 1215. year, was Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, excommunicated by Pope Innocent, with all those bishops, prelates, priests, barons, and commons, who had been of counsel with him in the former rebellion. And when the said archbishop had made instant suit to him to be absolved, anon he made him this answer with great indignation: "Brother mine, I swear by St. Peter, thou shalt not so soon at my hand obtain the benefit of absolution: for why? thou hast not only done harm to the king of England, but also thou hast in a great many things injured the church of Rome here; and therefore thou shalt tarry my leisure." The archbishop was also at that time suspended out of the church, and commanded to say no mass at all, neither yet to exercise any other ecclesiastical office; because he would not, at time convenient, execute the pope's curse upon the rebellious barons. With them the said pope had been so deeply offended and angered a little before, that the great charter of the liberties of England, with great indignation and countenance most terrible, he rent and destroyed, by sentence definitive, condemning it for ever; and, by and by thereupon, cursed all the other rebels, with book, bell, and candle. The greater captains of them, with the citizens of London, for that assay were pronounced excommunicate by name, and remained still interdicted. They appealed then to the council general.

See Appendix.

Stephen Langton suspended.

Appeal to the general council.

In the same year, A.D. 1215, were those great men also summoned to appear at Rome in that general synod, who would not consent to their king's expulsion, nor yet tyrannical deposing. Though they were called, they said, thereunto by the archbishop of Canterbury and others, and required by oath to subscribe unto the same, yet could they not of their conscience do it, because he had humbled himself, and also granted to keep peace with all men. Thus was the whole realm miserably then divided into two factions, through the malice of the clergy, so that strifes increased in the land every where; yet were there of the lords and gentlemen a great number at that time, who followed the king and allowed his doings.[1] But they who were on the other side, not a little suspecting the state that they were in, fled speedily to the French king, Philip, desiring him that he would grant them his eldest son Louis, and they would elect him, to be their king, and that without much tarriance. They besought him, moreover, that he would send with him a strong and mighty power, such as were able to subdue him utterly, that they might, they said, be delivered from such a wicked tyrant. Such was the report that those most wicked papists gave their christian governor, appointed over them by God, whom they ought to have obeyed, though he had been evil, even for very conscience' sake. [Rom. xiii. 7.] And as certain of the lords and barons were busy to choose the said Louis for their king, the pope sent thither one Gualo, the cardinal of St. Martin, to stay those rash and cruel attempts; charging the French king, upon his allegiance, that he, with all power possible, should favour, maintain,

The discord between the nobles and the king.

Gualo, cardinal, sent into England.

(1) Stowe, speaking of these times, confirms the account which our author gives of these internal commotions which unhappily prevailed in England, but especially of the revolting assaults to which the Jews were subjected, so frequently referred to by our author. "I read, that in the year 1215, the sixteenth of King John, the barons entering the city by Ealdgate (Aldgate), first took assurance of the citizens; then brake into the Jews' houses, searched their coffers to fill their own purses; and after, with great diligence, repaired the walls and gates of the city, with stones taken from the Jews' broken houses."—See Stowe's Hist. of Lond. p. 7.—Ed.

and defend King John of England, his feudary or tenant. The French king thereto made answer, as one not content with that arrogant precept: "The realm of England," said he, "was never yet any part of St. Peter's patrimony, neither is it now, nor yet, at any time, shall be hereafter." Thus spake he, for that he was in hope to obtain it for his son, by treason of the barons. *John.* A. D. 1215.

"No prince or potentate," said Philip, the French king, "may pledge or give away his kingdom, which is (beside the realm) the government of his whole commonwealth, without the lawful consent of his barons, who are bound to defend the same. If the pope shall introduce or set up such a precedent in Christianity, he shall, at his pleasure, bring all christian kings and their kingdoms to nought. I like not this example in these days begun. I cannot therefore allow this act of King John of England: though he be my utter adversary, yet I much lament that he hath so endamaged his realm, and hath brought that noble ground, and queen of provinces, under miserable tribute." The chief lords and men of his nobility standing by, when he uttered these words, being, as it were, in a fury, cried with one voice, "By the blood of God, by which we trust to be saved, we will stick to this article to the losing of our heads. Let the king of England do therein what him liketh: no king may put his land under tribute, and so make his nobility captive servants." With that came in Louis, the king's eldest son, and said unto them all there present, "I beseech you, let not my purposed journey: the barons of England have elected me for their lord and king, and I will not surely lose my right, but I will fight for it even to the very death, yea, so long as heart shall stir within my breast; and I doubt not but I shall well obtain it, for I have friends among them." His father, the king, stood still as if he had been in a dump, and answered never a word, but fared as though he had dissembled the matter. Belike he mistrusted something therein, as he might well enough; for all was procured by the priests, that they might live licentiously, in all wealth, and in freedom from the king's yoke. The French king and his son reasoning about England.

About the same time, were such treasons and conspiracies wrought by the bishops, priests, and monks, throughout all the realm, that the king knew not where to become,[1] or find trusty friends; he was then compelled, by the uncertainty of his subjects, to travel from place to place, but not without a great army of men, looking, every day, when his barons and their confederates would cruelly set upon him. At last he came to Dover, and there looked for aid from other quarters, which loved him better than did his own people. And thither resorted to him from Flanders, Brabant, and Holland, on one side, and from Guienne, Gascony, and Poictou, on the other side, and from other countries besides, a wonderful number of men. The report then went, that the pope had written unto those countries mightily to assist him, for divers considerations: one was, for that King John had both submitted himself and his dominions, to his protection; another was, because he had taken upon him, a little before, the livery of the Cross, to win again Jerusalem; the third was, because the pope had gotten by him the dominion of England and Ireland, and feared to lose both, if he should chance to decay. For the space of three months the king remained in the Isle of Wight, abroad Prelates and priests conspiring against the king.

(1) See Todd's Johnson.

John. A.D. 1216. in the air, to quiet himself for a time from all manner of tumults, and led there a solitary life among rivers and watermen, where as he rather counted to die than to live, being so traitorously handled of his bishops and barons, and not knowing how to be justly avenged of them. Upon the Purification day of our Lady, therefore, he took upon him the Cross, or viage against the Turks, for recovery of Jerusalem; moved thereto rather for the doubts which he had of his people, than for any other devotion else. And thus he said to his familiar servants: "Since I submitted myself and my lands, England and Ireland, to the church of Rome (sorrow come to it!) never a thing hath prospered with me, but all hath gone against me."

See Appendix. In the same year, A.D. 1215, was Simon Langton chosen archbishop of York; but that election soon after was dissolved; for information was given to the pope, that the said Simon was brother to Stephen Langton, the archbishop of Canterbury, who had been the occasion of all the tumults which were at that time in England. The pope had the more hate unto him, for that he had brought him up from nought, and did find him, at that time, so stubborn; wherefore he placed in his brother's place Walter Gray, the bishop of Worcester.

Gualo, the pope's legate, renews the great curse on the French king's son. *See Appendix.* In the next year Gualo, the pope's legate, renewed his great curse upon Louis, the French king's son, for usurping upon King John; likewise upon Simon Langton, and Gervais Hobruge, for provoking him to the same, and that with a wonderful solemnity; for in doing that, he made all the bells to be rung, the candles to be lighted, the doors to be opened, and the book of excommunications or interdictions publicly to be read, committing them wholly to the devil, for their contumacy and contempt. He also commanded the bishops and curates to publish it abroad over all the whole realm, to the terror of all his subjects. The said Simon and Gervais laughed him to scorn, and derided much his doings in that behalf, saying, that for the just title of Louis, they had appealed to the general council at Rome.[1]

The pope's curse laughed to scorn.

The magistrates and citizens of London did, likewise, vilipend and disdainfully mock all that the pope had there commanded and done; and, in spite both of him and his legate, they kept company with them that were excommunicated, both at table and at church; showing themselves, thereby, as open contemners both of him and his laws. Louis, at London, taking himself for king, constituted Simon Langton for his high chancellor, and Gervais Hobruge for his chief preacher; by whose daily preachings (as well the barons as the citizens themselves being excommunicated) he caused all the church doors to be opened, and the service to be sung, and the said Louis was in all points fit for their hands. About this time Pandulph, the cardinal, was collecting the Peter-pence, that old pillage of the pope, taking great pains therein; and for his great labours in those affairs of holy church, and for other great miracles besides, he was then made bishop of Norwich, to the augmenting of his dignity and expenses.

Pandulph, the pope's collector, made bishop of Norwich.

It chanced, about this time, that the viscount of Melun, a very noble man of the realm of France, who came thither with Prince Louis, fell deadly sick in London, and being moved, in conscience, to

(1) Radulphus Niger, cap. 43, 44.

call certain of the English barons unto him, such as were there appointed to the custody of that city, said unto them: "I lament your sorrowful case, and pity, with my heart, the destruction that is coming towards you and your country.[1] The dangerous snares, which are prepared for your utter confusion, are hidden from you; you do not behold them; but take you heed of them in time. Prince Louis hath sworn a great oath, and sixteen of his earls and noblemen are of counsel with him, that, if he obtain the crown of England, he will banish all them from service, and deprive them of lands and goods, as many as he findeth now to go against their liege king, and are traitors to his noble person. And, because you shall not take this tale for a fable, I assure you on my faith, lying now at the mercy of God, that I was one of those who were sworn to the same. I have great conscience thereof, and, therefore, I give you this warning. I pity poor England, which hath been so noble a region, that now it is come to such extreme misery." And when he, with tears, had lamented it a space, he turned again unto them and said: "My friends, I counsel you earnestly to look to yourselves, and to provide the remedy in time, lest it come upon you unawares: your king for a season hath kept you under, but if Louis prevail, he will deprive you of all; of two extreme evils, choose the more easy, and keep that secret which I have told you of good will." With that he gave over, and departed this life.

John. A. D. 1216.

The great providence of God for the help of England.

When this was once noised among the barons, they were in great heaviness, for they saw themselves bytrapped every way, and to be in exceeding great danger. And this daily augmented that fear which then came upon them; they were extremely hated of the pope and his legates, and every week came upon them new excommunications. Daily detriments they had besides in their possessions and goods, in their lands and houses, corn and cattle, wives and children, so that some of them were driven to such need, that they were enforced to seek preys and booties for sustaining their miserable lives. For look, whatsoever Prince Louis obtained by his wars, either territories or castles, he gave them all to his Frenchmen, in spite of their heads, and said that they were but traitors, like as they had warning before; and this grieved them worst of all. At last, perceiving that in seeking to avoid one mischief, they were ready to fall into another much worse, they began to lay their heads together, consenting to submit themselves wholly, with all humility, unto the mercy of their late sovereign and natural liege lord, King John; and, as they were somewhat in doubt of their lives for the treason before committed, many of the friends of those who were of most credit with him, made suit for them; so that a great number of them were pardoned, after instant and great suit made for them. I here omit his recovery of Rochester castle and city, with many other dangerous adventures against the aforesaid Louis, both at London, York, Lincoln, Winchester, Norwich, and other places, as things not pertaining to my purpose. And now I return to my matter again.

Perplexity and distress of the barons.

Into Suffolk and Norfolk he consequently journeyed, with a very strong army of men, and there with great mischief he afflicted them, because they had given place and were sworn to his enemies. After

(1) Matth. Paris; Radul. Niger, cap. 47

John. that, he despoiled the abbeys of Peterborough and Crowland, for the great treasons which they also had wrought against him; and so he departed from thence into Lincolnshire.

A. D. 1216.

Pope Innocent III. dieth. *See Appendix.*

In this year, A.D. 1216, about the seventeenth day of July, died Pope Innocent III., and was buried in a city called Perugia, in Italy; whither he had travelled to make a peace between the Genoese and Pisans, for his own commodity and advantage. After him, anon, succeeded one Centius, otherwise called Honorius III., a man of very great age; yet lived he, in the papacy, ten years and a half, and more. When this was once known in England, all those greatly rejoiced who were King John's enemies, especially the priests; yet had they small cause, as will appear hereafter. They noised it all the realm over, that this new pope would set up a new order, and not rule all things as the other pope did; thinking, thereby, that he would have done all things to their commodity, but they found it otherwise. *See Appendix.* For he made all those who were excommunicated, pay double and treble, ere they could be restored again to their former livings.

King John poisoned by a monk.

And, in the self-same year, as King John was come to Swineshead abbey, not far from Boston, he rested there two days; where, as most writers testify, he was most traitorously poisoned by a monk of that abbey, of the sect of the Cistercians, or St. Bernard's brethren, called Simon of Swineshead. As concerning the noble personage of this prince, this witness giveth Roger Hoveden thereon: "Doubtless," saith he, "King John was a mighty prince, but not so fortunate as many were; not altogether unlike to Marius, the noble Roman, he tasted of fortune both ways; bountiful in mercy; in wars sometime he won, sometime again he lost." "He was also very bounteous and liberal unto strangers, but of his own people, for their daily treason's sake, he was a great oppressor, so that he trusted more to foreigners than to them."[1]

Among other divers and sundry conditions belonging to this king, one there was, which is not in him to be reprehended, but commended rather; for that, being far from the superstition which kings at that time were commonly subject to, he regarded not the popish mass, as in certain chronicles writing of him may be collected; for this I find testified of him by Matthew Paris: that the king, once upon a time, in his hunting, coming where a very fat stag was cut up and opened (or how the hunters term it, I cannot tell), the king beholding the fatness and the liking of the stag: "See," saith he, "how easily and happily he hath lived, and yet for all that, he never heard any mass."

King John derideth the mass.

It is recorded and found in the chronicle of William Caxton, called "Fructus temporum," and in the seventh book, that the aforesaid monk Simon, being much offended with certain talk that the king had at his table, concerning Louis, the French king's son, who then had entered and usurped upon him, did cast, in his wicked heart, how he most speedily might bring him to his end. And, first of all, he counselled with his abbot, showing him the whole matter, and what he was minded to do. He alleged for himself the prophecy of Caiaphas (John xi.), saying, "It is better that one man die, than all the people should perish." "I am well contented," saith he, "to lose my life, and so become a martyr, that I may utterly destroy

Wo be to you that call good evil, and evil good.

(1) Ex chronico cui titulus "Eulogium."

this tyrant." With that the abbot did weep for gladness, and much commended his fervent zeal, as he took it. The monk, then, being absolved beforehand of his abbot for doing this act, went secretly into the backside of the garden, and finding there a most venomous toad, he so pricked him and pressed him with his penknife, that he made him vomit all the poison that was within him. This done, he conveyed it into a cup of wine, and with a smiling and flattering countenance he said thus to the king: "If it shall like your princely majesty, here is such a cup of wine as ye never drank better before, in all your lifetime; I trust this wassail shall make all England glad;" and, with that, he drank a great draught thereof, the king pledging him. The monk anon after went to the farmary, and there died, his entrails gushing out of his body, and had continually from thenceforth three monks to sing mass for his soul, confirmed by their general chapter. What became, after that, of King John, ye shall know right well in the process following. I would ye did mark well the wholesome proceedings of these holy votaries, how virtuously they obey their king, whom God hath appointed, and how religiously they bestow their confessions, absolutions, and masses.

Simon the monk absolved by his abbot for poisoning his king.

Dieth of his own poison.

The king, within a short space after, feeling great grief in his body, asked for Simon, the monk; and answer was made that he was departed this life. "Then God have mercy upon me," said he, "I suspected as much, after he had said that all England should thereof be glad; he meant, now I perceive, those of his own generation." With that he commanded his chariot to be prepared, for he was not able to ride. So went he from thence to Sleaford castle, and from thence to Newark-on-Trent, and there, within less than three days, he died. Upon his death-bed he much repented his former life, and forgave all them, with a pitiful heart, that had done him injury; desiring that his elder son, Henry, might be admonished by his example, and learn by his misfortunes to be natural, favourable, gentle, and loving to his native people. When his body was embalmed and spiced, as the manner is of kings, his bowels or entrails were buried at Croxton abbey, which was held by the sect of Premonstratenses, or canons of St. Norbert. His hired soldiers, both Englishmen and strangers, were still about him, and followed his corpse triumphantly in their armour, till they came to the cathedral church of Worcester, and there honourably was he buried by Silvester, the bishop, betwixt St. Oswald and St. Wolstan, two bishops of that church. He died A.D. 1216, the nineteenth day of October, after he had reigned in such calamity, by the subtile contrivance of his clergy, eighteen years and six months and odd days. Now, as soon as King John was dead and buried (as is said before), the princes, lords, and barons, as many as were of his part, as well of strangers as of them that were born here, by counsel of the legate Gualo, gathered themselves together, and all with one consent proclaimed Henry, his son, for their king. Of him more shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Death of King John.

A prince to be loving to his subjects.

King John buried at Worcester.

Many opinions are among the chroniclers of the death of King John. Some of them do write that he died of sorrow and heaviness of heart, as Polydore; some of surfeiting in the night, as Radulphus Niger; some of a bloody flux, as Roger Hoveden; some of a

Contradictory opinions respecting his end.

John. A.D. 1216.

burning ague, some of a cold sweat, some of eating apples, some of eating pears, some of plums, &c.

Thus you see what variety is among the writers concerning the death of this King John. Of which writers, although the most agree in this, that he was poisoned by the monk above named, yet Matthew Paris,[1] something differing from the others, writeth thus concerning his death: that he, going from Lynn to Lincolnshire, and there hearing of the loss of his carriage and of his treasures upon the washes, gave way to great heaviness of mind, insomuch that he fell thereby into a fervent fever, being at the abbey of Swineshead. This ague he also increased, through evil surfeiting and naughty diet, by eating peaches and drinking new ciser, or, as we call it, cider. Thus, being sick, he was carried from thence to the castle of Sleaford, and from thence to the castle of Newark; where, calling for Henry, his son, he gave to him the succession of his crown and kingdom, writing to all his lords and nobles to receive him for their king. Shortly after, in the night following St. Luke's day, he departed this life, and was buried at Worcester.

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

Another account of King John's death.

In Gisburn I find otherwise, who, dissenting from others, saith, that he was poisoned with a dish of pears, which the monk had prepared for the king, therewith to poison him; who, asking the king whether he would taste of his fruit, and being bid to bring them in, according to the king's bidding, so he did. At the bringing in whereof (saith the story) the precious stones about the king began to sweat; insomuch that the king misdoubting some poison, demanded, of the monk, what he had brought. He said, of his fruit, and that very good; the best that ever he did taste. "Eat," said the king. And he took one of the pears, which he did know, and did eat. Also, being bid to take another, he did eat that likewise, savourily, and so likewise the third. Then the king, refraining no longer, took one of the poisoned pears, and was therewith poisoned, as is before narrated.[2]

The first mayor of London.

In the reign of this King John, the citizens of London first obtained of the king to choose yearly a mayor. In this reign also the bridge of London was first builded of stone, which before was of wood.[3]

HENRY THE THIRD.[4]

A.D. 1216.

After King John had reigned, as some say, seventeen years, or as others say, though falsely, nineteen years, he was, as is above stated, poisoned, and died. This king left behind him four sons and three daughters; the first, Henry; the second, Richard, who was earl of Cornwall; the third, William of Valentia; the fourth, Guy de Lusignan: he had also another son, who afterwards was made bishop. Of his daughters, the first was Isabella, married afterward to Frederic, the emperor; the second, named Elenor, was married to William, earl marshal; the third, to Mountfort, the earl of Leicester, &c. Another story saith, that he had but two daughters, Isabella and

See Appendix.

(1) Matth. Paris. in Vita Johannis Regis. (2) Ex Hist. Gualt. Gisburn. (3) Rastal. (4) Edition 1563, p. 72. Ed. 1583, p. 257. Ed. 1596, p. 234. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 290.—Ed

Elenor, or, as another calleth her, Joan, who was afterwards queen of Scotland.[1] *Henry III.*

This King John being deceased, who had many enemies both of earls and barons, and especially of the popish clergy, Henry, the eldest son, was then of the age of nine years, at which time, most of the lords of England did adhere to Ludovic, or Louis, the French king's son, whom they had sent for before, in displeasure of King John, to be their king, and had sworn to him their allegiance. Then William, earl Marshal, a nobleman, and of great authority, and a grave and sound counsellor, friendly and quietly called unto him divers earls and barons, and taking this Henry, the young prince, son of King John, setteth him before them, using these words: A.D. 1216.

"Behold," saith he, "right honourable and well-beloved, although we have persecuted the father of this young prince[2] for his evil demeanour, and worthily; yet this young child, whom here ye see before you, as he is in years tender, so is he pure and innocent from these his father's doings: wherefore, inasmuch as every man is charged only with the burden of his own works and transgressions, neither shall the child, as the scripture teacheth us, bear the iniquity of his father; we ought, therefore, of duty and conscience, to pardon this young and tender prince, and take compassion of his age, as ye see. And now, forasmuch as he is the king's natural and eldest son, and must be our sovereign and king, and successor of this kingdom, come, and let us appoint him our king and governor, and let us remove from us this Louis, the French king's son, and suppress his people, which is a confusion and a shame to our nation; and the yoke of our servitude let us cast off from our shoulders." To these words spake and answered the earl of Chester: "And by what reason or right," said he, "can we so do, seeing we have called him hither, and have sworn to him our fealty?" Saying of earl Marshal. *See Appendix.*

Whereunto the earl Marshal inferred again, and said: "Good right and reason we have, and ought of duty to do no less; for that he, contrary to our mind and calling, hath abused our affiance and fealties. Truth it is we called him, and meant to prefer him to be our chieftain and governor; but he, eftsoons, surprised in pride, hath contemned and despised us: and, if we shall so suffer him, he will subvert and overthrow both us and our nation, and so shall we remain a spectacle of shame to all men, and be as outcasts to all the world."

At these words all they, as inspired from above, cried all together with one voice, "Be it so, he shall be our king." And so the day was appointed for his coronation, which was the day of Simon and Jude, A.D. 1216. This coronation was kept, not at Westminster, forasmuch as Westminster the same time was holden of the French-men, but at Gloucester, the safest place (as was thought) at that time in the realm,[3] by Gualo, the pope's legate, through counsel of all the lords and barons that held with his father, King John; to wit, the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Bath, the bishop of Chester,[4] and the bishop of Worcester, Ranulph, earl of Chester, William Mareschall, earl-marshal and earl of Pembroke, William, earl King Henry III. crowned. *See Appendix.*

(1) Ex Chronico vetusto Angliæ. [See Appendix.]
(2) Truly said, that you persecuted him, for persecutors ye were of a true man, and your own natural king. But well might England cry out upon your blind guides and setters on
(3) Ex Chron. Gisburn. (4) *i.e.* of Lichfield and Coventry: see pp. 385, 386, 643.—Ed.

Henry III. A.D. 1216. Ferrers, William de Briwere, and Savaric de Malo-leone [Mauleon]. These were at the crowning of the king at Gloucester. Many other lords and barons there were, who as yet held with Louis, the French king's son, to whom they had done their homage before. *[1]For that only cause was King John then buried at Worcester, and not by testament; for that place of the realm, in those days, appeared most sure and safe, where they, who were friends to the crown, might best deliberate with themselves what was best to be done in that matter. So went they from thence to the town of Gloucester, with William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, and there was he anointed and crowned king by the legate Gualo, assisted by Peter, bishop of Winchester, and Joscelin, the bishop of Bath, with others who were then in the realm, and called Henry III.; and this was done on the feastful day of St. Simon and St. Jude. The court of Rome, at that time, not being too slack in their affairs, sent hither with all speed, commanding them that they should mightily stand by the young king, then being not fully ten years of age, and to defend England with armour and his thundering curses, as holy church's patrimony, against Louis and his accomplices; and then the new pope, Honorius III., not only confirmed his legate Gualo, but also committed to his discretion all that appertained to that office of his, no appellations to the contrary admitted. Upon this authority the legate being bold, compelled the prelates of England to be sworn true to the young king; and those that refused to take that oath he punished very sore. And Peter, the bishop of Winchester, was not all behind in that commission for his part, but brought a grievous tallage upon the beneficed men and priests of his diocese, to help the king in his wars against Louis; which was not all amiss. Such as were great beneficed priests, and might well pay, the said Gualo reserved to his own authority, and for great sums of money at the latter dispensed with them. Some that were obstinate and froward he disgraded; some he excommunicated, and sent to Rome for their absolutions; not leaving one priest unpunished, that had taken part with Louis, having every where his searchers and spies to find them out.*

See Appendix.

Immediately after the crowning of this king, he held a council at Bristol, at St. Martin's feast; where were assembled eleven bishops of England and Wales, with divers earls, barons, and knights of England, all of whom did swear fealty to the king. After homage thus done to the king, the legate Gualo interdicted Wales, because they held with the aforesaid Louis; and also the barons and all others, as many as gave help or counsel to Louis; or any others that moved or stirred any war against King Henry, the new king, he accursed them. All which notwithstanding, the said Louis did not cease, but first laid siege to the castle of Dover fifteen days. When he could not prevail there, he took the castle of Berkhamstead, and also the castle of Hertford, doing much harm in the counties, by spoiling and robbing the people, where he went: by reason whereof, the lords and commons, who held with the king, assembled themselves together to drive Louis and his men out of the land. But some of the barons, with the Frenchmen, in the mean

Berkhamstead and Hertford taken by Louis.

(1) This paragraph is from the Edition of 1563 p. 69, * 1. v.—Ed.

season went to Lincoln and took the city, and held it for the use of Louis. This being known, eftsoons a great power on the king's part made thither, as Ranulph, earl of Chester, William Mareschall, earl of Pembroke, William de Briwere, and the earl Ferrers, with many other lords, and gave battle unto Louis and his party; so that in conclusion Louis lost the field, and of his side was slain the earl of Perche; Saer de Quincy, earl of Winchester, Henry de la Bohun, earl of Hereford, and Sir Robert le Fitz-Walter, with divers other more, were taken prisoners. Whereupon Louis for succour fled to London, causing the gates there to be shut and kept, waiting there for more succour out of France. As soon as the king had knowledge of this, immediately he sent to the mayor and burgesses of the city, willing them to surrender them and their city to him, as their chief lord and king; promising to grant to them again all their franchises and liberties, as in times past, and to confirm the same by his great charter and seal. In the mean time, on Bartholomew eve, Eustace, a French monk, accompanied with many other lords and nobles of France, came with a grand power, to the number of one hundred ships, to aid and assist the said Louis; who, before they arrived, were encountered upon the seas by Richard, King John's bastard son; who, having no more but eighteen ships to keep the cinque ports, set eagerly upon them, and, through God's grace, overcame them, where presently he smote off the head of Eustace: the rest of the French lords, to the number of ten, he brought with him to the land, where he imprisoned them in the castle of Dover, and slew almost all the men that came with them, and sunk their ships in the sea; only fifteen ships, say some of my stories, escaped away. Ludovic, or Louis, hearing of this loss of his ships and men, and misdoubting his own life for the great mischief he had done to the realm, sought means by Gualo, and the archbishop of Canterbury, and by other lords, to be at accord with the king. With whom, at length, it was so concluded and agreed, that, for his costs and expenses, he should have a thousand pounds of silver given. Matthew Paris speaketh of five thousand pounds, which he borrowed of the Londoners, that he should depart the realm, never to return into England again, neither he nor any of his.[1]

Henry III. A.D. 1217

Lincoln also taken, [May 20th.] *See Appendix.*

See Appendix.

A noble victory by God's grace given to King John's son.

See Appendix.

This being done, he, with all the other barons that took his part, was assoiled of Gualo, the legate; and thus peace being confirmed at Merton, Louis took his leave, and being brought honourably to the sea with the bishop of Canterbury, and other bishops, earls and barons, he returned home into France.

Louis, the French king's son, driven out of England. *See Appendix.*

And here, saith Gisburn, that was truly verified which was before spoken of the French king, the father of Louis. At the time the said Louis was in England, his father, the French king, demanded of his messengers coming into France, where his son was. They replied, "at Stamford." And, on his asking again, whether his son had got the castle of Dover, they said, "No." Then the father swearing by the arm of St. James: "My son," quoth he, "hath not one foot in England;" as, afterwards, well proved true.[2]

But the chief help that repelled Louis and the Frenchmen out of the realm, and that most preferred King John's son to the crown,

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. (2) Ex Gualter. Gisburn.

Henry III. A.D. 1217.

was the singular working of God's hand, whereof mention was made before: which was through the confession of a certain gentleman of the French host (as Florilegus doth testify), who, lying sore sick at the point of death, and seeing no hope to escape, was touched in conscience for danger of his soul's health, openly to confess and utter, to the barons of England, what was the purpose of the Frenchmen to do; who had conspired and sworn together among themselves, with a privy compaction, that so soon as they subdued the land, they should thrust all the chiefs and nobles thereof into perpetual exile out of the realm, whereout they should never return again. This, coming to the ears of the barons, as is said, gave them to consider more with themselves, whereby many of them were the more willing to leave Louis, and apply to their natural king and prince; which, no less, may also be an admonition to all times and ages for Englishmen to take heed, and not to admit or to place foreign rulers in the realm, lest, perhaps, it follow that they be displaced themselves.

See Appendix.

An admonition to Englishmen not to admit foreign rulers into the realm.

A bad wind that bloweth no man profit.

After the happy departure of Louis and his Frenchmen out of the land, A.D. 1217, whereby the state of this realm, long vexed before, was now somewhat more quieted; immediately Gualo, the legate, looking to his harvest, directeth forth inquisitors through every shire to search out all such bishops, abbots, priors, canons, and secular priests, of what order or degree soever they were, who, with any succour or counsel, did either help, or else consent unto Louis; for all these were exempted out of the charter of pardon and absolution made before, between the king and Louis. By reason of this, no small gain grew to the pope and the cardinal, for all such were either put out of their livings and sent up to the pope, or else were fain to fine sweetly for them. Among whom (besides a great number of other clerks, both religious and secular) was Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, who, for the recovery of his bishopric, disbursed one thousand marks to the pope, and one hundred marks to the aforesaid Gualo, the legate, who now (as Paris recordeth) by this time had gathered in a fair crop of that which he did never sow.[1]

Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, redeemeth his bishopric for one thousand marks.

Death of Pope Innocent III.

See Appendix.

About this season, or not much before, died Pope Innocent III., in the nineteenth year of his popedom, to whose custody Frederic, the nephew of Frederic Barbarossa, being yet young, was committed by the empress his mother, of whom more shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter. After this Innocent succeeded Pope Honorius III., who, writing to young King Henry in a special letter, exhorteth him to the love of virtue, and to the fear of God; namely, to be circumspect with what familiars and resort he acquainted himself; but principally, above all other things, he admonisheth him to reverence the church, which is the spouse of Christ, and to honour the ministers thereof, in whom Christ himself, saith he, is both honoured or despised.—And this seemeth the chiefest article of that his writing to him.[2]

A strange tale of Pope Honorius, if it be true.

Of this Pope Honorius the abbot of Ursperg (who lived in the same time) reporteth a strange wonder, more strange peradventure than credible; which is this: Honorius being priest in Rome (whose name was then Centius) and procurator to Jacinth, a cardinal, so it befel, that his master sent him abroad about Rome, to borrow and

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. in Vita Reg. Henr. III. (2) Ex Matth. Paris.

procure money for him against his journey into Spain; for Pope Clement then intended to send this Jacinth, as his legate, into Spain. As this Centius was walking by himself, all sad and solicitous to speed his master's message, there cometh to him a certain aged and reverend father, and asketh him, what cause he had to walk so heavily and carefully? To whom he answered again, and signified the occasion of the business that he then had to do. Then the old father said to him, "Go and return home again, for thy master," saith he, "shall not, at this time, go to Spain." "How so," quoth the other; "how, is that true?" "As true," saith he, "as it is certain that the pope shall die, and thy master shall be pope after him." Centius, thinking that to be unlikely, said, "He could not believe that to be true." To whom the other inferreth again, "So know this," said he, "to be as certain, as it is true that the city of Jerusalem, this day, is taken of the Saracens, and shall not be recovered again from them before the time of thy papacy." And thus speaking, he vaded suddenly away.[1] All this, saith the same author, came afterwards to pass, and was testified of the same Honorius, being pope afterwards, in his public sermons at Rome. All which I grant may be; and yet, notwithstanding, this fabulous narration may be a piece of the pope's old practices, subtilely invented, to drive men forth to Jerusalem to fight. Again, after Honorius (when he had governed ten years) followed Gregory IX., which two popes were in the time of this King Henry III. and of Frederic II. the emperor; of whom we mind (Christ willing) further to touch, after that we shall have prosecuted more concerning the history of King Henry, and matters of England.

Henry III. A. D. 1218.

See Appendix.

After that, it so pleased the merciful providence of Almighty God to work this great mercy upon the stock of King John (notwithstanding the unkind prelates, with their false prophets, had declared before, that never any of them should succeed in the throne after that king), and also unto the whole commonwealth of the realm, in delivering them from the dangerous service of Louis, and the aforesaid Frenchmen. After their departure, the following year, A.D. 1218, which was the second of this king's reign, the Archbishop Stephen Langton, and the bishops, earls, and barons, resorted to London unto the king at the Michaelmas next following, and there held a great parliament, wherein were confirmed and granted by the king all the franchises which were made and given by King John, his father, at Runnemede, and them he confirmed and ratified by his charter; which, long time after (saith mine author) unto his days did continue, and were holden in England. For this cause, by the nobles and commons were given and granted again unto the king two shillings for every plough-land throughout England. At this time Hubert de Burgh was made chief justice of England, of whose troubles more is to be said hereafter. This was the third year of King Henry, and the forty-ninth year after the death of Thomas Becket: wherefore the said Becket, in the year following, was taken up and shrined for a new saint made of an old rebel. Thither came such resort of people of England and of France, that the country of Kent was not sufficient to sustain them.[2] About the same time, Isabella, the king's mother, was married to the earl of March; and William

See Appendix.

King Henry confirms the liberties granted by King John.

See Appendix.

Thomas Becket shrined.

See Appendix.

(1) Ex Abbate Ursperg. in Chronico. (2) Ex Historia D. Scales

Henry III. Marshal, the good earl, who was the governor of the king and the realm, died, not without great lamentation of the people of England. A.D. 1218. Then was the king committed to the government of Peter, bishop of Winchester. This noble earl left behind him five sons and five daughters. *[1]This year, which was 1218 from Christ's incarnation, Gualo made a general inquisition, nigh all the realm over, for them who did not observe the interdiction published for rebels in the first year of this young king; for whose transgression, both to priests and monks he appointed divers and many penalties grievous; some he suspended from their offices, and some he deprived of their benefices; so that, as well the unguilty as the guilty were compelled largely to pay.*

See Appendix.

A.D.1219. Aliens commanded out of England. In the next year, A.D. 1219, it was ordained and proclaimed through all the land, that all aliens and foreigners should depart the realm, and not return to the same again; such only excepted as used traffic or trade of merchandise under the king's safe conduct. This proclamation was thought chiefly to be set forth for this cause, to rid the land of Foukes de Breant, Philip de Marks, Engelard de Ciconia, William earl of Albemarle, Robert de Vipount, Brian de l'Isle, Hugh de Bailluel, Roger de Gaugi, with divers other strangers, who kept castles and holds of the king's, against his will. Of these, the beforenamed Foukes, was the principal, who fortified and held the castle of Bedford, which he had by the gift of King John, with might and strength against the king and his power, nearly the space of three months. Moreover, he went about to apprehend the king's justices, at Dunstable; but they, being warned thereof, escaped, all except Henry Braybroke, whom he imprisoned in the said castle. The king, hearing hereof, and consulting with his clergy and nobles, made his power against the same; which, after long siege and some slaughter, at length he obtained, and hanged almost all that were within, to the number of ninety-seven; which was, as Paris writeth, about the seventh or eighth year of his reign. Foukes, at that time, was in Wales; who, hearing of the taking of the castle, conveyed himself to the church of Coventry. At length, submitting himself to the king's mercy, upon consideration of his service done before to the king's father, he was committed to the custody of Eustace, bishop of London; and afterwards, being deprived of all his goods, possessions, and tenements, within the realm, was forced to perpetual banishment, never to return to England again.

Rebels against King Henry.

Here, by the way, I find it noted in Matthew Paris, that after this aforesaid Foukes had spoiled and rased the church of St. Paul in Bedford, for the building up of his castle, the abbess of Helvestue,[2] hearing thereof, caused the sword to be taken from the image of St. Paul standing in the church, so long as Foukes remained unpunished. Afterwards, hearing that he was committed to the custody of St. Paul in London, she caused the sword to be put into the hands of the image again.[3]

A.D.1220 Henry crowned the second time at Westminster. About this year the young king was crowned the second time at Westminster, about which period began the new building of our Lady church at Westminster. Shortly after Gualo, the legate, was

See Appendix.

(1) For this passage see Edition 1563, p. 70 * I. v.—Ed.
(2) Now called Elstow.—Ed. (3) Matth. Paris. in Vita Hen. III.

called home again to Rome; for the holy father (as Matthew Paris reporteth) being sick of a spiritual dropsy, thought this Gualo (having such large occupying in England, and for so long a time) would be able somewhat to cure his disease. *[1]For that legate, by that time, had well favouredly unloden the purses of the beneficed fathers and cloisterers.* And so this Gualo returned with all his bags well stuffed, leaving Pandulph behind him to supply that bailiwick of his great grandfather, the pope. *Hugh Wells, then bishop of Lincoln, not long before, paid a thousand marks for the recovery of his office, and a hundred marks to the legate for his favour also in that case: other holy bishops and prelates, likewise, were taught, by his good example, to qualify that great heat, or dry thirst of the pope; Robert Curson at that time being a priest cardinal in Rome.*

Henry III. A. D. 1220.

See Appendix.

Heat, or dry thirst of the pope. *See Appendix.*

The life and acts of Pope Innocent III. are partly described before, how he intruded Stephen Langton, against the king's will, into the archbishopric of Canterbury, stirring up also sixty-four monks of the same church of Canterbury privily to work against the king. Moreover, how he did excommunicate the said king as a public enemy of the church, so long as the said king withstood his tyrannical doings, putting him and his whole kingdom under interdiction for the space of six years and three months, and at length deposing and depriving him of his sceptre, and keeping it in his own hands for five days. How he absolved his subjects from their due obedience and subjection unto him. How he gave away his kingdoms and possessions to Louis, the French king's son, commanding the said Louis to spoil him both of lands and life. Whereupon the king, being forsaken of his nobles, prelates, and commons, was forced, against his will, to submit himself, and swear obedience to the pope, paying him a yearly tribute of one thousand marks, for receiving of his kingdom again; whereby both he, and his successors after him, were vassals afterwards unto the pope. These were the apostolical acts of this holy vicar in the realm of England. Moreover, he condemned Almeric, a worthy learned man and a bishop, for a heretic, for teaching and holding against images. Also he condemned the doctrine of Joachim the abbot, of whom we spake before, for heretical. This pope brought first into the church the paying of private tithes; he ordained the receiving once a year at Easter; unto the papal decretals he added the decree, "Omnes utriusque sexus," &c.; also the reservation of the sacrament, and the going with the bell and light before the sacrament was by him appointed. In the said council of Lateran he also ordained that the canon of the mass should be received with equal authority as though it had proceeded from the apostles themselves. He brought in transubstantiation.[2]

Deeds and decrees of Pope Innocent III.

See Appendix.

Almeric and Joachim condemned.

Private tithes brought in.

Bell and candle.

The canon of the mass authorised.

Transubstantiation.

Item, the said Innocent III. ordained that none should marry in the third degree, but only in the fourth degree, and so under.

Marriage in the third degree forbidden.

The said pope stirred up Otho against Philip, the emperor, because the said Philip was elected emperor against his will; upon the occasion whereof followed much war and slaughter in Germany.

(1) For this, and the sentence next but one, see Edition 1563, p. 70, * I. v.—Ed.
(2) See the decretals, titulo, I. "De Summa Trinit. et fide Catholica," cap. "firmiter credimus."

Henry III. A. D. 1220. And afterwards, against the said Otho, whom he had made emperor, he set up Frederic, king of Sicily, and caused the archbishop of Mayence to pronounce him excommunicate in all his titles, and to be deposed of his empire; for the which cause the princes of Germany did invade his domains, spoiling and burning his possessions. The cause why the pope so did accurse and depose him, was that the said Otho did take and occupy cities, towns, and castles, which the pope said appertained to him.

The pope setteth kings and emperors together by the ears.

Item, the said pope ordained, that if any princes offended one another, the correction should appertain unto the pope. In the fourth council of Lateran, A. D. 1215, were archbishops and primates sixty-one, bishops four hundred, abbots twelve, priors and conventuals eight hundred, besides other ambassadors, legates, and doctors; and of lawyers an innumerable sort, &c.

Council of Lateran.

See Appendix.

In the history of Huldricus Mutius, we read how, A. D. 1212, in this pope's time divers noblemen and others in the country of Alsace, contrary to the tradition of the Romish popes, did hold that every day was free for eating of flesh, so it be done soberly; also that excessive eating of fish was as bad as excessive eating of flesh; also that they did wickedly, who restrained priests and ministers from their lawful wives; for which cause (as is in the aforesaid author) through the means of this Pope Innocent III. and his bishops, a hundred of them in one day were burned and martyred by the archbishop of Strasburg.

Martyrs of Alsace, to the number of one hundred burned in one day.

Nauclerus, another historian, recordeth, that the authors of the said doctrine dwelt at Milan, and that the aforesaid saints of Alsace used yearly to send them a collection.

Collections sent from the brethren of Alsace to them of Milan.

In the chronicle of Walter Hemingford, otherwise called Gisburnensis, it is recorded, that in the days of this King John and Pope Innocent, began the two sects, or orders of friars, one called 'the preachers' order, and black friars of St. Dominic;' the other called 'the minorites of St. Francis.' The preachers of the black friars' order began from one Dominic, a Spaniard, about the parts of Toulouse, who, after he had laboured ten years in preaching against the Albigenses,[1] and such others as did hold against the church of Rome, afterward coming up to the council of Lateran with Fulco, bishop of Toulouse, desired of the aforesaid Innocent III. to have his order of preaching friars confirmed, which the pope a great while refused to grant. At length he had a dream, that the church of Lateran was ready to fall; which when he beheld, fearing and much sorrowing thereat, cometh in this Dominic, who, with his shoulders, under-propped the church, and so preserved the building thereof from falling. And right well this dream may seem verified, for the friars have always been the chief pillars and upholders of the pope's church. Upon this, the pope, waking out of his dream, called Dominic to him, and granted his

Observant friars began.

See Appendix.

Friars, upholders of the pope's church.

(1) It may be proved from the writings of Romish ecclesiastics, and from the canons of councils, for two hundred years before the preaching of Dominic, that religious doctrines, in opposition to the corruptions of the Latin church, prevailed very generally in the south of France, particularly in Languedoc, and in that part of it which was called Albigensium, or Pays d'Albigeois. But the name Albigenses, as applied to designate the religious body opposed to the authority of the pope, does not occur in any document before the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. A letter of Innocent III., to Simon de Montfort, in 1215, is one of the earliest authentic records, which gives the appellation *Albigenses* to the unhappy people, against whom papal vengeance was directed until they were exterminated. Peter of Vaux Sernay, who had put forth his work against the Albigenses in 1218, states, that the heretics of Languedoc were usually called the heretics of Toulouse and Provence, until the strangers who assumed the Cross and took up arms against them in the year 1068, styled them generally Albigenses; the diocese of Albi being the centre of the heretical population. See "Vaissette, Histoire Générale de Languedoc," vol. iii. p. 553. "Note sur l'origine du nom d'Albigeois."—Ed.

petition: and so came up this wolfish order of the Dominics. I call it 'wolfish,' for his mother, when she was great with this Dominic, dreamed that she had within her a wolf, that had a burning torch in its mouth. This dream the preachers of that order do greatly advance, and expound to their order's glory, as well as they can; nevertheless, howsoever they expound it, they can make a wolf but a wolf, and this, a wolfish order. The rule which they follow seemeth to be taken out of St. Augustine, as who should say, that Christ's rule were not enough to make a christian man. Their profession standeth upon three principal points, as thus described: "Having charity, holding humility, and possessing wilful poverty."[1] Their habit and clothing is black. *Henry III.* A. D. 1220.

Minorite friars descended from St. Francis.

The order of the minors or minorite friars descended from one Francis, an Italian of the city of Assisi. This Assisian ass, who I suppose was some simple and rude idiot, hearing, upon a time, how Christ sent forth his disciples to preach, thought to imitate the same in himself and his disciples, and so left off his shoes: he had but one coat, and that of coarse cloth. Instead of a latchet to his shoe, and of a girdle, he took about him a hempen cord, and so he apparelled his disciples; teaching them to fulfil (for so he speaketh) the perfection of the gospel, to apprehend poverty, and to walk in the way of holy simplicity. He left in writing, to his disciples and followers, his rule, which he called "Regulam Evangelicam," the rule of the gospel. As though the gospel of Christ were not a sufficient rule to all christian men, but it must take its perfection of frantic Francis. And yet, for all that great presumption of this Francis, and notwithstanding this his rule, sounding to the derogation of Christ's gospel, he was confirmed by this Pope Innocent. Yea, and such fools this Francis found abroad, that, not only he had followers of his doltish religion, both of the nobles and unnobles of Rome, but also some there were, who builded mansions for him and his friars. This Francis, as he was superstitious in casting all things from him, as his girdle, girding a cord about him; so, in outward chastising of himself, so strait he was to his flesh, leaving the ordinary remedy appointed by God, that in the winter season he covered his body with ice and snow. He called poverty his Lady; he kept nothing overnight. So desirous he was of martyrdom, that he went to Syria to the Sultan, who received him honourably; whereby it may be thought, that surely he told not the truth, as St. John Baptist did in Herod's house, for truth is seldom welcome in courts, and in the world. But it is hard to make a martyr of him who is no true confessor. I will here pass over the fable, how Christ and his saints did mark him with five wounds. These Franciscan or begging friars, although they were all under one rule and clothing of St. Francis, yet they be divided into many sects and orders; some go on treen shoes or pattens, some barefooted; some are regular Franciscans or observants, some minors or minorites, others be called 'minimi,' others of the gospel, others 'de caputio.' They all differ in many things, but accord in superstition and hypocrisy. And forasmuch as we have here entered into the matter of these two orders of friars, by the occasion hereof, I thought a little, by the way, to digress from our story, in reciting the

Divers sects of Franciscans.

(1) "Charitatem habentes, humilitatem servantes, et paupertatem voluntariam possidentes."

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whole catalogue or rabblement of monks, friars, and nuns, of all sects, rules and orders, set up and confirmed by the pope. The names of whom here in order of the alphabet follow.

The Rabblement of Religious Orders.

	A.D.
Augustinians, the first order.	
Ambrosians, two sorts	490
Antony's Heremites	324
Austin's Heremites	498
Austin's Observants	490
Armenians' sect.	
Ammonites and Moabites.	
Basilius' order	384
Benet's order	524
Bernardus' order	1120
Barefooted Friars	1222
Bridget's order	1370
Beghearts, or White Spirits	1399
Brethren of Jerusalem	1103
Brethren of St. John de civitate, Black Friars	1220
Brethren of wilful Poverty.	
Cluniacensis order	913
Canons of St. Augustine	1080
Charterhouse order	1086
Cisterciensis order	1098
Crossbearers, or Crossed Friars	1216
Carmelites or White Friars	1212
Clara's order	1225
Celestine's order	1297
Camaldulensis order	950
Cross-starred Brethren.	
Constantinopolitanish order.	
Crossbearers.	
Chapter Monks.	
Dutch order	1216
Dominic Black Friars	1220
Franciscans	1224
Grandmontensis order	1076
Gregorian order	594
George's order	1407
Gulielmites	1246
Gerundinensis order.	
Galilei, or Galileans.	
Heremites.	
Helen's brethren. Humiliati	1166
Hospital Brethren.	
Holy Ghost order.	
Jerom's orders, two sorts	1412
John's Heremites.	
Justin's order	1432
John's order, Joannites, or Knights of the Rhodes	380, 1308
Injesuati	1365
Jerome's Heremites	490
Joseph's order.	
Jacobites' sect.	
James's Brethren order.	
James's Brethren with the Sword.	
Indians' order.	
Katharine of Sienna's order	1455
Keyedmonks, Knights of Rhodes.	
Lazarites, or Mary Magdalenes, our Lady Brethren	1034
Lords of Hungary.	
Minorites, which be divided into Conventuales, Observantes, Reformate, Collectane, De Caputio, De Evangelio, Amedes, Clarini, and others.	
Minors, or Minorites	1224
Mary's Servants	1304
Monks of Mount Olivet	1016
Marovinies sect.	
Minorites' sect.	
Monachi and Monachæ.	
Morbonei and Meresti.	
Menelaish and Jasonish sect.	
New Canons of St. Austin	1430
Nestorini.	
Nalheart Brethren.	
New Order of our Lady.	
Nazaræi.	
Paul's Heremites	345
Præmonstratensis order	1119
Preacher order, or Black Friars.	
Peter the Apostle's order	1409
Purgatory Brethren.	
Rechabites.	
Sarrabites.	
Sambonites	1199
Scourgers, the first sect	1266
Soldiers of Jesus Christ	1323
Scopenites, or St. Salvator's order,	1367
Specularii, or the Glass order.	
Sepulchre's order.	
Sheer order.	
Sword's order.	
Starred Monks.	
Starred Friars.	
Sclavony order.	

A. D.		A. D.
Scourgers, the second sect, called Ninevites.	The Vale of Josaphat's order.	
Stool Brethren.	Vallis Umbrosæ	1400
Scotland Brethren order.	Waldensis' sect.[1]	
Sicarii.	Wentzelaus' order.	
St. Sophy's order.	Wilhelmer order.	
	White Monks of Mount Olivet	1406
Templar Lords	1110	
Templar Knights	1120	
	Zelotes' order.	

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Thus hast thou, if thou please, gentle reader, the means of knowing what orders and what sects of religion have been set up by the pope; the catalogue and number of them all, so far as we could search them out, not only in books printed of late in Germany, namely, by the reverend father Martin Luther; but also conferred with another English book which came to our hands, containing the same like notes of ancient antiquity, the number of which rabblement of religious persons came to a hundred and one. Now as I have reckoned up the names and varieties of these prodigious sects, it cometh to mind consequently to refer to the prophecy of Hildegard, as well against the whole rout of Romish prelates, and the fall of that church, as especially against the begging friars and such other unprofitable bellies of the church. This Hildegard is holden, of the papists themselves, to be a great prophetess, whose prophecy proceedeth in this manner; first, against the priests and prelates of the Romish church, as followeth.

THE PROPHECY OF HILDEGARD OF THE RUIN OF ROME, AND AGAINST THE BEGGING FRIARS.[2]

See Appendix.

Hildegard, a nun, and, as many judged, a prophetess, lived A. D. 1146. In her propheeies she doth most grievously reprehend, not only the wicked and abominable life of the spiritual papists, but also the contempt of the ecclesiastical office, and the horrible destruction of the church of Rome. In a certain place she hath these words: "And now is the law neglected among the spiritual people, who neglect to teach and to do good things; the masters likewise, and the prelates do sleep, despising justice and laying it aside." In a certain vision the church appeared to her in the shape of a woman, complaining that the priests had bewrayed her face with dust, and rent her coat, &c., and that they did not shine over the people, either in doctrine or in example of life; but rather the contrary, and that they have driven the innocent lamb from them. She said moreover, "That all

(1) The reader may be surprised at seeing "Waldensis' sect" placed by Foxe among the "rabblement of religious orders." But the fact is, that in the year 1207 at a public disputation held at Pamiers against the Waldenses, a Waldensian named Durand, of Osca or Huesca in Aragon, abjured his Waldensian profession, and obtained a license from Pope Innocent III., dated December 18th of that year, for the establishment of a fraternity to be called "the Order or Society of Poor Catholics." Durand established his sect in Aragon, and also propagated it with great industry in Languedoc; where he became, however, suspected of a leaning towards his old opinions, and he was complained of to the pope by the bishops of those parts. His sect seems to have dwindled away. Gulielmus de Podio Laurentii, cap. 8, in "Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France," vol. xix. p. 200; and Vaissette "Hist. Gen. de Languedoc," vol. iii. p. 147. Illinus, in a note in Labbe's Conc. Gen. tom. x. col. 1533, seems to refer to this sect. "Waldensis' sect," therefore, means "Durand's fraternity of Poor Catholics," a monastic body quite distinct from the Waldenses, though founded by a Waldensian.—This is not the only sect in this list which needs such an explanation. The "Injesuati" or "Jesuati," mentioned p. 352, are not to be confounded with the followers of Ignatius Loyola: see infra, p. 775, note (1).—Ed.

(2) This version of Hildegard's Prophecy has been collated with that in the Edition of 1563, p. 72; and some words introduced from thence.—Ed.

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ecclesiastical order did, every day, become worse and worse, and that priests did not teach, but destroy the law of God; and for these horrible crimes and impieties, she threateneth and prophesieth unto them God's most heavy wrath and displeasure, and doleful punishments." There is no cause why the spiritual papists should flatter themselves upon this, that she promised again to the ministers of the church those good things to follow, like as Johannes de Rupe scissa doth, and other such like prophets; for they say, it will come to pass, that they must repent before the times be amended. By which thing, undoubtedly, they mean the godly ministers in the reformed churches, who, for the most part, were of the spiritual number, and yet did forsake the dishonest life and those wicked idolatries. Now, whereas the priests and monks, that is, the whole rabble and spiritualty, do account Hildegard for a true prophetess, they ought to consider that by her they are more severely accused, not as by a woman, but as by God himself. And I pray you, what abomination, impiety, and idolatry have not been committed, since that time, by the spiritualty? I will note here a certain prophecy of hers, taken out of the "Common Places" of Henry Token, because we see it manifestly fulfilled in our time. She prophesieth of the reformation of religion, and saith that it shall be most godly.

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

A prophecy of the decay of the Romish church.

"Then shall the crown of apostolical honour be divided, because there shall be found no religion among the apostolical order, and for that cause shall they despise the dignity of that name, and shall set over them other men and other archbishops; insomuch, that the apostolic see of that time (by the diminution of his honour) shall scarce have Rome, and a few other countries thereabout, under his crown. And these things shall partly come to pass by incursion of wars, and partly, also, by a common council and consent of the spiritual and secular persons. Then shall justice flourish, so that, in those days, men shall honestly apply themselves to the ancient customs and discipline of ancient men, and shall observe them as the ancient men did." The gloss agreeth therewith.

See Appendix.

These things thus premised, now will we come to the prophecy of the aforesaid Hildegard, concerning the begging friars above mentioned, reciting her words, not only as they are in a book printed lately in Germany, but also, as myself have seen and read, and still have the same to show written in old parchment leaves, agreeing to the same book word for word, in such sort, as the thing itself most evidently declareth a great iniquity of time. The words of her prophecy be these:—

Hildegard prophesying of friars and monks.

In those days shall arise a senseless people, proud, greedy, without faith, and subtle, that shall eat the sins of the people; holding a certain order of foolish devotion under the dissimulated cloak of beggary, preferring themselves above all others by their feigned devotion; arrogant in understanding, and pretending holiness, walking without blushing or the fear of God, in inventing many new mischiefs strong and sturdy. But this order shall be accursed of all wise men, and Christ's faithful. They shall cease from all labour, and give themselves over unto idleness, choosing rather to live through flattery and begging. Moreover they shall altogether study how they may perversely resist the teachers of the truth, and, with the mighty, kill them; how to seduce and deceive

the nobility, for the necessity of their living, and pleasures of this world: for the devil will graft in them four principal vices; that is to say, flattery envy, hypocrisy, and backbiting. Flattery, that they may have large gifts given them. Envy, when they see gifts given to others, and not to them. Hypocrisy, that by false dissimulation they may please men. Backbiting, that they may extol and commend themselves, and dispraise others, for the praise of men, and seducing of the simple. Also they shall instantly preach, but without devotion or example of the martyrs; and shall report evil of secular princes, taking away the sacraments of the church from the true pastors, receiving alms of the poor, diseased, and miserable; and also associating themselves with the common people, having familiarity with women, instructing them how they may deceive their husbands and friends by their flattery and deceitful words, and rob their husbands to give it unto them, for they will take all these stolen and evil-gotten goods, and say, "Give it unto us, and we will pray for you;" so that they, being curious to hide other men's faults, do utterly forget their own. And alas, they will receive all things of rovers,[6] pickers, spoilers, thieves, and robbers; sacrilegious persons, usurers, and adulterers; heretics, schismatics, apostates,[1] noblemen, perjurers, merchants, false judges, soldiers, tyrants, princes living contrary to the law, and of many perverse and wicked men, following the persuasion of the devil, the sweetness of sin, a delicate and transitory life, and satiety even unto eternal damnation. *Henry III.* A. D. 1220.

All these things shall manifestly appear in them unto all people, and they, day by day, shall wax more wicked and hard-hearted: and when their wickedness and deceits shall be found out, then shall their gifts cease, and they shall go about their houses hungry, and as mad dogs looking down upon the earth, and drawing in their necks as doves,[2] that they might be satisfied with bread. Then shall the people cry out upon them: "Woe be unto you, ye miserable children of sorrow! the world hath seduced you, and the devil hath snaffled your mouths; your flesh is frail, and your hearts without savour; your minds have been unstedfast, and your eyes delighted in much vanity and folly; your dainty bellies desire delicate meats; your feet are swift to run unto mischief. Remember when you were apparently blessed, yet envious; poor in sight, but rich; simple to see to, but mighty flatterers, unfaithful betrayers, perverse detractors, holy hypocrites, subverters of the truth, overmuch upright, proud, shameless, unstedfast teachers, delicate martyrs, confessors for gain; meek, but slanderers; religious, but covetous; humble, but proud; pitiful, but hard-hearted liars; pleasant flatterers, peacemakers, persecutors, oppressors of the poor, bringing in new sects newly invented of yourselves; merciful thought, but found wicked; lovers of the world, sellers of pardons, spoilers of benefices, unprofitable orators,[3] seditious conspirators, drunkards, desirers of honours, maintainers of mischief,[4] robbers of the world, unsatiable preachers, men-pleasers, seducers of women, and sowers of discord; of whom Moses, the glorious prophet, spake very well in his song, "A people without counsel or understanding: would to God they did know and understand, and foresee the latter end to come." You have builded up on high; and when you could ascend no higher, then did you fall, even as Simon Magus, whom God overthrew, and did strike with a cruel plague; so you, likewise, through your false doctrine, naughtiness, lies, detractions and wickedness, are come to ruin. And the people shall say unto them, "Go, ye teachers of wickedness, subverters of the truth, brethren of the Shunamite, fathers of heretical pravity,[5] false apostles, which have feigned yourselves to follow the life of the apostles, and yet ye have not followed their steps, not in the least: ye sons of iniquity, we will not follow the knowledge of your ways; for pride and presumption hath deceived you, and insatiable concupiscence hath subverted your erroneous hearts." And when you would ascend higher than was meet or comely for you, by the just judgment of God, you are fallen back into perpetual opprobrium and shame

This Hildegard, whose prophecy we have mentioned, lived about A.D. 1146, as we read in Chronico Martini.

(1) A coarse epithet is here omitted; in Latin, "scorta et lenæ."—Ed.
(2) "Doves"—"Turtles," Edition 1563.—Ed. (3) "Orators," "makers of prayer," Idem.
(4) "Maintainers," &c. "curious in men's faults," Idem.
(5) "Heretical pravity," "Heresies," Idem. (6) "Rovers, pickers;" "robers, pillers," Idem.

Henry III. A. D. 1220. Cross-bearing friars.

About the time that these Franciscans and Dominic Friars, above mentioned, began, sprang up also the Cross-bearers,[1] or Crutched Friars, taking their original and occasion from Innocent III.; which Innocent raised up an army (signed with a cross on their breast) to fight against the Albigenses, whom the pope and his sect accounted for heretics, about the parts of Toulouse. What these Albigenses were, it cannot be well gathered by the old popish histories: for if there were any who did hold, teach, or maintain against the pope, or his papal pride, or withstand and gainsay his beggarly traditions, rites, and religions, &c. the historians of that time, in writing of them, do, for the most part, so deprave and misreport them (suppressing the truth of their articles), that they make them and paint them forth to be worse than Turks and infidels. This, as I suppose, caused Matthew Paris, and others of that sort, to write so of them as they did: otherwise it is to be thought (and so I find in some records) that the opinions of the said Albigenses were sound enough, holding and professing nothing else, but against the wanton wealth, pride, and tyranny of the prelates, denying the pope's authority to have ground of the Scriptures: neither could they away with their ceremonies and traditions, as images, pardons, purgatory of the Romish church, calling them, as some say, blasphemous occupyings, &c. Of these Albigenses were slain, at times, and burned a great multitude, by the means of the pope and Simon Ecclesiasticus with others more. It seemeth that these Albigenses were chiefly abhorred of the pope, because they set up a contrary pope against him about the coasts of Bulgaria: for the which cause Conrad, bishop of Porto, being the pope's legate in those quarters, writeth to the archbishop of Rouen and other bishops, as hereunder written.[2]

See Appendix.

(1) The Albigenses have been represented by some authors under the most revolting colours, and have been accused of every crime against religion, morality, and social order. But it is a singular testimony in their favour, that after the people, designated by this name, had continued to attract public notice by their opposition to the church of Rome, for many years, and when Pope Innocent III. first resolved to put them down by fire and sword, by stirring up a crusade against them, he denounced them as enemies to the orthodox faith, and inveterate heretics, but made no allusion whatever to their moral turpitude; on the contrary, he spoke of their professed rectitude and virtue. Innocent was elected pope in the beginning of the year 1198. In the April of that year he addressed a letter to the archbishop of Auch, inviting him to pursue the heretics of Gascony and the neighbouring regions with the temporal sword — "et etiam si necesse fuerit per principes et populum eosdem facias virtute materialis gladii coerceri,"—but not a word against their moral conduct. In the same month and year Innocent sent another letter to the archbishop of Aix, and letters also to all the bishops and archbishops of the south of France, to awaken their zeal against the innumerable adversaries of the Romish church ("innumeros populos") who peopled their dioceses. In these we have the following description of the objects of his displeasure: "Qui, iniquitatem suam justitiæ specie palliantes, ut salutentur in foro, et vocentur ab hominibus Rabbi, et soli recta sapere ac justè vivere videantur, magisterium ecclesiæ Romanæ refugiunt," &c. See Recueil des Hist. des Gaules, vol. xix. p. 350; and Epist. Innocentii. III. lib. i. Ep. 81, 94.—Ed.

(2) *A Letter of the Bishop of Porto concerning the Albigenses.*—"Venerabilibus patribus, Dei gratia Rothomagensi archiepiscopo et ejus suffraganeis episcopis, salutem in Domino Jesu Christo. Dum pro sponsa veri Crucifixi vestrum cogimur auxilium implorare, potius compellimur lacerari singultibus et plorare. Ecce quod vidimus loquimur, et quod scimus testificamur. Ille homo perditus, qui extollitur super omne quod colitur, aut dicitur Deus, jam habet perfidiæ suæ præambulum hæresiarcham, quem hæretici Albigenses papam suum nominant, habitantem in finibus Bulgarorum et Croatiæ et Dalmatiæ, juxta Hungarorum nationem. Ad eum confluunt hæretici Albigenses, ut ad eorum consulta respondeat. Etenim de Carcasona oriundus vices illius antipapæ gerens Bartholomæus, hæreticorum episcopus, funestam ei exhibendo reverentiam sedem et locum concessit in villa quæ Porlos appellatur, et scipsum transtulit in partes Tholosanas. Iste Bartholomæus, in literarum suarum undique discurrentium tenore, se in primo salutationis alloquio intitulat in hunc modum: Bartholomæus, servus servorum sanctæ fidei, M. salutem. Ipse etiam inter alias enormitates creat episcopos, et ecclesias perfide ordinare contendit. Rogamus igitur attentius et per aspersionem sanguinis Jesu Christi, et propensius obsecramur, authoritate domini papæ qua fungimur in hac parte districte præcipientes, quatenus veniatis Senonas in octavis apostolorum Petri et Pauli proxime futuris, ubi et alii prælati Franciæ favente Domino congregabuntur, parati consilium dare in negotio prædicto, et cum aliis qui ibidem aderunt providere super negotio Albigensi. Alioqui inobedientiam vestram domino papæ curabimus significari. Datum apud Plauvium, 6 nonas Julii."

Forasmuch as mention is here made of these superstitious sects of friars, and such other beggarly religions, it might seem not altogether impertinent, being moved by the occasion hereof, as I have done in Hildegard before, so now to annex also to the same, a certain other ancient treatise compiled by Geoffery Chaucer, by the way of a dialogue or questions, moved in the person of a certain uplandish and simple ploughman of the country. That treatise, for the same, the author entitled Jack Upland, wherein is to be seen and noted, to all the world, the blind ignorance and variable discord of these irreligious religions, how rude and unskilful they are in matters and principles of our christian institution, as by the contents of this present dialogue appeareth; the words whereof in the same old English wherein first it was set forth, in this wise do proceed. Wherein also thou mayest see, that it is no new thing, that their blasphemous doings have by divers good men, in old time been detected, as there are many and divers other old books to show.

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The blind ignorance of friars described.

A Treatise of Geoffery Chaweer, intituled, Jacke Upland.

I, Jacke Upland, make my mone to very God and to all true in Christ, that antichrist and his disciples (by colour of holines) walkyn and deceivyn Christes church by many false figures, where through (by Antechrist and his) many vertues bene transposed to vices.

The fruits of anti-christ.

But the fellest folke that euer antechrist found, bene last brought into the church and in a wonder wise, for they bene of diuers sectes of antechrist, sowne of diuers countreys and kindreds. And all men knowne well, that they be not obedient to byshops, ne liege men to kinges: neyther they tyllen, ne sowne, weden, ne repen, woode, corne, ne grasse, neither nothing that man should helpe: but onely themselues their lyues to sustayne. And these men han all maner power of God as they seyn in heuyn and in yerth, to sell heuyn and hell to whom that them liketh, and these wretches wete neuer where to bene themselfes.

Anti-christ's brood.

And therefore (frere) if thine order and rules bene grounded on Goddys law, tell thou me, Jacke Upland, that I aske of thee, and if thou be, or thinkest to be, on Christes side, keepe thy paciens.

Patience proveth master trier.

Saint Paule teacheth, that all our deedes should be do in charite, and els it is nought worth, but displeasing to God and harme to our owne soules. And for that freres challenge to be greatest clerkes of the churche, and next following Christ in lining: men should for charite axe them some questions, and praye them to grounde theyr aunsweres in reason and in holy write, for els their aunswere woulde nought bee worth, be it florished neuer so fayre: and as methinke men might skilfully axe thus of a frere:—

The friar must answer according to God's word.

1. Frere, how many orders be in erth, and which is the perfitest order? Of what order art thou? who made thyne order? What is thy rule? Is there any perfecter rule then Christ himselfe made? If Christes rule be most perfite, why rulest thou thee not therafter? Without more why, shall a frere be more punished if he breke the rule that hys patron made, then if he breke the heestes that God hymselfe made?

Friars may better break God's law than man's law.

2. Approueth Christ any more religions then one, that S. James speaketh of? If he approueth no more, why hast thou left his rule and takest an other? Why is a frere apostata that leuyth his order and taketh an other sect, sith there is but one religion of Christ?

There is but one religion.

3. Why be ye wedded faster to your habites then a man is to hys wife? For a man may leaue his wife for a yeare or two as many men done: and if you leue your abite a quarter of a yeare, ye should be holden apostatase.

The friar more bound to his habit than the man to his wife.

4. Makith your habite you men of religion or no? If it do, then euer as it wereth, your religion wereth, and after that your habite is better, your religion is better, and when ye haue liggin it beside, then lig ye your religion beside

If the habit make

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you, and byn ye apostatas: why bye ye you so precious clothes? sith no man seekith such but for vayne glory, as S. Gregory sayth.

What betokeneth your great hood, your scaplery, your knotted girdle, and your wide cope?

5. Why use ye all one colour, more then other christen men do? What betokeneth that ye bene clothed all in one maner of clothing?

the friar religious, as his habit weareth, so doth his religion.

If ye say, it betokenith loue and charite, certes then ye be oft hipocrites, when any of you hateth other, and in that ye woole be sayd holy by your clothing.

Why may not a frere weare cloathing of an other sect of freres, sith holiness stondeth not in the clothes?

Holiness of all hypocrites consisteth in clothing, and outward appearance.

6. Why hold ye silence in one house more then an other, sith men ought ouer all to speke the good and leaue the euil?

Why eate you flesh in one house more then in an other? if your rule and your order be perfite, and the patron that made it?

7. Why gete ye your dispensations to haue it more esy? Certes, other it seemeth that ye be unperfite, or he that made it so hard, that ye may not hold it; And seker, if ye holde not the rule of your patrons, ye be not then her freres, and so ye lye upon your selues.

All friars found liars.

Friars be dead men and quick beggars.

8. Why make ye you as dede men when ye be professed, and yet ye be not dede, but more quicke beggers then ye were before? And it seemeth euil a dede man to goe about and begge.

9. Why will ye not suffer your nouices heare your councels in your chapter house ere that they haue bene professed, if your counsels byn true and after Gods law?

Graves become dead men, and not courtly houses.

10. Why make ye you so costly houses to dwell in? sith Christ did not so, and dede men should haue but graues, as falleth it to dead men, and yet ye haue more courtes then many lordes of England: for ye mowe wenden through the realme, and each night well nigh lyg in your owne courts, and so mow but right few lordes do.

11. Why hyre ye to ferme your limitors, geuing therefore ech yeare a certayne rent, and will not suffer one in an others limitation, right as ye were your selfes lordes of countreys?

Friars not the king's liegemen.

Why be ye not under your bishops visitations, and liege men to our king?

Friars need on men's prayers.

Why axe ye no letters of brether heds of other mens prayers, as ye desire that other men shoulde aske letters of you?

If your letters be good, why graunt ye them not generally to all maner of men for the more charitie?

Friars greater and better than God.

12. Mow ye make any man more perfite brother for your prayers then God hath by our beleeue? By our baptisme and his own graunt? If ye mow, certes then ye be aboue God.

O uncharitable friars!

Why make ye men beleue that your golden trentall song of you, to take therefore ten shillings, or at the least five shillings, wole bring soules out of hel, or out of purgatory? If this be soth, certes ye might bring al soules out of payne, and that wull ye nought, and then ye be out of charitie.

13. Why make ye men beleue that he that is buryed in your habite shall neuer come in hell, and ye wyte not of your selfe whether ye shall to hell or no? and if this were sothe, ye shuld sell your hye houses to make many habites for to saue many mens soules.

Friars steal men's children.

14. Why steale ye mens children for to make hem of your sect, sith that theft is against Gods hestes, and sith your sect is not perfite? ye know not whether the rule that ye bynde hym to, be best for him or worst.

15. Why underneme ye not your brethren for their trespas after the law of the gospell, sith that underneming is the best that may be? But ye put them in prison oft when they do after God's law, and by Saint Augustines rule, if anye did amisse and would not amend him, ye should put hym from you.

Shrift and burials were more gainful than the ministering of the sacraments.

16. Why couete ye shrifte and burying of other mens parishens, and none other sacrament that falleth to christen folke?

Why bussy yee not to here to shrift of pore folk as wel as of rich lords and ladyes? sith they mowe haue more plenty of shrift fathers then poore folke mow.

Why say ye not the gospell in howses of bededred men, as ye do in riche mens that mow go to churche and heare the gospell?

Why couete you not to bury poore folke among you? sith that they bene most holy (as ye fayne that yee beene for your pouerty.)

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17. Why will ye not be at her diriges as ye have bene at rich mens? sithe God prayseth him more then he doth other men.

What is thy prayer worth? sithe thou wilt take therefore, for of all chapmen ye nede to be most wise for dread of simonie.

Poor men have no souls saith my fellow friar.

What cause hast thou that thou wilt not preach the gospell, as God sayth that thou shouldst? sith it is the best lore and also our beleue.

Why be ye evil apayd that secular priests shuld preach the gospell? sith God himselfe hath bodden hem.

These be they that will not enter themselves, nor suffer other men that would

18. Why hate ye the gospell to be preached, sithe ye be so much hold therto? For ye wyn more by yere with 'In Principio,' then with all the rules that euer your patrons made, and in this minstrels bene better then ye, for they contrarien not to the mirthis that they maken, but ye contrarien the gospell both in word and decde.

The friar getteth by 'In Principio,' and yet hateth the gospel.

19. Frere, when thou receuest a peny for to say a Masse, whether sellest thou Gods body for that peny, or thy prayer, or else thy trauell? If thou sayest thou wolt not trauell for to say the mass, but for the peny, that certes if this be soth, then thou louest to little mede for thy soule, and if thou sellest Gods body, other thy prayer, then it is very simonie, and art become a chapman worse then Judas that solde it for thirty pence.

Judas, for thirty pence, but the priest and friar for fourpence, selleth Christ.

20. Why writest thou her names in thy tables that yeueth the mony? sith God knoweth all thing: for it seemeth by thy writing, that God would not reward him, but thou write in thy tables; God wold els forgetten it.

The friar writeth because God forgetteth.

Why bearist thou God in honde and sclaundrest hym that he begged for hys meet? sithe he was Lorde ouer all, for then had he bene unwyse to haue begged, and haue no neede thereto?

Frere, after what law rulest thou thee? Where findest thou in Gods law that thou shouldest thus beg?

21. What maner men needeth for to beg?

For whom oweth such men to beg?

Why beggest thou so for thy brethren?

If thou sayest, for they haue neede, then doest it for the more perfection, or els for the lest, or els for the meane. If it be the most perfection of all, then should al thy brethren do so, and then no man needed to beg but for himselfe, for so should no man beg but him neded. And if it be the lest perfection, why louest thou then other men more then thy self? For so thou art not wel in charitie, sith thou shouldst seeke the more perfection after thy power, liuing thy selfe most after God. And thus leauing that imperfection thou shouldest not so beg for them. And if it is a good meane thus to beg as thou doest, then should no man do so, but they bene in this good meane, and yet suche a meane graunted to you may neuer be grounded on Gods law; for then both lerid and lewd that bene in meane degre of this world, shoulde goe about and beg as ye do. And if all shoulde doe so, certes well nigh all the world should goe about and beg as ye done, and so should there be ten beggers against one yeuer.

See Appendix.

Better to labour and give, than to loiter and beg, Master Friar.

Why procurest thou men to yeue thee their almes, and sayest it is so needefull, and thou wilt not thyselfe wynne thee that mede?

22. Why wilt not thou beg for poore bedred men that bene poorer then any of youe sect? That liggen and mow not goe about to helpe himselfes, sith we be all brethren in God, and that bretherhed passeth any other that ye or any man coulde make, and where most neede were, there were most perfection, either els ye hold them not your pure brethren, but worse, but then ye be unperfit in your begging.

Why make ye so many maysters among you? sithe it is agaynst the teaching of Christ and his apostle?

23. Whose bene all your rich courtes that ye han, and all your rich juells? sithe ye seyne that ye han nought ne in proper ne in common. If ye sayne they bene the popes? why gether ye then of poore men and lords so much out of the kinges hand to make your pope riche? And sithe ye sayne that it is great perfection to have nought in proper ne in commen? why be ye so fast about to make the pope that is your father rich, and put on him imperfection? sithen ye sayne that your goodes bene all hys, and he should by reason be the most perfite man, it seemeth openlich that ye ben cursed children so to

Friars beg from all men to make the pope rich.

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sclaunder your father and make hym imperfect. And if ye sayne that the goodes be yours, then do ye ayenst your rule, and if it be not ayenst your rule, then might ye haue both plough and cart, and labour as other good men done, and not so to beg by losengery, and idle as ye done. If ye say that it is more perfection to beg, then to trauell or to worch with your hand, why preach ye not openly and teach all men to doe so? sithe it is the best and most perfite life to the helpe of their soules, as ye make children to beg that might haue bene riche heyres.

If it be imperfection to be rich, why do the friars desire to make the pope perfect?

Why make ye not your festes to poore men and yeueth hem yeftes, as ye done to the rich? sith poore men han more nede then the rich.

What betokeneth that ye go tweyne and tweyne together? If ye be out of charitie, ye accord not in soule.

Why beg ye and take salaries thereto more then other priestes? sith he that most taketh, most charge hath.

If Francis' order be contrary to Christ's testament, then is Francis' accursed.

24. Why hold ye not S. Frauncis rule and his testament? sith Frauncis sayth, that God shewed him this liuing and this rule: and certes if it were Gods will, the pope might not fordoe it; or els Frauncis was a lyer that sayd on this wise. And but this testament that he made accorde with Gods will, or else erred he is a lyer that were out of charitie: and as the law saith, he is cursed that letteth the rightfull last will of a dead man. And this testament is the last will of Fraunces that is a dead man; it seemeth therefore that all his freres bene cursed.

He that is more holy in hand than in heart, is false to God.

25. Why will you not touch no coyned mony with the crosse, ne with the kings hed, as ye done other juels both of gold and siluer? Certes if ye despise the crosse or the kinges hed, then ye be worthy to be despised of God and the king; and sith ye will receiue mony in your harts, and not with your handes, it seemeth that ye holde more holines in your hands then in your hartes, and then be false to God.

A subject to exempt himself from the laws of his prince smelleth of treason.

26. Why haue ye exempt you from our kinges lawes and visiting of our byshops more then other christen men that liuen in this realm, if ye be not gilty of traitory to our realme, or trespassors to our byshops? But ye will haue the kinges lawes for the trespasse do to you, and ye wyll haue power of other byshops more then other priestes, and also haue leaue to prison your brethren, as lordes in your courtes, more then other folkes han, that bene the kinges liege men.

Friars are forced to be thieves.

27. Why shall some sect of your freres pay eche a yeare a certayne to her generall prouinciall or minister, or els to her souereignes? but if he steale a certayne number of children (as some men sayne) and certes if this be sothe, then ye be constreined upon a certayne payne to do theft agaynst Gods commandment, "Non furtum facies."

Works of supererogation.

28. Why be ye so hardy to graunt by letters of fraternitie to men and women, that they shall haue part and merite of all your good dedes, and ye witten neuer whether God be apayd with your dedes because of your sinne? Also ye witten neuer whether that man or woman be in state to be saued or damned, then shall he haue no merite in heuyn for hys owne dedes ne for none other mans. And all were it so, that he should haue part of your good dedes: yet shuld he haue no more then God woulde geue him after that he were worthy, and so mich shall ech man haue of Gods yeft without your limitation. But if ye will say that ye bene Gods fellowes, and that he may not doe without your assent, then be ye blasphemers to God.

God is the limiter of meed and reward, and not the friar.

Friars will not pray, but for them that be of their fraternity.

29. What betokeneth that ye haue ordeyned, that when such one as ye haue made your brother or sister, and hath a letter of your seale, that letter mought be brought in your holy chapter and there be rad, or els ye will not praye for him. And but ye willen praye especially for all other that were not made your brethren or sistren, then were ye not in right charitie, for that ought to be commen, and namely in ghostly thinges.

30. Frere, what charitie is this, to ouercharge the people by mighty begging under color of preaching or praying, or masses singing? sith holy write biddeth not thus, but euen the contrary: for all such ghostly dedes shuld be done freely, as God yeueth them freely?

See Appendix.

31. Frere, what charitie is this to beguile children or they commen to discretion, and bynde hym to your orders that byn not grounded in Gods law against her frendes will? sithen by this folly bene many apostataes, both in wil and dede,

and many bene apostataes in her will during al her lyfe, that would gladly be discharged if they wist how, and so many bene apostataes that shoulden in other states haue byn true men. *Henry III.*

32. Frere, what charitie is this, to make so many freres in euery country to the charge of the people, sith persons and vicares alone, ye secular priests alone, ye monks and chanons alone, with bishops aboue them, were inough to the church to doe priestes office. And to adde moe then inough is a foule error, and great charge to the people, and this openly agaynst Gods will that ordayned all thinges to be done in weight, number, and measure. And Christ himselfe was apayd with twelve apostles and a few disciples, to preach and to doe priestes office to all the whole worlde, then was it better do then is now at this tyme by a thousand dele. And right so as foure fingers with a thumbe in a mans hand helpeth a man to worch, and double number of fingers in one hand should let hym more, and so the more number that there were passing the measure of Gods ordinaunce, the more were a man letted to worke: Right so (as it seemeth) it is of these new orders that ben added to the church without grounde of holy write and Gods ordinaunce. A. D. 1220. Friars do make apostates. The number of friars superfluous, and as necessary as ten fingers on one hand.

33. Frere, what charitie is this to the people, to lye and say that ye follow Christ in pouerty more then other men done, and yet in curious and costly howsing, and fine and precious clothing, and delicious and liking feeding, and in treasure and iewels, and rich ornamentes, freres passen lordes and other rich worldly men, and soonest they should bryng her cause about (be it neuer so costly) though Gods law be put abacke. See how fast the friar followeth Christ in his poverty.

34. Frere, what charitie is this, to gather up the books of holy write, and put hem in treasory, and so emprison them from secular priestes and curates, and by this cautel let hem to preach the gospell freely to the people without worldly mede, and also to defame good priestes of heresie, and lyen on hem openly for to let hem to shew Gods law by the holy gospell to the christen people? Friars are the hinderers of preaching the gospel.

35. Frere, what charitie is thys, to fayne so much holines in your bodely clothing (that ye clepe your habite) that many blynd fooles desiren to die therein more than in another: and also that a frere, that leuith his habite late founden of men, may not be assoyled till he take it agayne, but is apostata as ye seyn, and cursed of God and man both: The frere beleueth truth, and patience, chastitie, meeknes and sobriety, yet for the more part of his life he may soone be assoyled of his prior, and if he bring home to his house mich goad by the yeare (be it neuer so falsly begged and pilled of the poore and nedy people in countries about) he shal be hold a noble frere. O Lord whether this be charitie? What holiness is in a friar's coat.

36. Frere, what charitie is this, to prease upon a riche man, and to entice him to be buryed among you from hys parish church, and to such riche men geue letters of fraternitie confirmed by your generale seale, and thereby to beare him in hand that he shall haue part of all your masses, mattens, preachinges, fastinges, wakinges, and all other good dedes done by your brethren of your order (both whiles he liueth, and after that he is dead) and yet ye wytten neuer whether your dedes be acceptable to God, ne whether that man that hath that letter be able by good liuing to receiue any parte of your deedes, and yet a poore man (that ye wyte well or supposen in certaine to haue no good of) ye ne geuen to such letters, though he be a better man to God than such a rich man: neuerthelesse, this poore man doth not retche thereof. For as men supposen suche letters and many other that freres behotten to men, be full false deceites of fryers, out of all reason, and Gods law and christen mens fayth. Why friars so much desire to have rich men buried in their friaries. Friars' behests are false deceits.

37. Frere, what charitie is this, to be confessours of lordes and ladies, and to other mighty men, and not amend hem in her liuing, but rather as it seemeth, to be the bolder to pill her poore tenauntes, and to liue in lechery, and there to dwell in your office of confessour for wynning of worldly goodes, and to be holde great by colour of suche ghostly offices; this seemith rather pride of freres, than charitie of God. Friars desire to be lords and ladies' confessors.

38. Frere, what charity is this to sayne, that who so liueth after your order, liueth most perfitely, and next followeth the state of apostles in pouertie and penaunce, and yet the wisest and greatest clerkes of you wend or sed, or procure to the court of Rome to be made cardinals or bishops of the popes chaplaines, and to be assoyled of the vowe of pouertie and obedience to your ministers, in the which (as ye sayne) standeth most perfection and merites of Friars and Pharisees say one thing and do another.

Henry III. A.D. 1220.

your orders, and thus ye faren as Phariseis that sayen one and do an other to the contrary.

Why name ye more the patrone of your order in your Confiteor when ye beginne masse, then other sayntes, apostles, or martyrs, that holy churche hold more glorious then hem, and clepe hem your patrons and your auowries.

Dilemma.

Frere, whether was S. Frauncis in making of hys rule that hec set thine order in, a foole and a lyer, or else wyse and true? If ye sayne that he was not a foole, but wise; ne a lyer but true: why shewe ye contrary by your doyng? whan by your suggestion to the pope ye sayde that your rule that Fraunces made was so harde that ye might not liue to hold it without declaration and dispensation of the pope. And so, by your deede ne lete your patrone a foole that made a rule so harde that no man may well keepe, and eke your dede proueth him a lyer, where he saith in his rule, That he tooke and learned it of the Holy Ghost. For how might ye for shame pray the pope undoe that the Holy Ghost bit, as when ye prayed him to dispense with the hardnes of your order?

Which is the best order of friars?

Frere, whiche of the foure orders of freres is best to a man that knoweth not which is the best, but would fayne enter into the best, and none other? If thou sayst that thine is the best, then sayst thou that none of the other is as good as thine; and in this ech frere in the three other orders wolle say that thou lyest, for in the selfe maner eche other freere wolle say that hys order is best. And thus to eche of the four orders bene the other three contrary in this poynt: in the which if anye sayth sooth, that is one alone, for there may but one be the best of foure. So followeth it that if each of these orders aunswered to this question as thou doest, three were false, and but one true, and yet no man should wyte who that were. And thus it seemeth, that the most part of freeres byn or should be lyers in this poynt, and they should aunswere thereto. If you say that an other order of the freres is better than thine, or as good; why tooke ye nat rather therto as to the better, when thou mightst haue chose at the beginning. And eke why shouldest thou be an apostata to leaue thine order and take thee to that is better, and so why goest thou not from thine order into that?

Friars never agree one with another.

The friar thinketh his rule perfecter than Christ's, because he leaveth the one and followeth the other.

Frere, is there any perficter rule of religion than Christ Gods sonne gaue in his gospell to his brethren? Or then that religion that Sainct James in his epistle maketh mention of? If you say yes, then puttest thou on Christ (that is the wisdome of God, the Father) unkunning, unpower, or euil will: for than he could not make his rule so good as an other did his. And so he had unkunning, that he might not so make his rule so good as an other man might, and so were he unmighty, and not God, as he would not make his rule so perfite as an other did his, and so he had bene euil willed, namely to himselfe.

For if he might, and could, and would, haue made a rule perfite without default, and did not, he was not Gods Sonne Almighty. For if any other rule be perfiter then Christes, then must Christes rule lack of that perfection by as much as the other weren more perfiter, and so were default, and Christ had fayled in making of his rule: but to put any default or failing in God is blasphemie. If thou say that Christs rule, and that religion of that S. James maketh mention of, is the perfitest; why holdest thou not thilke rule without more. And why clepest thou the rather of S. Francis or S. Dominickes rule or religion or order, then of Christes rule or Christes order?

Dilemma.

Frere, canst thou any default assigne in Christs rule of the gospell (with the which he taught al men sekerly to be saued) if they kept it to her ending? If thou say it was to hard, then sayest thou Christ lyed; for he sayd of his rule: "My yoke is soft, and my burthen light." If thou say Christes rule was to light, that may be assigned for no default, for the better it may be kept. If thou sayest that there is no default in Christes rule of the gospell, sith Christ himselfe saith it is light and easy: what neede was it to patrons of freres to adde more thereto? and so to make an hardar religion to saue fryers, then was the religion of Christes apostles and his disciples helden and were saued by. But if they wolden that her freres saten aboue the apostles in heauen for the harder religion that the kepen here, so wold they sitten in heauen aboue Christ himselfe, for they mo and straight observaunces, then so should they bee better then Christ himselfe with mischaunce.

Friars would sit in heaven, above the apostles.

Go now forth and frayne your clerkes, and ground ye you in God's law, and

gyf Jack an aunswere, and when ye han assoiled me that I haue sayd sadly in truth, I shall soile thee of thine orders, and saue thee to heauen. *Henry III.*

If freres kun not or mow not exeuse hem of these questions asked of hem, it seemeth that they be horrible gilty against God, and her euen chrisen. For which giltes and defaultes it were worthy that the order that they call theyr order were fordone. And it is wonder that men sustayne hem or suffer hem lyue in such maner. For holy writ biddeth, that "Thou doe well to the meke, and geue not to the wicked, but forbed to giue hem bread, least they be made thereby mightier through you." A.D. 1231.

After these digressions, now to return to the course of our story again. As this King Henry succeeded King John, his father, so after Innocent, the pope, came Honorius III, A.D. 1216, then Gregory IX., A.D. 1227. And after Otho IV., the emperor (whom the pope had once set up, and after deprived again), succeeded Frederic II. A.D. 1212, as is partly before touched.[2] In the days of these kings, popes, and emperors, it were too long to recite all that happened in England, but especially in Germany, betwixt popes Honorius and Gregory and Frederic, the emperor; the horrible tragedy whereof were enough to fill a whole book by itself. But yet we mean[3] (God willing) somewhat to touch concerning these ecclesiastical matters, first beginning with this realm of England. Otho, the emperor, set up and deposed again by the pope.

After the kingdom of England had been subjected by King John, as hath been said, and made tributary to the pope and the Romish church, it is incredible how the insatiable avarice and greediness of the Romans did oppress and wring the commons and all estates and degrees of the realm, especially beneficed men, and such as had any thing of the church; who, what for their domestical charges within the realm, what for the pope, what for the legates, what for contributing to the Holy Land, what for relaxations, and other subtle sleights to get away their money, were brought into such slavery, captivity, and penury; that whereas the king neither durst, nor might remedy their exclamations by himself, yet notwithstanding, by his advice Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester, with other noblemen, not forgetting what great grievances and distresses the realm was brought into by the Romans, thought to work some way how to bridle and restrain the insatiable ravening of these greedy wolves. Wherefore they devised their letter, giving strait commandment to the religious men, and to such as had their churches to farm, that henceforth they should not answer the Romans on account of such farms and rents any more, but should pay the said farms or rents unto their own proctors appointed for the same purpose; as by their writings sent abroad to bishops or chapters, and other ecclesiastical houses, may appear, in this form and effect as followeth. *See Appendix.*

A Complaint of the Nobles of England against the intolerable Covetousness of the Pope and Prelates of Rome.[1]

To such and such a bishop, and such a chapter, all the university and company of them, that had rather die than be confounded of the Romans, wisheth health. How the Romans and their legates have hitherto behaved themselves toward you and other ecclesiastical persons of this realm of England, it is not unknown to your discretions, in disposing and giving away the A.D. 1251.

(1) The Latin copy of this complaint of the nobles of England is at p. 72, in the Edition of 1563. —Ed. (2) See p. 349. (3) See pp. 455—509.

Henry III. A.D. 1226.

benefices of the realm after their own lust, to the intolerable prejudice and grievance both of you and all other Englishmen. For whereas, the collation of benefices should and doth properly belong to you and other your fellow-bishops (ecclesiastical persons), they, thundering against you the sentence of excommunication, ordain that you should not bestow them upon any person of this realm, until in every diocese and cathedral-church within the realm, five Romans (such as the pope shall name) be provided for, to the value of, every man, an hundred pounds a year. Besides these, many other grievances the said Romanists do inflict and infer, both to the laity and nobles of the realm, for the patronages and alms bestowed by them and their ancestors, for the sustentation of the poor of the realm, and also to the clergy and ecclesiastical persons of the realm, touching their livings and benefices. And yet the said Romanists, not contented with the premises, do also take from the clergy of this realm the benefices which they have, to bestow them on men of their own country, &c.

Wherefore, we, considering the rigorous austerity of these aforesaid Romanists, who, once coming in but as strangers hither, now take upon them not only to judge, but also to condemn us, laying upon us unportable burdens, whereunto they will not put one of their own fingers to move; and laying our heads together upon a general and full advice had among ourselves concerning the same; have thought good (although very late) to resist or withstand them, rather than to be subject to their intolerable oppressions, and to the still greater slavery hereafter to be looked for. For which cause we straitly charge and command you, as your friends going about to deliver you, the church, the king, and the kingdom, from that miserable yoke of servitude, that you do not intermeddle or take any part concerning such exactions or rents to be required or given to the said Romans. Letting you to understand for truth, that in case you shall (which God forbid) be found culpable herein, not only your goods and possessions shall be in danger of burning, but you, also, in your persons shall incur the same peril and punishment as shall the said Romish oppressors themselves. Thus fare ye well.

Example never to take part against the king with foreign power.

Thus much I thought here to insert and notify concerning this matter, not only that the foul and avaricious greediness of the Romish church might the more evidently unto all Englishmen appear; but that they may learn by this example how worthy they be so to be served and plagued with their own rod, who, before, would take no part with their natural king against foreign power, by which now they are scourged.

Cardinal Otho legate.

To make the story more plain; in the reign of this Henry III. (who succeeding, as is said, King John his father, reigned fifty-six years), came divers legates from Rome to England. First, Cardinal Otho, sent from the pope with letters to the king, like as other letters also were sent to other places for exactions of money.

The king opening the letters, and perceiving the contents, answered, that he alone could say nothing in the matter, which concerned all the clergy and commons of the whole realm. Not long after a council was called at Westminster, where the letters being opened, [Jan. 13th, A.D. 1226.] the form was this:[1] "We require to be given unto us, first, of all cathedral churches two prebends, one for the bishops' part, the other for the chapter: and likewise of monasteries, where be divers portions, one for the abbot, another for the covent: of the covent, so much as appertaineth to one monk, the portion of the goods being proportionally divided; of the abbot likewise as much." The cause why he required these prebends was this: "It hath been," saith he, "an old

The pope requireth two prebendships in every cathedral church.

(1) "Petimus imprimis ab omnibus ecclesiis cathedralibus duas nobis præbendas exhiberi, unam de portione episcopi, et alteram de capitulo: et similiter de cœnobiis ubi diversæ sunt portiones abbatis et conventus; a conventibus quantum pertinet ad unum monachum, æquali facta distributione bonorum suorum, et ab abbate tantundem."

slander, and a great complaint against the church of Rome, that it hath been charged with insatiable covetousness, which, as ye know, is the root of all mischief, and all by reason that causes be wont commonly not to be handled, nor to proceed in the church of Rome, without great gifts and expense of money. Whereof seeing the poverty of the church is the cause, and the only reason why it is so slandered and evil spoken of, it is therefore convenient that you, as natural children, should succour your mother. For unless we should receive of you and of other good men as you are, we should then lack necessaries for our life, which were a great dishonour to our dignity," &c.

Henry III. A.D. 1237.

Note the cause why the pope is compelled to crave money of other countries. *See Appendix.*

When those petitions and causes of the legate were propounded in the aforesaid assembly at Westminster on the pope's behalf (the bishops and prelates of the realm being present), answer was made by the mouth of Master John Houghton, archdeacon of Bedford, on this wise: 'that the matter there proponed by the lord legate in especial concerned the king of England, but in general it touched all the archbishops, with their suffragans the bishops, and all the prelates of the realm. Wherefore, seeing both the king by reason of his sickness was absent, and the archbishop of Canterbury with divers other bishops also were not there, therefore in the absence of them they had nothing to say in the matter, neither could they so do without prejudice of them which were lacking.'—And so the assembly for that time brake up.

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

Eleven years after, the said Otho, Cardinal of St. Nicholas de carcere Tulliano, coming again from Rome with full authority and power, indicted another council at London, and caused all prelates, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and other of the clergy to be warned unto the same council, to be held in the church of St. Paul's at London the morrow after the octaves of St. Martin. The pretence of which council was for redress of matters concerning benefices and religion; but the chief and principal intent was to hunt for money: for putting them in fear and in hope, some to lose some to obtain spiritual promotions at his hand, he thought gain would rise thereby, and so it did, for in the mean time (as Matthew Paris in his life of Henry III. writeth) divers precious rewards were offered him in palfreys, in rich plate and jewels, in costly and sumptuous garments richly furred, in coin, in victuals, * [1]and such like things of value well worthy of acceptation; wherein one endeavoured to go beyond another in munificence, not considering, by means of the servility wherewith they were oppressed of those popish shavelings and shameless shifters, that all was mere pillage and extortion.* Insomuch that the bishop of Winchester, (as the story reporteth), on only hearing that he would winter in London, sent him fifty fat oxen, a hundred coombs of pure wheat, and eight tun of chosen wine, toward his housekeeping. Likewise other bishops also for their part offered unto the cardinal's box after their ability.

A council at London called, [Nov. 19th, A.D. 1237.] *See Appendix.*

Great rewards given to the cardinal *See Appendix.*

The time of the council drawing nigh, the cardinal commanded, at the west end of Paul's church, an high and solemn throne to be prepared, rising up with a glorious scaffold upon mighty and substantial stages strongly builded, and of great height. Thus, against

(1) These words are not in the editions of Foxe previous to 1596.—Ed.

Henry III. A.D. 1237. the day assigned, came the said archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other of the prelacy, both far and near throughout all England, wearied and vexed with the winter's journey, bringing their letters procuratory; who being together assembled, the cardinal beginneth his sermon. But before we come to the sermon, there happened a great discord between the two archbishops of Canterbury and York, about sitting at the right hand and the left hand of the glorious cardinal, for the which the one appealed against the other. The cardinal, to pacify the strife between them both, so that he would not derogate from either of them, brought forth a certain bull of the pope: in the midst of which bull was pictured the figure of the cross. On the right side of the cross stood the image of St. Paul, and on the left side that of St. Peter: "Lo," saith the cardinal (holding open the bull with the cross), "here you see St. Peter on the left hand of the cross, and St. Paul on the right side, and yet is there between these two no contention, for both are of equal glory. And yet St. Peter, for the prerogative of his keys, and for the pre-eminence of his apostleship and cathedral dignity, seemeth most worthy to be placed on the right side. But yet because St. Paul believed on Christ when he saw him not, therefore hath he the right hand of the cross: for blessed be they (saith Christ) who believe and see not," &c. From that time forth the archbishop of Canterbury enjoyed the right hand, and the archbishop of York the left; wherein, however, this cardinal is more to be commended than the other Cardinal Hugo mentioned a little before, who, in a like contention between these archbishops, ran his way.

Contention about sitting on the right hand of the cardinal.

Why St. Paul standeth on the right hand of the pope's cross.

Why the archbishop of Canterbury hath the right hand, and the archbishop of York the left.

Thus, the controversy having ceased and been composed between these two, Otho the cardinal, sitting aloft between these two archbishops, beginneth his sermon, taking this theme of the prophet; "In the midst of the seat, and in the circuit about the seat, were four beasts full of eyes before and behind," &c. Upon this theme the cardinal proceeded in his sermon, sitting like a god in the midst. He compared those about him to the four beasts about the seat, declaring how they ought to have eyes both before and behind; that is, that they must be provident in disposing of secular things, and circumspect in spiritual matters, continuing and joining wisely things past with things to come; and this was the greatest effect of this clerkly sermon. That done, he giveth forth certain statutes for ordering of churches, as for the dedication of temples, for the seven sacraments, for the giving of orders, for the farming of benefices, for collations and resignations of benefices and vicarages, priests' apparel, and single life, for eating of flesh in religious houses, and for archdeacons, bishops, proctors, and other like matters. But the chief intent of all his proceeding was this, that they should be vigilant, provident, and circumspect, with all their eyes (both before and behind), to fill the pope's pouch, as appeared not only by this, but all their other travails besides; insomuch that the king, dreading the displeasure of his commons for the doings of the legate, willed him to repair home to Rome again, but yet could not so be rid of him, for he, receiving new commandments from the pope, applied his harvest, still gleaning and raking whatsoever he might scrape; writing and

Note the theme of the prophet applying to God, how the cardinal applieth it to himself.

Scripture clerkly applied.

sending to bishops and archdeacons in the form and tenor hereunder expressed.[1]

Henry III.

A. D. 1240.

And moreover, note again the wicked and cursed trains of these Romish rakehells, who, to pick simple men's purses, first send out their friars and preachers to stir up, in all places and countries, men to go fight against the Turks: whom when they have once bound with a vow, and signed them with the cross, then send they their bulls to release them both of their labour and their vow, for money, as by their own style of writing is hereunder to be seen.[2]

Note the crafty practice of Romish prelates to prowl for money.

The cause why the pope was so greedy and needy of money, was this: because he had mortal hatred and waged continual battle the same time against the good emperor, Frederic II., who had to wife King John's daughter, sister to King Henry III., whose name was Isabella. And therefore, because the pope's war could not be sustained without charges, that made the pope the more importunate to take money in all places, but especially in England; insomuch that he shamed not to require the fifth part of every ecclesiastical man's living, as Matthew Paris writeth. And not only that, but also the said Pope Gregory, conventing with the citizens of Rome, so agreed with them, that, if they would join with him in vanquishing the aforesaid Frederic, he would (and so did) grant unto them, that all the benefices in England which were or should be vacant (namely, pertaining to religious houses), should be bestowed at their own will and commandment on their children and kinsfolks. Whereupon it followeth in the aforenamed history,[3] that "the pope sent in commandment to the archbishop of Canterbury, and four other bishops, that provision should be made for three hundred Romans in the chiefest and best benefices in all England at the next voidance, so that the aforesaid archbishop and bishops should be suspended in the mean time from all collation or gift of benefices, until the aforesaid three hundred were provided for;" whereupon, the archbishop the same time, seeing the unreasonable oppression of the church of England, left the realm and went into France.

Fifth part of every spiritual man's living given to the pope.

Three hundred Romans placed in the best benefices of England.

Again, mark another as much or more easy sleight of the pope in procuring money. He sent one Petrus Rubeus the same time with a new device, which was this: not to work any thing openly, but privily to go betwixt bishop and bishop, abbot and abbot, &c., telling in their ears, such a bishop, such an abbot, hath given so much and so much unto the pope's holiness, "trusting that you also will not be behind

A Romish sleight of the pope to get English money.

(1) *A Letter of the Cardinal to Bishops and Archdeacons, in which the censure of the Church is well applied.*—"Otto miseratione divina, &c. Discreto viro *N.* episcopo vel *N.* archidiacono salutem. Cum necesse habeamus de mandato summi pontificis moram trahere in Anglia longiorem, nec possimus propriis stipendiis militare, discretionem vestram qua fungimur autoritate rogamus, ut procurationes vobis debitas in episcopatu, vel archidiaconatu vestro colligi faciatis nostro nomine diligenter, eas quam citius poteritis nobis transmissuri, contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam compescendo. Proviso, quod quælibet procuratio summam 4. marcarum aliquatenus non excedat, et ubi una ecclesia non sufficiet ad procurationem hujusmodi habendam, duæ pariter unam solvant."

(2) "*N.* episcopus dilectis in Christo filiis omnibus archdiaconis per diocesim suam constitutis, salutem. Literas domini legati suscepimus in hæc verba; Otto miseratione divina, &c. Cum sicut intelleximus nonnulli cruce signati regni Angliæ, qui sunt inhabiles ad pugnandum, ad sedem apostolicam accedant, ut ibidem a voto crucis absolvi valeant, et nos nuper recepimus a summo pontifice in mandatis, ut tales non solum absolvere, verum etiam ad redimenda vota sua [note the style of Rome] compellere debeamus, volentes eorum parcere laboribus et expensis, fraternitatem vestram qua fungimur autoritate monemus, quatenus potestatem prædictam a summo pontifice nobis concessam faciatis in nostris diocesibus sine mora qualibet publicari, ut prefati cruce-signati ad nos accedere valeant, beneficium [immo maleficium et naufragium pecuniæ,] super his juxta formam nobis traditam accepturi." [This and the preceding letter are in M. Paris, Ed. Lond. 1640, p. 524; both dated "Londini 15 Kal. Mart. anno Pont. D. Gregorii Papæ 13."—Ed.]

(3) "Unde infra paucos dies misit Dom. Papa sacra præcepta sua domino Cant. Archiep. Eliensi et Lincol. et Salisb. episcopis, ut trecentis Romanis in primis beneficiis vacantibus providerent, scientes se suspensos a beneficiorum collatione donec tot competenter providerentur." [M. Paris, p. 532, with the omission of "Elicusi et": see infra, p. 427.—Ed.]

Henry III. on your part," &c. By the means whereof it is incredible to think what a mass of money was made out of the realm unto the pope.

A. D. 1245. At length[1] the abbots, feeling their own smart, came to the king, whose father before they did resist, with their humble suit, lamentably complaining of the immeasurable exactions of the pope, and especially against Petrus Rubeus and his fellow, Otto the legate; desiring the king to prohibit such extortion: who, notwithstanding, received them with frowns, and even offered the legate one of his castles to imprison them. The bishops, warned by the ill success of the abbots, assembled at Northampton, and answered the legate, that, seeing the matter touched not themselves alone, but the whole church, and seeing the valuation of churches was known better to their archdeacons than to themselves, therefore they desired a general calling and talk to be had in the matter. The octaves of St. John the Baptist were assigned as the time when they should deliver their final answer; on which day the prelates of England, conventing together, durst not give any direct denial of that contribution, but after a modest sort did insinuate certain exceptions against the same.

Exceptions alleged for not contributing to the pope.

I. They say, that forsomuch as the contribution is demanded to war against him, who was joined in matrimony with their prince, they were not bound to comply.

II. That the said contribution tended to the shedding of christian blood; for the form of the pope's bill stated it to be, "ad imperatorem debellandum."

III. They refuse, because it was against the liberty of the church; for so it is in the pope's bill, that they who would not contribute, should be excommunicated.

IV. Because that when alate they gave the tenth part of their goods, it was with this protestation, that no similar exaction should be laid on them hereafter, much less of a fifth, as in the present case.

V. Because they had contributed before; and if they should now contribute again, it were to be feared lest an action twice done should grow into a custom, as is in the law, "Lege nemo," &c.

VI. Forsomuch as they shall have continually to seek to Rome through the emperor's land, to prosecute divers causes, it were to be feared lest the said emperor by the way should work their annoyance.

VII. Because the king hath many enemies and expecteth to want much money for his wars, it is not safe that the wealth of the realm should be alienated out of the realm, which is already much impoverished through the nobles taking on them the cross and going abroad.

VIII. Because it might turn to the prejudice of the patrons of the churches, and that they do not know whether the patrons would agree unto the same.

IX. Lastly, because they hear say, that the general state of the church is in danger, for which there ought to be, and (as they understand) there is to be shortly, a general council, wherein such matters shall be determined: and, therefore, if they should contribute now, it should be to the hinderance and damage of the church.

The legate and his fellow hearing these allegations, seeing their own confusion, were the less importunate.

See Appendix. Five years after this, followed a general council at Lyons, called by Pope Innocent IV., in which council the English nation did exhibit certain articles of their grievances[2] not unworthy to be known; but with what effect will appear from the following

Mar. 18th, A.D. 1246. (M. Paris.) Articles exhibited in the Council of London, the next year after the general Council of Lyons: the grievances sustained from the Pope.

I. The kingdom of England is aggrieved that the pope, being not contented with his Peter-pence, extorteth from the clergy of England great exactions (and more is likely), both without the consent of the king, and against the customs,

(1) This and the next two pages are revised and corrected from M. Paris, pp. 534, 699—701, 708, 709.—Ed. (2) See them stated infrà, p. 432.—Ed.

liberties, and rights of the realm, and in spite of their appeal and remonstrance on the subject made by their proctors in the late general council. *Henry III.*

II. The church and kingdom of England is aggrieved, that the patrons of the churches cannot present fit persons to the same, though the pope by his letters agreed they should; but the churches are given to Romans, who are quite ignorant of the native tongue, to the great peril of souls; besides that they, carrying away the money out of the realm, exceedingly impoverish the same. A. D. 1246.

III. It is aggrieved in the requiring of pensions and provisions, for that after the pope had promised by his late letters, that in the realm of England he would give away only twelve benefices more, now, contrary to the tenor thereof, many more benefices and provisions have been bestowed by him.

IV. The realm is aggrieved, that in the benefices in England one Italian succeedeth another as a matter of course, while Englishmen are compelled, for the securing of their induction, to seek to Rome, contrary both to the customs of the realm, and also to the privileges granted by the pope's predecessors to the king and kingdom of England.

V. The fifth grievance is, for the oft arrival of that infamous nuncio "Non Obstante," whereby both the sacred obligation of an oath, the ancient customs of the realm, and the authority of old grants, statute laws, and privileges, are embezzled and abrogated;[1] whereby an infinite number in England be grievously afflicted and oppressed. The pope, in thus resuming the plenitude of his power, does not act with that attention to law and moderation which he promised our proctors, with his own mouth, he would observe.

VI. The said realm is also aggrieved by general tallages, collections, and assessments, made without the king's consent; the appeal and remonstrance of the king's and the nation's proctors, to the contrary, notwithstanding.

VII. The aforesaid realm complaineth and is aggrieved, that in the benefices given to Italians, neither the old ordinances, nor relief of the poor, nor hospitality, nor any preaching of God's word, nor care of men's souls, nor service in the church, nor yet the walls of the churches, be kept up and maintained, as decency and the manner of the same realm requireth. Over and above these aforesaid grievances, there came, moreover, from the pope, other fresh letters, charging and commanding the prelates of England to find of their proper costs and charges, for one whole year, some ten armed soldiers, some five, some fifteen, to be ready at the pope's commandment where he should appoint.

The Babylonish captivity and slavery of England under the pope.

After these and other grievances and enormities of Rome, the states of England, consulting together, direct their letters to the pope, for reformation thereof. First, the bishops and suffragans; then, the abbots and priors; afterwards the nobles and barons; last of all, the king himself. But as the proverb is, "Venter non habet aures,"[2] so the pope's purse had no ears to hear. And, as our common saying goeth, "As good never a whit, as never the better," so went it with the pope, who not long after the same sent for new tallages and exactions to be collected;[3] which thing when it came to the king's ear, he, being moved and disturbed vehemently withal, writeth in this wise to the bishops severally, to every one in his diocese.

Mar. 28th. (M. Paris.) *See Appendix.*

The Letter of King Henry III. to the Bishops.

Henry III., by the grace of God, &c., to the reverend in Christ, the bishop of N., health. Whereas we have heretofore written unto you, once, twice, thrice, as well, under our privy seal as by our letters patent, that you should not exact for the pope's or any one else's behalf any tallage or aid of our subjects, either of the religious orders, or of the clergy, or of the laity, for that no such tallage or aid either can or is used to be exacted in our realm without great prejudice to our royal dignity, which we neither can nor will endure: yet you contemning and vilipending our commandment, and contrary to the provision made in our last council at London, granted and agreed upon by our prelates, earls, and barons, have, that notwithstanding, proceeded in collecting the said your taxes and tallages. Whereupon, we do greatly marvel and are moved, especially seeing

King Henry III. commandeth that no tax nor tallage be sent to the pope.

(1) "Debilitantur et evanescunt:" 'embezzled,' *i.e.* imbeciled, or weakened. Todd's Johnson.—Ed.
(2) The French say, "Ventre affamé n'a point d'oreilles."—Ed.
(3) This was for 6,000 marks. Walter, bishop of Norwich, was authorised to collect it: his letter to St. Alban's is in M. Paris, dated Mar. 21, and one of the king's, forbidding it, dated April 1.—Ed *See Appendix.*

Henry III. A. D. 1246.

you are not ashamed to run counter to your own act and deed; whereas you and other prelates at the said council in this did all agree and grant, that you would levy no more such exactions until the return of our and your ambassadors, with those of the nobles and of the whole realm, from the court of Rome, who were sent thither purposely, as you know, to provide redress against these oppressions. Wherefore we straitly will and command you, that you no further proceed in collecting and exacting such tallages or aids, as you desire to enjoy your baronies, and such possessions of yours as within this our kingdom you have and hold; and if you have already taken any thing on this account, that you suffer not the same to be transported out of our realm, but cause it to be kept in safe custody, till the return of the said ambassadors; and be assured that, in case you disobey, we shall extend our hand upon your possessions, further than you may be inclined to believe. Moreover, we will and charge you that you communicate this our inhibition to your archdeacons and officials, which we here have set forth for the liberties of the clergy and of the people, as God knoweth, &c.

See Appendix.

At length, the ambassadors who were at Rome came home about the seventh day of July, bringing word that the pope, hearing what was done in the council of London[1] by the king, was greatly displeased with him and the realm, saying, "Rex Anglorum, qui jam recalcitrat et frederisat, suum habet consilium; ego vero et meum habeo, quod et sequar," &c. Whereupon, when the ambassadors began to speak in the king's behalf, from that time they were half counted for schismatics, and could no more be heard in the court of Rome.

The pope's saying against king Henry.

Henry again restraineth the pope's taxes.

The pope taketh on, against the king.

The king, hearing this, was marvellously incensed therewith, commanding, by general proclamation throughout all his realm, that no man should hereafter consent to any tax or subsidy of money for the court of Rome. When this came to the pope's ear, upon a cruel rage he directed his letters to the prelates of England, charging that under pain of suspense or interdiction, they should provide the same sum of money to be collected against the feast of Assumption, the charge being given to the bishop of Worcester, to be executor of the said curse. The king, who lately intended to stand to the liberties of the church and kingdom, now, for fear of the pope, and partly for the menaces of his brother, carl Richard,[2] and of the said bishop of Worcester and other prelates, durst not stand to them, but gave over. Moreover, the greedy gulf of the Romish avarice waxed so immeasurable, that at length the pope shamed not, upon the censure of his curse, to ask the third part of the church goods, and the yearly fruit of all vacant benefices. The chief doers and legates in England, were Otho, Stephen the pope's chaplain, Petrus Rubeus, the nuncio, Mag. Martin, and Mag. Marinus, and Johannes Anglicus, bishop of Sabino; of whom to speak further (for that I have much more to write), I think best for the present to defer, lest in opening all the detestable doings and pestilent workings of those men, I might, perhaps, not only molest good ears, but also infect the air. Yet one thing concerning the said Otho I cannot well overpass.

The king compelled to give over to the pope.

The pope asketh the third part of the church goods.

See Appendix.

A story of Cardinal Otho at Oxford.

See Appendix.

This Otho, as he left no place unsought, where any vantage might be got: so, amongst all others, he came to Oxford, where lying in the house of Osney, he was received with great honour; the scholars presenting him honourably with such dishes and rewards as they had, thinking to gratify the cardinal after the best manner. This being done before dinner, and the dinner ended, they came reverently to see and welcome him, supposing that they also should again, of him, with like courtesy be entertained. As they came to the gate, the

(1) Foxe says "Winchester," whereas it was the council of Winchester which was assembled July. 7th, to hear this report of the ambassadors. M. Paris, p. 709.—Ed. (2) M. Paris, p. 709.—Ed.

porter, being an Italian, with a loud voice, asketh what they would have? They said, they came to see the lord legate. But Cerberus, the porter, holding the door half open, with proud and contumelious language thrust them out, and would not suffer them to enter. The scholars, seeing that, by force thrust open the gate and came in; whom when the Romans, who were within, would have repelled with their fists, and such staves as they had in their hands, they fell to alarum and by the ears together, with much heaving and shoving, and many blows on both sides. In the mean time, while some of the scholars ran home for their weapons, there chanced a poor scholar, an Irishman, to stand at the gate waiting for his alms, whom when the master-cook saw at the gate, he, taking hot scalding water out of the pan where the meat was sodden, did cast it in his face. One of the scholars, a Welshman, who came with his bow and shafts, seeing that, letteth drive an arrow, and shooteth this Nabuzardan (that is, master of cooks) clean through the body, and slayeth him out of hand. The cook falling dead, there was a mighty broil and a great clamour throughout all the house. The cardinal, hearing the tumult and great noise about him, like a valiant Roman, runneth as fast as he could into the steeple, and there locketh the doors fast unto him, where he remained till midnight. The scholars, in the mean while, not yet at all pacified, sought all corners about for the legate, exclaiming and crying out, "Where is that usurer, that simoniac, that piller and poller of our livings, that prowler and extortioner of our money, who perverteth our king, and subverteth his kingdom, enriching aliens with our spoils?" All this heard the cardinal, and held his peace. When the night approaching had broken up the field, the cardinal coming out of his fort, and taking his horse, in the silence of the night, was privily conveyed over the river towards the king, conveying himself away as fast as he could. After the king heard this, he sendeth to Oxford a garrison of armed men, to deliver the Romans who were there hidden for fear of the scholars. Then was Master Otho, a lawyer, with thirty other scholars, apprehended, and carried to Wallingford castle, and from thence had in carts to London, where, at length, through much entreaty of the bishops, they, being brought barefoot to the legate's door, had their pardon, and the university was released from interdiction. Thus much concerning the pope's legate in England.

Henry III. — A. D. 1238.

Skirmish between the scholars of Oxford and the cardinal's men.

See Appendix.

The cardinal runneth away.

See Appendix.

Thirty scholars taken and had to prison.

May 17th, A.D. 1238.

Thus partly you have heard, and do understand the miserable thraldom and captivity of this realm of England and the clergy of the same, who before refused to take part with King John their natural prince against the foreign power of the pope, and now how miserably they are oppressed and scourged of the same pope; whose insatiable extortion and rapacity did so exceed in pilling and polling of this realm long after this, that neither the king now could help them, nor could the pope with any reasonable measure be content; insomuch that writers record, that in the days of Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1360, the pope by his proctors gat from the clergy, in less than one year, more than sixty thousand florins, of mere contribution; besides his other avails and common revenues out of benefices, prebendaries, first-fruits, tributes, Peter-pence, collations, reservations, relaxations, and such merchandize, &c.

Threescore thousand florins contributed to the pope, in one year, by the clergy.

Henry III. A.D. 1220.

*And yet the state of this realm of England, although most miserable, was not so lamentable, but that the case of Germany and of the Emperor Frederic II. was then as much or more pitiful, who in the same time of King Henry III. was so persecuted and disturbed by popes Innocent, Honorius, Gregory, Celestine, and Innocent IV., that not only with their curses and excommunications most wretchedly they did infame, impugn, and assault him, but also in open field continually did they war against him, and all with Englishmen's money. *See Appendix.* Albeit, concerning the troubles of this emperor, being a foreign story and pertaining to other countries, I have not much to do nor to write therein, having enough already to story at home. Yet I cannot but lament and marvel to see the ambitious presumption and tragical fury of those popes against the emperor.*[1]

See Appendix. Mention was made a little before of the Albigenses keeping about the city of Toulouse. These Albigenses, because they began to smell the pope, and to control the inordinate proceedings and discipline of the see of Rome, the pope therefore recounting them as a people heretical, excited and stirred up about this present time and year, A.D. 1218, Louis, the French king's son, through the instance of Philip II., his father, to lay siege against the said city of Toulouse to expugn and extinguish these Albigenses, his enemies; whereupon Louis, according to his father's commandment, reared a puissant and mighty army to compass about and beset that city, and so did. Here were the men of Toulouse in great danger; but see how the mighty protection of God fighteth for his people against the might of man: for after that Louis, as Matthew Paris testifieth,[2] had long wearied himself and his men in waste, and could do no good with all their engines and artillery against the city, there fell, moreover, upon the French host, by the hand of God, such famine and pestilence both of men and horses, besides the other daily slaughter of the soldiers, that Louis was forced to retire, and, with such as were left, to return again home to France, from whence he came. In the slaughter of his soldiers, besides many others, was earl Simon Montfort, general of the army, to whom the lands of the earl of Toulouse were given by the pope; he was slain before the gate of the city with a stone; and so was also the brother of the said Simon, at the same time, while besieging a castle near Toulouse, slain with a stone in like manner. And thus was the siege of the Frenchmen against Toulouse broken up.[3]

Louis, the French king's son, fighteth against the Albigenses.

See Appendix.

Besiegeth Toulouse.

The hand of God fighteth for his people.

The siege against the Albigenses broken up.

See Appendix. While the siege of these Frenchmen could do no good against the city of Toulouse, it happened at that time that the Christians, marching towards the Holy Land, had better success in laying their siege to a certain tower or castle in Egypt, near to the city Damietta, that seemed by nature, for the situation and difficulty of the place, inexpugnable: which, being situate in the midst of the great flood Nilus, hard by the city called Damietta, could neither be come to by land, nor be undermined for the water, nor by famine subdued, for the nearness of the city; yet, notwithstanding, through the help of God and the policy of man, erecting scaffolds and castles upon tops of

(1) This paragraph in single asterisks is from the Edition of 1563, p. 73, and is followed by a short abstract of the ecclesiastical and civil history of this country to the time of Wickliff, given more fully in later Editions.—Ed.

(2) Ex Matth. Paris. in Vita Hen. III. (3) Ex Matth. Paris.

masts, the Christians at last conquered it, and after that also the city Damietta, albeit not without great loss of christian people. (A.D. 1219.) In the expugnation of this city or fort, among others that there died was the landgrave of Thuring, named Louis, the husband of Elizabeth, whom we use to call St. Elizabeth. This Elizabeth, as my story recordeth, was the daughter of the king of Hungary, and married in Almain, where she lived with the aforenamed Louis, landgrave of Thuring, whom she, through her persuasions, provoked and incensed to take that voyage to fight for the Holy Land, where he in the same voyage was slain. After his death, Elizabeth, remaining a widow, entered the profession of cloisterly religion, and made herself a nun; so growing and increasing from virtue to virtue, that after her death all Almain did sound with the fame of her worthy doings. Matthew Paris addeth this also, that she was the daughter of that queen, who, being accused to be naughty with a certain archbishop, was therefore condemned with this sentence pronounced against her;[1] although it be hard in English to be translated as it standeth in Latin,—"To kill the queen will ye not to fear, that is good; and if all men consent thereunto, not I myself do stand against it." Which sentence being brought to Pope Innocent, thus in pointing the sentence, which otherwise seemeth to have a double understanding, he saved the queen; thus interpreting and pointing the same, "Reginam interficere nolite, timere bonum est, et si omnes consenserint, non ego, contradico." That is, "To kill the queen will ye not, to fear, that is good: and if all do consent thereto, yet not I, I myself do stand against it," and so escaped she the danger. This queen was the mother, as is said, of Elizabeth the nun, who, for her holy nunnishness, was canonized of the pope's church for a saint in Almain, about A.D. 1220.[2]

Henry III.

A. D. 1221.

Damietta taken by the Christians.

The story of St. Elizabeth.

The mother of St Elizabeth accused of adultery.

The queen saved by favourable interpretation of a double sentence.

Elizabeth canonized a saint in Almain

And this by the way. Now to proceed further in the years and life of this King Henry. The next year following, which was A.D. 1221, the king went to Oxford, where he had something to do with William, earl of Albemarle, who had taken the castle of Biham: but at last, for his good service he had done in the realm before, he was released by the king, with all his men, at the intercession of Walter, archbishop of York, and of Pandulph, the legate.[3] About that year entered first the Friars Minorite, or Grey friars, into England, and had their first house at Canterbury, whose first patron was Francis, who died A.D. 1127. His order was confirmed by Pope Honorius III., A.D. 1224.

A.D. 1221.

The Grey friars first enter England.

The order confirmed.

About the first coming of these Dominic and Grey friars Franciscan into the realm (as is in Nicolas Trivet testified), many Englishmen at that time entered into their orders, among whom was Johannes de Sancto Egidio,[4] a man famously expert in the science of physic and astronomy, and Alexander de Hales, both Englishmen and great divines. This Johannes making his sermon "ad clerum," in the house of the Dominic friars, exhorted his auditory with great persuasions unto wilful poverty, and to confirm his words the more by his own example, in the midst of his sermon he came down from the pulpit and put on his friar's habit; and so, returning into the pulpit again,

See Appendix

(1) "Reginam interficere nolite timere bonum est, et si omnes consenserint non ego contradico."
(2) Ex Matth. Paris. (3) Ex tabula pensili in æde divi Pauli. (4) See infrà, p. 528.—Ed.

Henry III.

A. D. 1221.

made an end of his sermon. Likewise Alexander Hales entered the order of the Franciscans, of whom remaineth yet the book entitled "De Summa Theologiæ," in old libraries.

Moreover, not long after, by William Longspey, who was the bastard son of King Henry II. and earl of Salisbury, was first founded the house of the Carthusian monks at Hethorp, A.D. 1222. After whose death his wife Ela translated them to the house of Henton, in Somersetshire, A.D. 1227; which Ela also founded the house of nuns at Lacocks, and there continued herself abbess of the place. The bishop of London, named William, the same time gave over his bishopric, after whom succeeded Eustace in that see.[1]

Charterhouse monks founded. *See Appendix.*

In the town of Oxford, where the king then kept his court, Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, held a council, where was condemned and burned a certain deacon, as Nicholas Trivet saith, for apostasy; also another rude countryman, who had crucified himself, and superstitiously bare about the wounds in his feet and hands, was condemned to be closed up perpetually within walls.[2] About the same year also, Alexander, king of Scots, married Joan, sister to King Henry.

Two condemned at a council in Oxford.

Not long after began the new building of the minster of Salisbury, whereof Pandulph, the pope's legate, laid the first five stones; one for the pope (such was the fortune of that church to have the pope's stone in its foundation); the second, for the young King Henry; the third, for the good earl of Salisbury; the fourth, for the countess; the fifth, for the bishop of Salisbury; which was about the same year above mentioned, A.D. 1221.[3]

In the same year, about St. James's tide, arose a dissension between the citizens of London and the men of Westminster, the occasion whereof was this:—A certain match between these two parties was appointed, to try which party, in wrestling, could overcome the other. Thus, in striving for mastery, each party contending against the other, as the manner is in such pastime, it happened that the Londoners got the victory, and the other side was put to foil, but especially the steward of the abbot of Westminster; who, being not a little confounded therewith, began to forethink in his mind how to be revenged again of the Londoners. Whereupon, another day was set, which was at Lammas, that the Londoners should come again to wrestle; and whoso had the victory should have the bell-wether,[4] which was the price of the game appointed. As the parties were thus occupied in their play, the steward suddenly bringeth upon the Londoners, unawares, a company of harnessed men prepared for the same beforehand, and letteth drive at the Londoners; who, at length, being wounded and grievously hurt, after much bloodshed were driven back again into the city. This contumely thus being received, the citizens, eagerly struck with ire and impatience, ran to the common bell, and by ringing thereof assembled their commons together, to consult with themselves what was to be done in that case so contumelious; wherein, when divers sentences were given diversely, Serle, at that time mayor of London (a wise and discreet man), gave this counsel, that the abbot of Westminster should be talked withal, who if he would rectify

Dissension between the citizens of London and Westminster. *See Appendix.*

Wholesome counsel of the mayor of London.

See Appendix.

(1) Flor. Historiæ. (2) Nicholas Trivet. (3) Ex Chron. de Sal.
(4) Usually, the best sheep in the flock.—Ed.

the injury done, and satisfy for the harm received, it should be to them sufficient. But contrary, one Constantine, a great man then in the city of London, in much heat exciting the people, gave this sentence, that all the houses of the abbot of Westminster, but especially the house of the steward, should be cast down to the ground. In fine, that which he so unadvisedly counselled, was as madly performed, for the furious people, according to his counsel, did. This tumultuous outrage, as it could not be privy, coming to the knowledge of Hubert de Burgh, lord chief justice of England, above mentioned, he coming with a sufficient strength of armed soldiers to the city of London, sent to the mayor and aldermen of the city to will them to come unto him; who so obeying his commandment, he required of them the principal beginners of the riot. To whom Constantine, there being present, answered, that he would warrant that which was done; sorrowing, moreover, that they had not done more than they did in the matter. The justice, upon this his confession, commanded him, with two others, without any further tumult, to be taken; and so, along with the same two, he was hanged, he offering for his life fifteen thousand marks.

Henry III. A.D. 1222. refused by wild heads. Constantine executed at London for riot. *See Appendix.*

The said Hubert, earl of Kent, and lord chief justice, although he was a faithful and trusty officer to his prince, and had the whole guiding of the realm in his own hands, the king, as yet, being in his minority, yet afterwards, what indignation he sustained for this his severity and other things, both of the nobles and of the commons, and how sharply he was tossed and trounced of his prince, it is a wonder to see, as in its due place and time (by the Lord's leave) hereafter shall appear.[1]

As mention hath been made of the wrangling between the commoners of London and Westminster, both time and occasion bring me in remembrance something to speak likewise of the ecclesiastical conflicts among churchmen; nothing inferior in my mind, nor less worthy to be noted than the other. For so I read in Matthew Paris, and in the Flowers of History, that at what time this wrestling was among the citizens for the sheep, the like contention kindled and inflamed between Eustace, bishop of London, and the chapter of Paul's, on the one side, and the abbot of Westminster, with his covent, on the other, about spiritual jurisdiction and subjection; to wit, whether the monastery of Westminster were exempted from the subjection and jurisdiction of the bishop of London or not. This controversy at last coming to a compromise, was committed to the arbitrement of Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, Peter, bishop of Winchester, Thomas, prior of Merton, and Richard, prior of Dunstable; and at length was thus agreed, that the monastery of Westminster should be utterly exempted from the jurisdiction of the bishop of London, and that Staines, with the appurtenances thereto belonging, should appertain to the monastery of Westminster. Also, that the manor of Sunbury should be due and proper to the church of St. Paul, and also that the church of St. Margaret, with all the lands belonging to the same, should be exempted from all other jurisdiction, but of the bishop of Rome only: and so was this matter decided. A.D. 1222.[2]

Discord and contention among churchmen. *See Appendix.*

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. (2) Ibid.; ex Flor. Historiarum.

Henry III. A.D. 1226.

The same year, as writeth Matthew Paris, horrible tempests, with thundering and lightning and whirlwinds, went throughout all the land, so that much harm was done; churches, steeples, towers, houses, and divers trees, with the violence of the winds, were blown up by the roots. In Warwickshire, a certain wife, and eight others in her house, were slain. In Grantham, the church was set on fire by lightning most terrible, with such a stink left behind, that no man could, for a long time after, abide it. The author addeth, that manifest marks of the tempest did remain long after in that monastery to be seen. Some also write that fiery dragons and spirits were seen then flying in the air.

Horrible tempest in England.

A.D.1223. Louis, king of France, false to his promise.

A.D. 1223, Philip, the French king, died, after whom his son Louis succeeded to the crown; to whom King Henry, sending his message, and desiring him to remember his promise and covenant made of rendering again the lands lost in Normandy, could obtain nothing at his hands. Whereupon Richard, earl of Cornwall, also William, the king's uncle, earl of Salisbury, with divers other nobles, made over into France, where they recovered Poictou, and kept Gascony under the king's obedience.[1]

A.D.1224. Wardship first granted to the king.

In the same year, or as Fabian giveth it, the next year following, which was A.D. 1224, by virtue of a certain parliament, it was granted of the lords and barony of the land, that the king and his heirs should have the ward and marriage of their heirs, which then was called, and afterwards proved to be, 'initium malorum,' the beginning of harms.

In the same year, according to Gisburn and other writers, the said king, holding another parliament at Oxford, by the advice of his council and his clergy, did grant and confirm, under his great seal, two charts of the old liberties and customs of this realm, for ever to be kept and observed, the one called 'Magna Charta,' the other 'Charta de Foresta;' the contents whereof fully in the beforenamed author be expressed. For this cause was granted again by the whole parliament, a fifteenth of all his subjects, as well of laymen as also of the clergy.

Here is to be noted, that these liberties were afterwards broken, and confirmed again by the said king, A.D. 1236.

See Appendix.

A. D. 1226[2] died Louis VIII., the perjured French king, at the siege of Avignon, whom the pope now the second or third time had set up to fight against Reimund, the good earl of Toulouse, and the heretic Albigenses of that country; for so the pope calleth all those who hold not in all points with his glorious pride, usurped power, and ungodly proceedings. The origin whereof was this, as in Matthew Paris appeareth. In the days of Philip, the French king, this Reimund, earl of Toulouse, was disdained by the pope for holding with the Albigenses; and therefore, by the instigation of the pope, the lands of the earl were taken from him, and given to Simon Montfort, and instruments were made upon the same; but when the said earl Reimund would not be removed from the right of his possessions by unrighteous dealing, the pope setteth Philip II., the French king, to make open war against him. Where-

(1) Ex Matth. Paris., Nich. Trivet. Flor. Hist.
(2) For two lines of text omitted here, see infrà, p. 383.—Ed.

upon Louis, the French king's son,[1] was sent with a great power, as is above declared, to besiege the city of Toulouse; but being repulsed from thence by the marvellous hand of God fighting for his people, he could not prevail, and so returned home, after he had lost the most part of his army by pestilence and other calamity, as hath been before described. Thus continued the good earl still in quiet possession till this present time, A.D. 1226; in the which year the pope, not forgetting his old malice against the earl, and no less inflamed with insatiable avarice, directeth down his legate, Master Romanus, to the parts of France, for two several purposes; one to extirpate the earl, the other to enlarge his own revenues. Thus the legate, being entered into France, beginneth to summon a council, willing the French king, with the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of France, to appear before him at Bourges; to whom eftsoons repaired six archbishops, with the bishops and suffragans of nine provinces, to the number of a hundred, besides the abbots, priors, and proctors of all the covents of France, to hear the pope's will and commandment. But because there was a discord feared to rise, saith Matthew Paris, about pre-eminence of sitting, for that the archbishop of Lyons challenged the superior place above the archbishop of Sens, also the archbishop of Rouen above the archbishops of Bourges, Aix, and Narbonne, and their suffragans; therefore the session was holden there not in manner and form of a council, but of a certain parley or consultation. Thus the meek and holy council being set, and the pope's majesty's letters read and declared, appeareth before them Reimund, earl of Toulouse, of the one part, and Simon Montfort, on the other part. This Simon required to be restored unto him the lands and possessions of the said Reimund, which the pope and Philip, the French king, had given to him and to his father before, having good evidences to show for the same, confirmed by the donation of the pope and of the king; adding moreover, that the earl Reimund was deprived and disinherited in the general council at Rome for heresy, which is called the heresy of the Albigenses. At least, if he might not have the whole yielded unto him, yet the most part of his lordships he required to be granted him.

Henry III.

A.D. 1226.

The pope raiseth war.

A.D. 1226. The pope's wicked malice against the christian earl of Toulouse.

Mark, reader, the right nature of Pharisees striving for the chief place.

The pope giveth the right possession away from the owners. *See Appendix*

To this the earl Reimund answered again, offering himself ready to all duty and office both toward the French king and to the church of Rome, whatsoever to him did duly appertain. And moreover, touching the heresy wherewith he was there charged; he did not only there offer himself, in that council, before the legate, but most humbly did crave of him, that he would take the pains to come into every city within his precinct, to inquire of every person there the articles of his belief; and if he found any person or persons holding that which was not catholic, he would see the same to be corrected and amended, according to the censure of holy church, to the uttermost. Or if he should find any city rebelling against him, he, to the uttermost of his might with the inhabitants thereof, would compel them to do satisfaction there-for. And as touching himself, if he had committed or erred in any thing (which he remembereth not

Reimund the good earl of Toulouse answereth for himself.

Albigenses falsely suspected of heresy

(1) This Louis (afterwards Louis VIII. of France) was the eldest son of Philip II. To him the barons of England offered the crown, in the miserable days of King John. John died A.D. 1216, and Louis was defeated on the 20th of May in the following year, by the Lord Protector Pembroke, and compelled to evacuate the kingdom.—Ed.

Henry III. A.D. 1226.

that he had done), he offered there full satisfaction to God and the church, as became any faithful christian man to do; requiring, moreover, there, before the legate, to be examined of his faith. But all this, saith Matthew Paris, the legate despised; neither could the catholic earl, saith he, there find any grace, unless he would depart from his heritage, both for himself, and for his heirs for ever. In fine, when it was required by the contrary part, that he should stand to the arbitrement of the twelve peers of France, to that Reimund answered, that if the French king would receive his homage, which he was ready at all times to exhibit, he was contented therewith. For, else, they would not, said he, take him as one of their society and fellow-subject.

After much altercation on both sides about the matter, the legate willeth every archbishop to call aside his suffragans to deliberate with them upon the cause, and to give up in writing what was concluded. This being done accordingly, the legate denounceth excommunication on all such as did reveal any piece of that which was there concluded, before the pope and the king had intelligence thereof.

These things, thus in hudder mutter among themselves, concluded, the legate gave leave to all proctors of covents and chapters to return home, only retaining with him the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, and certain simple prelates, such as he might be more bold withal, to open, and of them to obtain, the other part of his commission; which was, indeed, to obtain of every cathedral church two prebendships,— one of the bishop, the other of the chapter. In monasteries also, after the like sort, where the abbot and covent had divers and several portions, to require two churches; one of the abbot, the other of the covent; keeping this proportion, that how much should suffice for the living of one monk, so much the whole covent should find for their part, and as much the abbot likewise for his. And, forasmuch as he would not seem to demand this without some colour of cause, his reason was this: that because the court of Rome had long been blotted with the note of avarice, who is mother of all evil, for that no man could come to Rome for any business, but he must pay for the expedition of the same; therefore, for the removing away of the occasion of that slander, the public help of the church must necessarily be required.

See Appendix.

Mark, reader, the practice of prelates, for thy learning.

The proctors and parties thus sent home by the legates, marvelling with themselves why the bishops and abbots should be staid, and they sent home, and suspecting no less than as the matter was indeed, conferred their counsels together, and devised with themselves to send certain unto him in the behalf of all the cathedral and conventual churches in France; and sent to the said legate this message, to signify to him, that they were credibly informed he came with special letters from the court of Rome for the obtaining of certain prebendaries in every cathedral and conventual church; which being so, they much marvelled that he would not in the public council make manifest to them those letters which specially concerned them, as much as the others. Wherefore, their request was to him in the Lord, that no such offensive matter might arise by him in the French church; knowing this, that the thing he enterprised could not be brought to effect without great offence

The clergy of France answering to the legate.

taken, and inestimable damage to the church of France. "For grant," said they, "that certain will assent unto you, yet their assent standeth in no effect concerning such matters as touch the whole; especially seeing both the states of the realm, with all the inferior subjects, yea, and the king himself, they are sure, will withstand the same, to the venture, not only of their honour, but of their life also; considering the case to be such, as upon the offence whereof standeth the subversion both of the realm public, and of the whole church in general." Declaring, moreover, the cause of this fear to arise hereof, for that in other realms such communication hath been with bishops and prelates for the procuring of such prebendships, whereas neither the prince nor the subjects were made any thing privy thereto. *Henry III.* A.D. 1226.

In conclusion, when the matter came to debating with the legate, the objections of the inferior parties against the cruel exaction were these in brief effect, as in Matthew Paris are noted. Inferiors ever more bold to speak than the rich.

First, They alleged their great damages and expenses which they were like to sustain thereby, by reason of the continual procurators of the pope, who, in every diocese, must not live of their own, but be sustained by the charges of the cathedral churches, and other churches also; and many times they, being but procurators, will be found as legates. Objections of the clergy of France against the pope's exaction.

Item, By that means, they said, great perturbations might ensue to the covents and chapters of cathedral churches in their elections; forasmuch as the pope's agents and factors being in every cathedral church and chapter-house, perhaps the pope would command the agent or factor in person to be present at their elections, and so might trouble the same in delaying, and deferring, till it might fall to the court of Rome to give; and so there should be placed more of the pope's clientels in the churches of France, than of the proper inhabitants of the land.

Item, By this means they affirmed, that all they in the court of Rome should be richer, and should receive more for their proportion than the king of the realm: by reason of which abundance of riches, it was like to come to pass, that as the worm of rich men is pride, so, by the means of this their riches, the court of Rome would delay and drive off great suits, and would scarcely take any pains with small causes; the experiment whereof is evident, for that now also they use to delay their matters, when they come with their gifts, and being in assurance to receive. And thus should justice stand aside, and poor suitors die at the gates of the court of Rome, thus flowing and triumphing in full abundance of all treasure and riches.

Item, Forasmuch as it is meet and convenient to have friends in the court of Rome, for the better speeding of their causes; therefore they thought to keep them needy, whereby their gifts may be the sweeter, and their causes sooner despatched.

Item, As it is impossible to stop the fountain of greedy desire, it was to be feared, either that they would do that by others, which they were wont to do by themselves, or else, that they should be forced to give greater rewards than before; for small gifts, in the sight of great rich men, are not looked upon.

Item, Where he alleged the removing away of the slander which

Henry III A. D. 1226.

goeth on the court of Rome: by this means rather the contrary were to be feared, wherein they alleged the sentence of the verse, that great riches stop not the taking of much, but a mind contented with a little:

> "Quod virtus reddit, non copia, sufficientem;
> Et non paupertas, sed mentis hiatus, egentem."

Further, they alleged that great riches would make the Romans mad, and so might kindle among them sides and parts-taking; so that, by great possessions, sedition might follow to the ruin and destruction of the city, whereof some experiment they had already.

Item, They added, that although they would condescend and oblige themselves to that contribution, yet their successors would not be so bound, nor yet ratify that bond of theirs.

Lastly, They conclude the matter by desiring that the zeal of the universal church, and of the church of Rome, would move him: for, if this oppression of the church should be universal, it were to be doubted lest an universal departing might follow from the church of Rome, which God forbid, say they, should happen.

God grant, say we.

The legate hearing these words, being therewith something moved, as seemed, excused himself, that he, being in the court, never agreed to this exaction; and that the letters, hereof, came not to him before he was in France, whereat he said he was greatly sorry: adding this withal, that the words of his precept included this secret meaning in them, thus to be understood and taken, "so far forth as the empire and other realms would agree unto the same;' and as for him, he would stir no more in the matter, before it were proved what other countries would say and do therein.

The cardinal repulsed and defeated in France.

And thus much concerning the second part of the blind commission of this legate, touching his exaction of prebendships in every cathedral and conventual church; wherein, as ye hear, he was repulsed.[1]

Now to return to the first part of his commission again, which was concerning Reimund, the godly earl of Toulouse,—thus the story proceedeth: that while the legate was in hand with this matter of the pope's money, in the mean season, certain preaching friars were directed by the said Romanus, the pope's legate, into all France, to incite and stir up the Frenchmen to take the cross upon them, and to war against the earl of Toulouse, and the people thereof, whom they accounted for heretics. At their preaching, a great number of prelates and laymen signed themselves with the cross, to fight against the people of Toulouse, being thereto induced, as the story saith, more for fear of the French king, Louis VIII., or favour of the legate, than for any true zeal of justice. For so it followeth in the words of Matthew Paris:[2] "For to many," saith he, "it seemed an abuse to move war against a faithful christian man, especially, seeing in the council of Bourges, before all men, he entreated the legate, with great instance, that he would come into

The pope raiseth war against the earl and people of Toulouse.

Testimony of the author for the clearing of Reimund and of the Albigenses.

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. p. 62.

(2) "Videbatur enim multis abusio, ut hominem fidelem Christianum infestarent, præcipue cum constaret cunctis, eum, in concilio nuper Bituriensi, multis precibus persuasisse legato, ut veniret ad singulas terræ suæ civitates, inquirens a singulis articulos fidei: et si quempiam contra fidem inveniret," &c.

every city within his dominions, and there inquire of every person the articles of his faith; where, if he found any man to hold any thing contrary to the catholic faith, he promised a full satisfaction to be had thereof, according to the censure of the church, to the uttermost." *Henry III.* A.D. 1226.

Yet all this notwithstanding, the proud legate, contemning this so honest and reasonable purgation of the earl Reimund, ceased not by all manner of means to prosecute the pope's fury against him and his subjects, stirring up the king and the Frenchmen, under pain of excommunication, to war against them. Louis, the French king, thus being enforced by the legate, answered again, that he, for his own safety, would not achieve that expedition, or adventure against the earl, unless it were first obtained of the pope to write to the king of England; commanding him, that, during the time of that expedition, he should invade and molest no part of his lands and possessions which he at that time did hold, whether by right or by wrong, or howsoever they were holden, while the time of the said war against the heretics (as they were then termed) did endure, but rather should aid and assist him with counsel and money in that enterprise. All this being done and accomplished, the French king and the legate (crossing themselves to the field) appointed a day peremptory for the French army to meet together at Lyons, under pain of the pope's excommunication, and, with horse and harness, to set upon the people of Toulouse, namely the Ascension day next ensuing. The unreasonable tyranny of the pope against the people of Toulouse. Excommunication abused.

When the Ascension day was come, which was the day peremptorily appointed, the French king, having prepared at Lyons all things necessary for his army, marcheth forward with a great and mighty host; after whom also cometh the legate, with his bishops and prelates. The number of fighting men in his army, besides the victuallers and waggoners, was fifty thousand men. The legate, by the way, openly excommunicated the earl of Toulouse, and all that took his part; and, furthermore, interdicted his whole land. Thus the king marched forward till he came into the province of Toulouse; and the first city which he came unto there of the earl's was Avignon, which city they thought first to besiege, and so in order afterwards, as they went to destroy and waste all the whole province belonging to the earl. And first the king demanded of them to have his passage through their city; feigning himself in peaceable wise, but for the expedition of his journey, to pass through the same. The citizens, consulting with themselves what was to be done, at length gave answer, that they mistrusted their coming, and supposed that, in deceit, they required the entrance of their city, and for no necessity of their journey. Louis, the French king, and Romanus, the pope's legate, march against the Albigenses. Earl of Toulouse excommunicated.

The king, hereat being much offended, swore an oath, that he would not depart thence till he had taken the city; and immediately, in those places where he thought most meet, he began to make sharp attacks, with all manner of saultable engines; the citizens again within manfully defended themselves, and casting stone for stone, and shooting shot for shot, slew and wounded many of the Frenchmen. Thus, when they had long besieged the city, and could not win the same, at length victuals in the French camp began to fail, City of Avignon besieged.

Henry III. A.D. 1226.

and many of them died for hunger; for the earl of Toulouse, as a wise man of war, hearing before of their coming, took into the town all the provision that was abroad, and left nothing, without, to serve for their defence and succour; he ploughed up the fields, that there should no stover[1] be found to serve their horses; he put out of the town all the old people and young children, lest they should want victuals that kept the town, and before their coming sent them far away, so that within the town they had plenty, and without, they died for famine. And, besides, in seeking far for their forage, many fell into the hands of them that kept the city, who secretly lay in wait for them abroad, and slew many of them; besides that, a great number of cattle and horses died for want of forage; and also poor soldiers, who had no great store of money, died for want of victuals. By the mortality and the stench, both of men and cattle, grew great infection and pestilence among them; insomuch that the king himself, and also the legate, were greatly dismayed, thinking it to be no little shame, as well to the realm of France, as also to Rome, that they should so depart and break up their siege. Thus again thought the soldiers, that much better it were for them to end their lives by battle, than thus to starve and die like dogs; wherefore, with one consent, they purposed to give a new assault at the bridge that goeth over the Rhone into the town, to which place they came in such numbers, that either by the debility of the bridge, or by the subtlety of the soldiers that kept the town, three thousand of them, with bridge and all, fell armed into the violent stream, and were drowned. What was there, then, but joy and gladness on the citizen's part, and much lamentation and heaviness on the other part? Shortly after this, the citizens of Avignon (when they saw a convenient time, whilst their enemies were eating meat) came suddenly upon them out of the town, and slew of them two thousand, and took to the town again with safety. But the legate, with his company of prelates, like good men of war, practised no other martial feats, but all to-be-cursed the earl of Toulouse, his cities, and his people. Louis VIII. the king, to avoid the pestilence that was in the camp, went into an abbey not far off; where, shortly after, he died. Of his death there are sundry opinions; some saying, that he was poisoned; some, that he died of a bloody-flux, A.D. 1226; whose death, notwithstanding, the legate thought to keep secret and conceal, till the town might be surrendered and given up: for he thought himself shamed for ever if he should depart before the town were won. Wherefore, after he had encouraged the soldiers afresh, and yet after many sharp assaults could not prevail, he bethought him how by falsehood he might betray them, and sent unto them certain heralds, to will them that they should among themselves consult upon articles of peace, and bring the same to their camp, whose safe conduct they faithfully promised and warranted, both of coming, and going. When they had given their pledges for the same, the messengers from the citizens talked with the legate, who promised them, if they would deliver up their city, they should have their lives, goods, and possessions in as ample manner as now they enjoyed the

Famine and pestilence in the French camp.

The French soldiers destroyed at the siege of Avignon.

See Appendix.

Louis, the French king, dieth at the siege of Avignon.

The false dealing of the pope's legate in betraying the city of Avignon.

(1) "Stover," fodder.—ED.

same. But the citizens and soldiers refused to be under the servitude of the French king, neither would so deliver up their city to those of whose insolent pride they had so good experiment. After much talk on both sides, and none likely to take effect, the legate requested them, and friendly desired, that he and his prelates who were about him, might come into their city to examine what faith and belief they were of, and that he neither sought nor meant any other thing thereby, but their own safeties, as well of body as soul, which thing he faithfully swore unto: "For," saith he, "the rumour of your great infidelity hath come to the lord pope's ear, and therefore desired he to make true certificate thereof." Hereupon the citizens, not mistrusting his faithful oath and promise made unto them, granted entrance to him and the residue of the clergy, bringing with them no weapon, into the town. The soldiers of the camp, as it was agreed before, made themselves ready, so that at the entrance of the prelates in at the gate, nothing regarding their oath and fidelity, the others suddenly were ready, and with violence rushed in, slew the porter and warders, and, at length, won the city and destroyed the same, and slew many of them that were within. When by falsehood and policy they had thus gotten this noble city, they carried the king's corpse to Paris, where they buried the same. Of the whole number of the French soldiers who in this siege were destroyed by famine, pestilence, and drowning, be recounted more than two and twenty thousand: "Whereby," saith Matthew Paris, "it may evidently appear that the war was unjustly taken in hand."

Henry III. A. D. 1227.

Perjury of the papists. The city of Avignon taken. *See Appendix.*

After these things finished, and after the funeral of the king celebrated at Paris, it followeth more in the said history of Matthew Paris, that the said legate, Romanus, was vehemently suspected and grievously infamed as having abused himself with Blanche, the king's mother: "But it is ungodly," saith he, "to suspect any such thing of him because his enemies so rumoured the same abroad; but a gentle mind expoundeth things doubtful in the better part."

"Sed impium est, hoc credere, quia æmuli ejus hoc disseminaverunt; benignus autem animus dubia in melius interpretatur."

To pass further to the year next following, which was A.D. 1227, first is to be noted, that in this year[1] died Pope Honorius III., a great adversary against Frederic the emperor, after whom succeeded Gregory IX., more grievous than his predecessor. In this year also King Henry, beginning to shoot up unto the twentieth year of his age, came from Reading to London, where he began to charge the citizens of London for old reckonings; namely, for giving or lending five thousand marks to Louis, the French king, at his departing out of the realm, to the great prejudice of him and of his kingdom; for the recompense whereof they were constrained to yield to the king the full sum of the like money. That done, he removed to Oxford, where he assembled a great council, there denouncing and protesting before them all, that he was come to sufficient age no more to be under tutors and governors, but to be his own man, requiring to be freed from the custody of others. This being protested against and resisted, forthwith he, by the counsel of Hubert the chief justice, whom he then made earl of Kent, removed from his company the bishop of Winchester, and others, under whom he was moderated; and immediately, in the same council, by the sinister persuasion of some, he doth annihilate and make void the charters and liberties, before by him granted,

The king claimeth to be freed from governors, and to be his own man.

(1) The next two lines, to "this year also," are brought from p. 376.—Ed.

Henry III. A.D. 1228.

pretending this colour, for that they had been granted and sealed in the time of his minority, at a time when he had the rule neither of himself nor of his seal; whereupon much muttering and murmuring was among the multitude, who did all impute the cause to Hubert, the justice. Moreover, it was at the same time proclaimed, that whosoever had any charter or gift sealed in the time of the king's minority, should come and renew the same again under the new seal of the king, knowing otherwise, that the thing should stand in no effect. And finally, for renewing of their seals, they were taxed not according to their ability, but according as it pleased the justice and others to levy upon them.

Revoketh the liberties which he had granted.

Moreover, besides a general subsidy of the fifteenth granted to the king through the whole realm, and besides also the contribution of the Londoners, divers other parcels and payments he gathered through several places; as, of the burgesses of Peterborough and Northampton he required an aid of twelve hundred pounds, and so of others likewise. All this preparation of money was made toward the furnishing of his voyage to recover Normandy. And yet, because he would gratify the city of London again with some pleasure, he granted that the citizens thereof should pass toll-free, saith Fabian, throughout all England; and if, of any city, borough, or town, they were constrained at any time to pay their toll, then the sheriffs of London were to attach every man coming to London of the said city, borough, or town, and him with his goods to withhold, till the Londoners were again restored of all such money paid for the said toll, with all costs and damages sustained for the same.[1]

See Appendix.

Citizens of London freed from toll.

A.D.1228.

I declared before, how after the death of Honorius succeeded Pope Gregory IX., between whom and the people of Rome this year arose a great sedition, insomuch that about the feast of Easter they thrust the pope out of the city, pursuing him unto his castle at Viterbo, where also they invaded him so valiantly, that they chased him to Perugia. Then having no other remedy wherewith to revenge his persecutors, fiercely he did excommunicate them.[2]

Here, by the way, is to be observed and considered, christian reader, not only by this sedition, but by so many other schisms, divisions, tumults, fightings, brawls, and contentions in the church of Rome from the first beginning of the pope's usurped power, and that not only within the city of Rome, but universally almost in all popish monasteries, colleges, churches, and covents under the pope subjected, continually reigning amongst them, what is to be thought of their religion and holiness, having so little peace, so great disquietness, dissensions, and wrangling amongst them, as in stories manifest it is both to behold, and wondrous to consider.

The pope's church may be judged by their dissensions and schisms.

No peace in the pope's church.

Forasmuch as I have here entered into the mention of this schismatical commotion between the pope and his citizens, it followeth moreover, in the History of Matthew Paris, who maketh relation of a like brawling matter, which befell the same year and time, A.D. 1228, between the prior and covent of Durham, and this King Henry III., upon this occasion. After the death of Richard, bishop of Durham, the prior and chapter of the said church came to the king, to obtain

Dissension between the prior and covent of Durham and the king.

(1) Ex Fabiano, par. 7. (2) Ex Matth. Paris. p. 69

license for the electing of their bishop. The king offered them one Lucas, a chaplain of his, requiring them instantly to elect him for their bishop. To this the monks answered, that they would receive no man, but by their order of canonical election; meaning, belike, by their canonical election, when they either elect some monk out of their own company, or else some monkish priest after their own liking. Contrary, the king again sendeth word unto them, and bound it with an oath, that they should tarry seven years without a bishop, unless they would admit the aforesaid Lucas to that place of dignity. All which notwithstanding, the monks, proceeding in their election, refused the said Lucas; and preferred another clerk of theirs, named William, archdeacon of Worcester, and him they presented to the king: but the king, bringing in exceptions and causes against that party, would not admit him. Then the monks, in all hasty speed, sent up to Rome certain of their covent, to have their election ratified by the authority apostolical. On the other side, the king likewise hearing sendeth also to Rome against the monks the bishop of Chester[1] and the prior of Lanthony on his behalf, to withstand the purpose of the monks. And so the matter, being traversed with great altercation on both sides, did hang in suspense, saith mine author; till at length thus it was concluded between both, that neither Master William nor yet Lucas should be taken, but that Richard, bishop of Sarum, should be translated to Durham, and be bishop there. A.D. 1228.[2]

Henry III. A.D. 1228.

The monks of Durham send to Rome against their king. *See Appendix.*

The like stir also happened, both the same year, and for a like matter, between the monks of Coventry and the canons of Lichfield, about choosing their bishop, which of them should have the superior voice in the election of their prelate. After much ado, the cause, at length being hoisted up to Rome, had this determination; that the monks of Coventry, and the church of Lichfield, should choose their bishop by course, each party taking turn, the one after the other: provided, notwithstanding, that the prior of Coventry should always have the first voice in every election; whereas the old custom was, saith mine author, that the covent with the prior of Coventry was wont to have the whole election of the bishop without the canons. This was A.D. 1228.[3]

In that year died Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, by whom, as is recorded by Nicholas Trivet, the chapters of the Bible, in that order and number as we now use them, were first distinguished. The said Langton also made postils[4] upon the whole Bible. The same prelate, moreover, builded the new hall, in the palace of Canterbury.

The chapters of the Bible first distinguished by Stephen Langton.

After the death of this Langton ensued another variance about the election of the archbishop of Canterbury, between the monks of Canterbury and the king; the perturbation whereof as it was no less seditious, so the determination of the same was much more costly. After the death of Langton, the monks of Canterbury, obtaining license of the king to proceed in the election of a new archbishop, did choose one of their own society, named Master Walter Hemesham; whom, when the monks had presented unto the king, he, after long deliberation, began to object against that election, saying, first,

Dissension between the monks of Canterbury and the king.

(1) See p. 343, note (4).—Ed. (2) Ex Matth. Paris. (3) Ibid. fol. 63.
(4) "Postils," see Appendix.—Ed.

Henry III. A.D. 1228.

that the monks had elected such a one as was neither profitable and suffer him, nor his kingdom. Secondly, he objected against the party elect, that his father was convicted of felony, and hanged for the same. Thirdly, that he stood in causes against his father, King John, in the time of the interdict. Moreover, the bishops, his suffragans, charged the party elect, that by a certain nun he had had children; adding further, that the election of the archbishop was without their presence, which ought not to be. But the archbishop, stoutly standing to the election, appealed up to Rome, and eftsoons taking with him certain monks, presented himself to the pope's own proper person, there to sue his appeal, instantly entreating that his election might stand confirmed by his authority pontifical; but the pope, understanding that the said election was resisted by the king and the bishops, deferred the matter until he did hear further of the certainty thereof. The king and the bishops, having intelligence that the archbishop with his monks were gone to Rome, thought good to articulate the aforesaid objections above alleged, in writing; and, sealing the same with the seals both of the king and of the bishops, to exhibit them to the bishop of Rome. The messengers of these letters were the bishops of Rochester and Chester,[1] and Master John Houghton, archdeacon of Bedford, who, coming to Rome and exhibiting their message with their letters unto the pope (consideration being had upon the same), were commanded to wait attendance against the next day after Ash Wednesday, then to have a resolute answer concerning the cause, which was the first day of March the year following; that is, A.D. 1229. In the mean season, the king's proctors ceased not with all instance to labour the pope and his cardinals to be favourable to the king's side; but finding them somewhat hard and strict in the matter, as is the guise of that court, they began to misdoubt their speeding. Wherefore, consulting together with themselves upon the premises, they came to the pope, promising in the king's behalf, to be given and granted to him out of the realms both of England and Ireland, the tithe or tenth part of all the goods within the said realms moveable, to sustain his wars against the emperor, so that he would incline favourably to the king's suit and petition herein. "But the pope," saith Matthew Paris, "who boiled with desire above all measure to have the emperor, his enemy, cast down, being cheered with such great promises," (O auri sacra fames!) "granted his consent to them;"[2] who, sitting then in his consistory, had these words which here follow.

† *See Appendix.*

King Henry sendeth to the pope. *See Appendix.*

See Appendix. Tithe of all moveable goods in England and Ireland promised to the pope.

It is pity the pope will take no bribes.

The Pope's Answer to the Election of Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury.

There hath come alate to our intelligence the election of a certain monk named Walter, to be archbishop of Canterbury; whereupon, after that we heard and advised, as well those things which the said monk hath said for himself and for his election; as also, on the contrary side, the objections and exceptions of the bishops of England, alleging against him and against his election, namely, of the bishop of Chester and the bishop of Rochester, and John, archdeacon of Bedford: we, upon the same, committed the examination touching the person of the man unto our reverend brethren the lord bishop of Albano,

No, but when your darling Thos. Becket

(1) See p. 385, note (1).—Ed.

(2) "Ad dominus papa, qui rebellem imperatorem super omnia æstuabat dejicere, tantis promissionibus exhilaratus, trahitur ad consensum."

and Thomas, lord bishop of Sabino, and Master Peter, cardinals. And when the aforesaid elect, coming before them, was asked of them, first concerning the Lord's descending into hell, whether he descended in flesh, or without his flesh, he answered not well. Item, being asked touching the making of the body of Christ on the altar, he answered, likewise, not soundly. Being asked, moreover, how Rachel wept for her children, she being dead before, he answered not well. Item, being asked concerning the sentence of excommunication denounced against the order of law, he answered not well. Again, being required of matrimony, if one of the married parties be an infidel, and do depart, he answered thereto not well. Upon these articles, he was (as is said) diligently examined of the cardinals; to the which we say he answered not only not well, but also very ill. Forasmuch, therefore, as the church of Canterbury is a noble church, and requireth a noble prelate, a man discreet and modest, and such as ought to be taken out of the bosom of the church of Rome; and forasmuch as this new elect (whom not only here we pronounce to be unworthy, but also should say more of him, if we would proceed with him by the rigour of the law) is so insufficient, that he ought not to be admitted to such a room: we do utterly infringe, annihilate, and evacuate his election, always reserving to ourselves the provision of the said church.[1]

Henry III. A.D. 1229.

came, he was heard without such communication.

The election of Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, dissolved by the pope, for the king's money.

Thus, the election of Walter being frustrated and dissolved, the king's procurators, bringing forth the letters of the king and of the suffragans of the church of Canterbury, presented the same unto the pope for the ratification of Richard, chancellor of Lincoln, to be appointed archbishop of Canterbury; whom they, with great commendation of words, did set forth to be a man of profound learning and knowledge, of an honest conversation, and, which was greatest of all, that he was a man much for the profit of the church of Rome, as also for the realm of England. The said Richard being thus commended to the pope by the letters procuratory of the king and of the bishops, had the consent of the pope and of the cardinals, and so was made bishop of Canterbury before he was elected. Whereupon the said Pope Gregory, in his behalf, directeth down his letters to all and singular the suffragans of the church of Canterbury, declaring thus, and beginning first with a lie, that 'forasmuch as, by the fulness of ecclesiastical power, the charge of pastoral office is committed to him in general upon all churches, he, therefore, for the solicitude he beareth, as well to all other churches in general, as in an especial manner to the metropolitan church of Canterbury, repudiating and disannulling the former election of Walter, the monk, upon just causes, hath provided for that see a man, as in all other good gifts perfect and excellent, by the report of them that know him, so, for that function very fit and commodious; and willeth and commandeth them, and all others, by his authority apostolical, with all devout reverence to receive him, and humbly to obey him. A.D. 1229.'[2]

The effect of the pope's letters to the suffragans of Canterbury.

The pope beginneth with a lie.

These things thus finished at Rome, the pope, not forgetting the sweet promises made of the English silver which he so greedily gaped for, omitting neither time nor diligence, in all speedywise sendeth unto the king of England Master Stephen, his own chaplain and trusty legate, to require and collect the aforesaid tithes of all the moveable goods both of England, Ireland, and Wales, which were promised to him before; therewith to maintain his war against Frederic, the emperor. And, to the intent he might inflame all christian realms with the like hatred which he bare against Frederic,

This was a *dear* archbishop of Canterbury, bought with the tithes of all England.

(1) Hæc ex Matth. Parisiensi ad verbum. (2) Ex Matth. Paris.

Henry III. A.D. 1229.

the emperor, he sendeth also with the said Stephen special letters, full of manifold complaints and grievous accusations against the said emperor, whereof more (Christ granting) shall be showed hereafter. Upon the coming of this Stephen, the legate, the king assembled all his earls and barons, with the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, templars, hospitallers, parsons, vicars, and others, such as held of him *in capite*, to appear before him at Westminster, to hear and to commune of the matter; in the assembly of whom the pope's patent letters were brought forth and read; wherein he required the tenths of all the moveables in England, Wales, and Ireland, as well of the clergy as of the laity, to maintain his expedition against the aforesaid Frederic, the emperor. As he pretended to achieve and to take in hand this expedition for the cause of the universal church, and happily had begun the matter already; and forasmuch as the riches of the apostolic see did not suffice for the accomplishing of so great an enterprise: he therefore, enforced by mere necessity, did implore the aid and help of all the true obedient and natural chickens of the church of Rome, lest the members thereof, together with the head, should be subverted. These letters of the pope, to this effect, being openly recited and explained by the pope's chaplain, which he, with much more allegation and persuasion of words, did amplify to his uttermost, the king, saith mine author, in whom all men did hope for help to their defence, became then as a staff of reed; for, much as he had obliged himself to the same before for the election of his archbishop, now could he say nothing against it, but held his peace. The earls, barons, and all the laity utterly refused so to bind their baronies to the church of Rome: but the bishops, abbots, priors, with other prelates of the church, first, requiring space and respite to deliberate for three or four days; at length, for fear of the pope's curse (although they durst not utterly withstand) had brought to pass to have concluded for a sum of money much less, had not Stephen Segrave, one of the king's counsellors, craftily convented with the legate, and by subtle means brought it so to pass, that the whole tenths were gathered and paid, to the inestimable damage, saith Matthew Paris, both of the ecclesiastical and temporal state; the means whereof, saith the author, were these: the legate showing to the prelates his procuratory letters, to collect and gather up all the aforesaid tenths in the name and authority of the pope, declared, moreover, the full authority to him granted by the virtue of his commission, to excommunicate all such, and to interdict their churches, whosoever did gainstand or go contrary to the said collection. Whereupon, by the said virtue legantine, he sendeth to every shire his proctors, to gather the pope's money, or else to excommunicate them who refused to pay. And, forasmuch as the present need of the pope required present help without delay, he sendeth moreover to the bishops and prelates of the realm, on pain of interdiction, forthwith to procure and send to him either of their own, or by loan or usance, or by what means soever, so much money, in all post speed, for the present use of the pope; and after, to take up again the said money of the tenths of every single person, by the right taxing of their goods. Upon this, the prelates, to avoid the danger, having no other remedy, were driven to sell their chalices, cruets,

The pope requireth the tenths of all the moveables in England, Wales, and Ireland.

False pretence of the pope, under the name of the church, wreaking his own cankered malice.

The king's mouth stopped.

Excommunication abused.

The pope's extortion.

copes, jewels, and other church plate, and some to lay to mortgage such things as they had, some also to borrow upon usance, to make the money which was required. Moreover the said Stephen, the pope's chaplain, as reporteth Matthew Paris, brought with him into England, for the same purpose, such bankers and usurers; who, lending out their money upon great usury, did unreasonably pinch the English people, which merchant usurers were then called Caursini. Briefly, such strait exaction was then upon the poor Englishmen, that not only their present goods were valued and taxed, but also the corn yet growing in the field against the next harvest was tithed. Only the earl of Chester, named Ranulph, stood stoutly against the pope, suffering none within his dominion, either layman or clerk, to yield any tenths to the pope's proctors.[1] And this was the end of the strife between the monks of Canterbury and the king for the election of their archbishop, which was about A. D. 1229; in which year was finished the new church of Coventry by Alexander, bishop of the said city, and partly by the help of the king, which church Richard, a former bishop of Coventry, had begun.

Henry III. A. D. 1229.

Usurers brought into England by the pope. *See Appendix.*

Corn upon the ground tithed to the pope. A.D.1229. *See Appendix.*

The Frenchmen about this time again prepared themselves towards Provence, to war against the aforesaid Reimund, earl of Toulouse, and to drive him out of his possessions; and, hearing that he was in the castle of Soretze they marched thither all their power, thinking there to enclose and compass him about; but the earl, being privy to their conspired purpose, set for them by the way, appointing certain ambushments in woods, not so secretly as strongly, there to wait and receive the coming of the Frenchmen, and to give them their welcome. Thus when the French were entered the wood, the earl, with his train of well armed and able warriors, suddenly did fly upon them unawares, and gave them a bitter meeting, so that, in that conflict, five hundred of the French soldiers were taken and many slain. Of their servitors, to the number of two thousand men with their armour were taken, of whom some lost their eyes, some their noses, some their ears, some their legs, and so were sent home; the rest were carried away prisoners into the castle. "And to be brief," saith the history, "thrice in the same summer were the Frenchmen discomfited, put to flight, and taken and imprisoned by the aforesaid Reimund the godly earl.[2] Wherein is to be seen and to be praised the gracious protection of the Lord our God against the furious papists, who is glorious always in his saints.[3]

The pope's French army, thinking to destroy Reimund, is destroyed by the way. *See Appendix.*

(1) Ex Matth. Paris, fol. 74. (2) Ibid. p. 69.

(3) We must conclude that our author extols rather the goodness of God in giving the victory, than the cruel manner in which earl Reimund improved it. But while we shrink with disgust at these excesses inflicted upon the French soldiery, it must be remembered that Reimund, the seventh earl, was influenced more by political motives, than by the force of that love, which is taught in the pure doctrines of the gospel of Christ. Without this holy principle, we cannot be surprised that the atrocious severities which his predecessor suffered, and which he saw inflicted upon his own people by the papal power, fostered within him a spirit of unrelenting rigour, which might in time become the dominant principle of his nature. Let us for a moment glance at some of the hideous scenes to which a most bitter persecution had familiarised his mind, and then let any candid reader judge whether the papists have not more cause to blush at the name of pope Innocent III., the founder of the Inquisition, than the Albigenses have at the name of the earls Reimund. "The subjects of Raymund [VIth] carl of Toulouse, and of some other great personages in his neighbourhood, so generally professed the Waldensian doctrines, that they became the peculiar objects of papal vengeance. The inhabitants of Toulouse, Carcassone, Beziers, Narbonne, Avignon, and many other cities, who were commonly called the Albigenses, were exposed to a persecution more cruel and atrocious than any recorded in history."—(Milner, Ch. Hist. vol. iii. p. 484.) The first victims of the destructive and insidious machinations of the Inquisition, instituted about this period (A. D. 1206), were the people of the earl Reimund. "The beginning of the thirteenth century" (continues the above author), "saw thousands of persons hanged or

Henry III. A.D. 1229. *See Appendix.*

The same year, the king, being at Portsmouth, had assembled together all his nobility, earls, barons, and knights of England, with such an army of horsemen and footmen, as hath not been lightly seen, thinking to recover again the countries of Normandy, and other possessions which King John, his father, before, had lost; but when the captains and marshals of the field would take shipping, there were not half ships enough to receive the host. Hereupon the king was vehemently inflamed with anger, laying all the fault on Hubert, the lord chief justice, who, under the king, had all the government of the realm, calling him 'old traitor,' charging him that he would be the let of his voyage, as he was before, when he took of the French queen five thousand marks to stay the king's journey into Normandy. In so much was the rage of the king kindled against him, that, drawing his sword, he made at him to run him through, had not Ranulph, the earl of Chester, stopped the king. Hubert withdrew himself away till the king's rage was past. This was about Michaelmas, at which time arrived Peter, earl of Bretagne, in the haven of Portsmouth, in the month of October; who should have conducted

Inconstancy of princes towards those that be chief about them. *See Appendix.*

burned by these diabolical devices, whose sole crime was, that they trusted only to Jesus Christ for salvation, and renounced all the vain hopes of self-righteous idolatry and superstition." We will not relate details too terrible and disgusting to peruse; they may be found elsewhere: but a brief extract from Stockdale's History of the Inquisition (p. 191) will give the reader some idea of the horrors of this ordeal. "When the accused was condemned to the torture, they conducted him to the place destined for its application, which was called The Place of Torment. It was a subterraneous vault, the descent to which was by an infinite number of winding passages, in order that the shrieks of the unhappy sufferers should not be heard. In this place there were no seats but such as were destined for the inquisitors, who were always present at the infliction of the torture. It was lighted only by two gloomy lamps, whose dim and mournful light served but to show to the criminal, the instruments of his torment: one or more executioners attended, as the case required. These executioners were clothed nearly in the same manner in which penitents are dressed,—in a large robe of black buckram; their heads and faces concealed under a cowl of the same colour, with holes for the eyes, the nose, and the mouth. This spectre-like figure seized the criminal, and stripped him of his clothes," &c. The same author (p. 47) observes, in reference to the persecutions of the Albigenses, "The siege of Beziers commenced: it was urged by all the fury of persecution, and sustained with all the energy of despair. The contest was too unequal: upon the 22d of July, 1209, a day ever memorable in the annals of Europe, the ramparts were forced, and the crusaders entered the city. Bleeding humanity attempts in vain to discredit the sad story of the scene which followed. Men, women, children, old and young, were murdered, without mercy and without distinction. Not even the temples of the Almighty were respected; the unhappy victims were slaughtered upon the very altars to which they had fled for refuge; and when the troops were wearied with massacre, they fastened the doors of the churches, wherein thousands were immured, and setting fire to the buildings, the conflagration completed the destruction of those whom the sword had spared."—"After this, we need not be astonished to hear, that upwards of sixty thousand victims perished on that day." Nor are these cruelties to be attributed to the spirit of an uncultivated age, for the reader may now be referred to one of the enemies of the Albigenses, who defends the enormities here described: we mean the Right Rev. John Milner, D.D. In the Seventh Edition of his "Letters to a Prebendary," p. 72, this Romish writer, in speaking of the Albigenses, observes,—"It was against these pests of society and human nature, that fires were first lighted in the West, &c.; and it was to repress and rout out these, &c. that the crusade of *our* Simon de Montfort and the Inquisition were set on foot, and that the canons, &c. were passed." And in the next page, this writer (who assures us that persecution is no tenet of the Romish church,) speaks of the "much lamented persecution of the Albigenses, to which, however, we are indebted for the continuance of society and the human race," &c.—"Three hundred thousand pilgrims, induced by the united motives of avarice and superstition, filled the country of the Albigenses with carnage and confusion for a number of years." "The castle of Menerbe, on the frontiers of Spain, for want of water, was reduced to the necessity of surrendering to the pope's legate. A certain abbot undertook to preach to those who were found in the castle, and to exhort them to acknowledge the pope: but they interrupted his discourse, declaring that his labour was to no purpose. Earl Simon (Montfort) and the legate then caused a great fire to be kindled: and they burned a hundred and forty persons of both sexes. These martyrs died in triumph, praising God that he had counted them worthy to suffer for the sake of Christ."—(Milner's Church History, vol. iii. p. 492.) The sixth earl Reimund, after a life of suffering and persecution, died in peace, A.D. 1222. His successor, the subject of the present history, pressed on all sides by the enemies of the truth and "the sinful seat of Rome," was constrained, A.D. 1229, to purchase an ignominious peace, by sacrificing a portion of his possessions to Louis IX., the French king, and making the accustomed *peace offering* to Pope Gregory IX. We come then to this conclusion: Our author, who, only on a foreign shore could escape the sanguinary rage of the papists in Queen Mary's reign, praises God for their defeat, and attaches to them the epithet "furious," in his recollections of wrongs and injuries suffered by his fellow-protestants. Reimund, the victim of papal cruelty, insult, and rage, in the flush of victory, surrounded by an infuriated soldiery, permitted the barbarities here related, against his prisoners. The church of Rome, in the written decrees of her councils—in the calm deliberations of her primates—in the mournful dungeons of the Inquisition—in cold blood—in premeditated crime, has made herself "drunk with the blood" of innocent millions, whose "witness is in heaven, and whose record is on high."—ED.

the king, upon his allegiance and oath, into Normandy, but he, with others of the king's army, counselled the king not to take that voyage towards winter, but rather to defer it to the Easter following; wherewith the king was stayed and well contented, and pacified again with Hubert, the justice, &c.[1] *Henry III.* A. D. 1230.

Fabian recordeth this year the liberties and franchises of the city of London to be confirmed by the king; and to each of the sheriffs to be granted two clerks, and two officers, without any more.[2]

Then followed A. D. 1230, in which, upon the day of the conversion of St. Paul, as saith Matthew Paris, as a great multitude of people for the solemnity of the day were congregate in the temple of St. Paul, the bishop then being at his mass, a sudden darkness with such thickness of clouds fell in the air, that scarcely one man might see another in the church. After that followed cracks of thunder and lightning so terrible, leaving such a scent in the church, that the people, looking for doomsday, thought no less but that the steeple and whole church would have fallen upon their heads; insomuch that running out of the church, the people fell down together by thousands, as men amazed, not knowing for the time where they were; only the bishop and his deacon stood still at their mass, holding fast by the altar.[3]

A sudden terror among the people in Paul's church by thunder and lightning.

Of the death of Stephen Langton, and of the troublesome election of the next archbishop, also of the costly and chargeable bringing in of Richard to succeed in his room, which did cost the whole realm of England the tenths of all their moveables, sufficient hath been declared before. This Richard, being now confirmed in his seat, came to the king, complaining of Hubert, the lord chief justice, oft mentioned before, for withholding from him the castle and town of Tunbridge, with the appurtenances to the same belonging, and other lands of the earl of Clare, late deceased, which lands appertain to the right of his see, and to the church of Canterbury; for which the said earl with his ancestors were bound to do homage to him and to his predecessors: and, therefore, he required the keeping of the aforesaid castle, with the domains thereof, to be restored to him. To this the king answered again, that the said earl did hold of him *in capite*, and that the castles of earls and barons during their vacancy, and the wardship of heirs till the lawful age of the said heirs, did belong to his crown. The archbishop, when he could get no other answer of the king, did excommunicate all such as invaded the aforesaid possessions, with all others that took their part, the king only excepted. Which done, eftsoons he speedeth himself to Rome, there to prosecute his suit before the pope. The king hearing thereof, not long after sendeth up master Roger Cantelu, with certain other messengers, unto Rome against the archbishop.

A.D.1231.

Complaint of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, against Hubert, lord chief justice.

See Appendix.

Excommunication abused.

Thus Richard the archbishop, coming before the pope's presence, beginneth first to complain of his king, for that he committed all the affairs of his realm to the disposition and government of Hubert, his justice, using only his counsel, all his other nobles despised.

Against the said justice, moreover, he complained, laying to his charge: first, that he had married a wife, being the kinswoman of her whom he had married before; also that the said Hubert, the

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. (2) Ex Fabiano. (3) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 7b.

Henry III. justice, did invade, hold, and wrongfully detain such possessions as belonged to the see and church of Canterbury.

A. D. 1231. As touching the wife of this Hubert, here is to be noted, that he married the elder sister of the king of Scots: which, as it seemeth, could be of no great kin to her whom he married before.

Further, he complained of certain bishops, his suffragans, who, neglecting their pastoral function, did sit on exchequer matters belonging to the king, and exercised sessions and judgments of blood.

Over and besides, he complaineth of beneficed persons, and clerks in orders, for having many benefices joined with cure of soul: and that they also, taking example of the bishops, did intermeddle in secular matters, and in judgments of laymen.

Of these and such other defaults he required redress to be had. The pope, weighing the cause of the archbishop, and considering it to stand upon right and reason, at leastwise seeming so to his purpose, commanded incontinent his petitions and requests to be despatched according to justice.

Against these complaints of the archbishop, the king's attorneys alleged and defended as much in favour of the king as they might, but could do no good: such favour found the archbishop in the pope's sight, being, as the story reporteth, of a comely personage, and of an eloquent tongue, that he obtained whatsoever he asked. Thus the archbishop, with all favourable speed being despatched from Rome after his own will and desire, returned homeward; who, in his journey, within three days of his setting forth, departed in the house of Grey friars at St. Gemmes, and so his cause departed with him: who, winning his suit, lost his life; for whom it had been better, I suppose, to have tarried at home. And here of him an end, with all his complaints also.[1]

Respect of persons doth much with the pope.

After the death of this Richard, the monks of Canterbury, according to the manner, address themselves to a new election, at which was chosen Radulph Nevil, bishop of Chichester, who was the king's chancellor, much commended in stories as a man faithful, upright, and constant, who from the way of justice declined neither to the right hand nor to the left, but was upright and sincere both in word and deed.[2] This Radulph, thus chosen of the monks, was presented unto the king to be their archbishop, wherewith the king was right well contented, and glad also of this election, and forthwith invested him for archbishop of the church of Canterbury. But this investing of the king was not enough, unless he should also be confirmed by the pope. Wherefore the monks, ready to take their journey unto Rome, came to the new archbishop, requiring his help for their expenses by the way, and to know what service he would command them to the court of Rome. But he, fearing in his mind the same not to be without some scruple of simony and ambition, said, he would not give a halfpenny, and, holding up his hands to heaven, thus prayed, saying, "O Lord God, if I shall be thought worthy to be called, although indeed unworthy, to the seat and office of this church, so be it as thou shalt dispose it. But if, otherwise, in this troublesome office of chancery, and this my inferior ministery, whereunto I have been assigned, I shall seem more necessary for this

A rare example of a good archbishop.

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. (2) Ibid.

thy kingdom and people, I refuse not my labour; thy will be done!" *Henry. III.*

A. D. 1231.

The monks, beholding the constancy of the man, notwithstanding they had of him no money, yet refused not their travail and journey to Rome, to have their election confirmed by the pope's authority. The pope inquiring of Simon Langton[1] (brother of Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, before mentioned) respecting the person of this man, it was reported to him by the said Simon (maliciously depraving the good man behind his back), declaring to the pope, that he was a courtier, unlearned, hasty and fervent in his doings, and one who, if he should be promoted to that dignity, would go about, with the help of the king and of the whole realm, to remove and bring the realm of England from under the yoke of the pope and the church of Rome, and so to bereave the see of Rome of the tribute, to which King John had once subjected himself and his realm, at the time he yielded his crown to the hands of Pandulph, the legate. With these and such other words Simon Langton falsely and maliciously depraved the godly bishop. The pope hearing with one ear, and crediting what he heard, without further inquisition made of the other party accused, sendeth immediately to the monks of Canterbury to proceed in a new election, and to choose them another archbishop, such as was an wholesome pastor of souls, profitable unto the church of England, and devoted to the church of Rome: and thus was the lawful election of this good archbishop made frustrate; too good, peradventure, to serve in that place whereunto he was elected.

Simon Langton, archbishop of York, a malicious backbiter of Ralph, archbishop elect.

Rash judgment of the pope.

After the repulse of this Radulph, the Canterbury monks, entering on a new election, agreed for John, their prior, to be their metropolitan, who, going up to Rome to have his election confirmed by the pope, was for three days together examined of the cardinals; and when they could find no insufficiency in him, touching those things wherein they tried him, yet, notwithstanding, the pope, finding fault with his age (he peradventure being more aged himself), repealed him, for that he said he was too old and simple to sustain that dignity.[2] What was the age of this person, I find not in the author expressed; yet it is to be supposed, that he, who was able to take that journey to Rome and home again, was not so greatly to be complained of for his age, but that he was able sufficiently to take pains in keeping the chair of Canterbury.

Two elections refused by the pope.

In the former parts of the preceding story partly, before, hath been declared, partly, hereafter, shall further appear (Christ willing) how the church of England and the commons of the same were grieved and miserably afflicted by the intolerable oppressions of the pope, who, through his violent extortion, had procured the best benefices to be given to his Romans, and the chief fruits of them to be reserved to his own coffers. What complaints thereof have been made, ye have heard before; but yet no redress could be had. Such was the insatiable avarice of these Roman rake-hells, prolling, and polling, whersoever they came, with their provisions and exactions out of measure, and never satisfied; insomuch that here in England, whosoever lacked, their barns were always full of corn; and what penury soever pinched the people, they were sure to have enough. And these importunate

The pope's intolerable exactions in England.

(1) See Appendix.—Ed. (2) Ex Matth. Paris.

Henry III. A.D. 1231.

exactions and contributions of these Italian harpies, besides the Peter-pence, besides the common tribute, daily more and more increased, to the great grievance of the realm, insomuch that the wealth of this land was almost clean sucked up, and translated to the court of Rome. Neither was the king ignorant hereof, but could not help the matter. Wherefore it was devised by some of the nobles, as appeareth in the story of Matthew Paris,[1] this aforesaid year, A.D. 1231, that certain letters, under the pretensed colour of the king's authority, should be sent abroad, willing and commanding, that such corn and grain, with other revenues, as were taken up for the pope, should be staid and forthcoming by a certain day in the said letters appointed; which letters are thought to proceed chiefly by the means of Hubert, lord chief justice of England, who then, next under the king, ruled most of the affairs of the realm. The words and contents of the letters be these :—

Hubert, lord chief justice, a worker against the pope.

Copy of a Letter, written under the King's authority, to restrain the Benefices of the Romans within the Realm.

In consequence of sundry griefs and oppressions which this realm, as you know, hath sustained by the Romanists, and yet doth, as well to the prejudice of the king himself, as also of the nobility of the same, concerning the advowsons of their churches, and about their tithes: who also go about to take from the clerks and spiritual men their benefices, and to bestow them upon their own nation and countrymen, to the spoil and confusion both of us and our realm: we, therefore, by our common consents, have thought good (although very late) now, rather than any longer to suffer their intolerable oppressions and extortions, to resist and withstand the same; and, by the taking from them their benefices through all England, in like manner to cut short and bridle them, as they had thought to have kept under and bridled others: whereby they may desist any longer to molest the realm. Wherefore, we straitly charge and command you, as touching the farming of their churches, or else the rents belonging to them, which either you have presently in your hands, or else do owe unto the said Romanists, that, from henceforth, you be no more accountable to them, or pay to them from henceforth the same; but that you have the said your rents and revenues ready by March 3rd, to pay and deliver unto our procurators thereunto by our letters assigned; and that all abbots and priors have the same in readiness at the time appointed, in their own monasteries: and that all other priests, clerks, and laymen, at the churches of the Romanists, be there ready to pay. And further, know ye for certainty, that if ye refuse thus to do, all that you have besides shall be by us burned and spoiled. And besides, look, what danger we purpose shall fall upon them, the same shall light upon your necks, if you refuse thus to do. Farewell.

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

When this was done, they sent their letters abroad by certain soldiers thereunto appointed, to the which letters they had devised a new seal with two swords engraved, and between the swords was written in Latin, "Ecce gladii duo," "Behold two swords," implying their determination to take vengeance of all those that should withstand the form and order in these letters contained.

A.D. 1232. A Roman priest, canon of Paul's, taken and robbed by soldiers.

At that time, the sixteenth day before the kalends of January, about the beginning of the year A.D. 1232, there was held at St. Alban's a great consistory of abbots, priors, and archdeacons, with divers both of the nobility and clergy, by the pope's commandment, for the celebration of a divorce between the countess of Essex and her husband. At the breaking up of which consistory, when every man

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 79.

was about to depart thence, there was a certain clerk, whose name was Cincius, a Roman, and also a canon of Paul's in London, taken by some of the said university[1] not far off from St. Alban's, and was carried away from his company by the soldiers. But Master John, archdeacon of Norwich, a Florentine, hardly escaping from that company, got to London, where he hid himself, and durst not be seen. Cincius, after five weeks, when they had well emptied his bags, was safely sent again without any more hurt to London. *Henry III.* A.D. 1232.

Not long after this, about the beginning of January, the barns of a certain beneficed man, a Roman, and parson of Wingham, being full of corn, were broken up by a like company of armed soldiers, and the corn brought out to be sold, and given away to the poor people. The farmer, seeing this, and not able to resist, complaineth to the sheriff of the shire of this injury done to his master, and of the breaking of the king's peace: whereupon the sheriff sent certain of his men to see what was done. Who, coming to the empty barns, and there finding the aforesaid soldiers, to them unknown, who had sold away the most part of the corn at an easy price, and some for charity had given to the poverty of the country about, required of them what they were, who so durst presume to break the king's peace. Whom the others then called secretly apart, and showed them the king's letters patent (pretending at least the king's name and seal), wherein was forbidden that any man should presume to stop or hinder them in that purpose. Of this the sheriff's servants being certified, quietly returned from whence they came. Barns of a Roman parson broken up, and the corn distributed to the poor.

This coming to the knowledge of Roger, bishop of London, he, with the assistance of other bishops, proceedeth in solemn excommunication, first against them that robbed Cincius, the Roman; then of them who spoiled the barns of the parson of Wingham, another Roman; thirdly, he excommunicated them that forged the letters and seal of the king above specified.

Neither yet, for all this, did that cease, but the same year, about the Easter following, all the barns in England which were in the hands of any Roman or Italian, were likewise wasted, and the corn sold to the best commodity of the poor commons; of the which, great alms were distributed, and many times money also, together with corn, was dispersed for the needy people to gather up; neither was there any that would or durst stand against them. As for the Romans and Italians themselves, they were stricken in such fear, that they hid themselves in monasteries and cells, not daring to complain of their injuries received; but held it better rather to lose their goods, than to lose their lives. The authors and workers of this feat were, to the number of fourscore, armed soldiers, of whom the principal captain was one naming himself William Withers, surnamed Twing. General spoil of the Roman parsons in England. *See Appendix.*

This coming to the pope's knowledge, he was not a little stirred therewith, and sendeth his letters immediately to the king upon the same, with sharp threatenings, and imperious commandments, charging him for suffering such villany within his realm, straitly enjoining him, under pain of excommunication, to search out the doers hereof with all diligence, and so to punish them that all others by them may take example. Likewise he sendeth the same charge to Peter, bishop of The pope's choler. A fumish vicar of mild Christ.

(1) Probably meaning the combination under Hubert, mentioned p. 394: see Appendix.—Ed.

Henry III. A.D. 1232.

Winchester, and to the abbot of St. Edmund, to inquire in the south parts. Also to the archbishop of York, and to the bishop of Durham, and to Master John, canon of York, a Roman, to inquire in the north parts for the said malefactors, and, after diligent inquisition made, to send them up to Rome, there to appear before him.

Inquisition made for the spoiling of the pope's corn.

Thus, after earnest inquisition made of all parties, and witnesses sworn and examined, many were found culpable in the matter, of whom some were factors, some consenters, some bishops and chaplains to the king, some archdeacons and deans, with others who were soldiers and laymen. Among them were certain sheriffs and undersheriffs, who, with their servitors under them, were apprehended and cast into prison by the king. Many for fear fled and escaped away, who, being sought for, could not be found; but the principal of this number aforesaid, was supposed to be Hubert, the lord chief justice; who, both with the king's letters and his own, fortified the doers thereof, that no man durst interrupt them. Moreover, in the society of those who were noted in these doings, was the same Robert Twing above mentioned, a comely young man and a valiant knight; who, of his own voluntary accord, with five other servitors whom he took with him abroad to work that feat, came unto the king, openly protesting himself to be the author of that deed-doing; and said he did it for hatred of the pope and the Romans, because that by the sentence of the bishop of Rome, and fraudulent circumvention of the Italians, he was bereaved of the patronage of his benefice, having no more to give up than one; wherefore, to be revenged of that injury, he enterprised that which was done; preferring rather justly to be excommunicated for a season, than to be spoiled of his benefice for ever. Then the king, and other executors of the pope's commandment, gave him counsel, that seeing he had so incurred the danger of the pope's sentence, he should offer himself to the pope to be absolved of him again, and there to make his declaration unto him, that he, justly and canonically, was possessed of that church. The king, moreover, with him sent his letters testimonial unto the pope, witnessing with the said knight, and instantly desiring the pope in his behalf, that he might with favour be heard; at the request whereof, Pope Gregory afterwards both released him from the sentence, and restored unto him his patronage, writing unto the archbishop of York, that he might again enjoy the right of his benefice, in as ample a manner as he did, before it was taken from him.

Robert Twing spoiled of his benefice by the Romans. *See Appendix.*

The bishops go about to get Hubert out of the king's favour.

Hubert de Burgh, lord chief justice, being one of those who held against the Romish priests, as is before signified, was there-for not a little noted of the bishops; who, to requite him with the like despite again, after their accustomed manner of practice, went about by subtle working to shake him out of the king's favour. And first cometh Peter, bishop of Winchester, to the king, grievously complaining of certain about the king; but especially of the aforesaid Hubert, the king's justice: insomuch that he caused him to be removed from his office, notwithstanding he had the king's seal and writing for the perpetuity of the same, and procured Stephen Segrave to be placed in his function. And after a few days, the king, more and more incensed against him, called him to give account of all the treasure for which he was accountable by his exchequer office: Also,

Objections laid against Hubert by the king.

of all such debts by him due, from the time of his father till his time: Also of all the lordships of which he had been in possession since the death of William, earl of Pembroke, chief justice before him: Item, of the liberties which he did hold at that time in forests, warrens, shires, and other places, how they were kept, or how they were made away with: Of fines likewise, also of losses committed through his negligence, and of wastes made contrary to the king's profit; of his liberties, how he did use them: Item, of injuries and damages wrought against the clerks of Rome and other Italians, and the pope's legates; for the redress whereof he would never adjoin his counsel, according as pertained to his office, being then chief justice of England: Also of scutages, gifts, presents, scapes of prisoners: Item, of maritages which King John committed to his keeping at the day of his death, and which were also in his time committed unto him. To these Hubert answered, that he had King John's own hand to show for his discharge, who so approved his fidelity, that he never called him to any, but clearly discharged him from all such counts. Whereunto answered again the bishop of Winchester, saying, "The charter of King John hath no force after his death, but that ye may now be called to a reckoning of this king for the same."

Henry III. A. D. 1232. *See Appendix.* Note, that in Winchester the king's charter is no longer in force than whilst he liveth.

Over and besides these, other greater objections were laid to his charge by the king; as, for sending and writing unto the duke of Austria (to the prejudice of the king and of the realm), dissuading that he should not give his daughter in marriage to the king: Item, for counselling the king not to enter into Normandy with his army, which he had prepared for the recovery of lands there belonging to his right, whereby great treasure was there consumed in vain: Item, for corrupting the daughter of the king of Scots, whom King John, his father, committed unto his wardship for him to marry: Item, for stealing from him a precious stone, which had a virtue to make him victorious in war, and for sending the same unto Lewellyn, prince of Wales; and that by his letters sent to the said Lewellyn, William de Braose, a noble man, was caused there traitorously to be hanged. These, with other crimes, whether true or false, were suggested to the king against the said Hubert by his adversaries; whereunto he was required to answer by order of law. Hubert then, seeing himself in such a strait, refused to answer presently, but required respite thereunto, for that the matters were weighty which the king objected to him: which was granted to him till the fourteenth day of September; but, in the mean time, Hubert, being in fear of the king, fled from London to the priory of Merton. "And thus Hubert, who before, for the love of the king, and the defence of the realm," saith mine author, "had got the hatred of all the nobles of England, now being out of the king's favour, was destitute of comfort on every side; save only that Lucas, archbishop of Dublin, with instant prayers and tears laboured to the king for him." By this example, and many like, is to be seen, how unstable and variable a thing the favour of mortal and mutable princes is: to teach all such as have to do about princes, how to repose and plant their trust, not in man, but in their Lord God, by him to find help in Christ, the true prince of all princes, who never faileth. A like example was Clito, servant of King Alexander; also Joab, of King David;

Other crimes objected to Hubert *See Appendix.*

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

Princes' favours not to be trusted to.

Henry III. Belisarius, of Justinian; Harpagus, of Astyages; Cromwell, of King Henry, with innumerable more, who in histories are to be found.

A.D. 1232. When the day was come that this Hubert should answer, keeping among the canons of Merton, he durst not appear. Then was it signified unto him from the king, that he should come up and appear in the court, there to answer to his charge. Whereunto he answered again, that he misdoubted the king's anger, and therefore he did fly to the church, as the uttermost refuge for all such as suffer wrong; from whence he would not stir, till he heard the king's wrath to be mitigated towards him. With this the king, moved and sorely displeased, directed his letters, in all haste, to the mayor of London, commanding him, at the sight thereof, to muster and take up all the citizens that could bear harness in the city, and to bring to him by force of arms the aforesaid Hubert, either quick or dead, out of Merton. Whereupon, the mayor immediately causing the great bell to be rung, assembled together the people of London, and opening before them the king's letters, commanded them to prepare and arm themselves in all readiness for the executing of the king's will and message.

The king's displeasure against Hubert.

Message to the mayor of London.

Old grudge borne in mind.

Good advice of discreet citizens.

The citizens, hearing this, were therewith right glad and ready, for they all had great hatred to Hubert, because of the execution of Constantine, their citizen, before mentioned. Notwithstanding, certain of the citizens, namely, Andrew Buckerell, John Travers, and others, men of more grave and sage discretion, wisely pondering with themselves, what inconvenience might rise hereof, went in haste to the bishop of Winchester, lying then in Southwark, and, waking him out of his sleep, desired his counsel in that so sudden and dangerous distress; declaring unto him what peril might thereby ensue, as well to the church of Merton, as also to the city, by the fury of the inordinate and fierce multitude, which would hardly be bridled from robbing and spoiling, neither would spare shedding of blood. Unto whom again, the bloody bishop gave this bloody counsel, saith Matthew Paris: "Dangerous it is," quoth he, "both here and there; but yet see that you obey and execute the precept of the king; I counsel you plainly." At this counsel of the bishop, they, being amazed, went with an evil will about the business enjoined; but the people, inflamed with hatred, gladly coveted to be revenged, and to shed the blood of Hubert.

Cruel counsel of Peter, bishop of Winchester.

Causes of displeasure between Hubert and the bishop of Winchester.

The cause why Peter, bishop of Winchester, was so cruelly set against the justice, was partly for the damages he had done to the Roman priests, as before is touched; partly, also, for the old grudge, because the king coming to his lawful age before (through the counsel of this Hubert) loosed himself from the government of the said bishop, who had him then in custody. And thus rose up the grudge and displeasure of this bishop towards him.

On the morrow, the Londoners, issuing out of the city, to the number of twenty thousand, set forth toward the abbey of Merton, where Hubert was lying prostrate before the high altar, commending himself to God.

In the mean season, while the citizens were on their journey, raging against the poor earl of Kent, it was suggested to the king by

Radulph, bishop of Chichester, and lord chancellor, that it was dangerous to excite the vulgar and unruly multitude, for fear of sedition; lest, peradventure, the rude and heady people, being stirred up, will not so soon be brought down again, when the king would have them. Moreover, what shall be said, quoth he, among the Frenchmen and other nations, which of great things love to make greater, and of evil things to make them worse than they are? but thus jestingly and mockingly: "See what a kind bird is the young king of England, who seeketh to devour his old nurse, under whose wings he had been brought up and nourished in his youth." And thus the king, by this persuasion, changing his counsel, sent in all hasty wise after the army again, willing them to retract their journey, and to retire. And thus the Londoners, although much against their wills, returned home, missing their purpose.[1] Herein is to be observed another notable example of God's working providence; for when the king, saith the history, had sent by two messengers or pursuivants to revoke and call back again the army of the Londoners, going with greedy minds to shed the blood of the innocent justice: one of the messengers, posting with all speed possible with the king's letters, overtook the army; and coming to the fore-ward where the captains were, by virtue of the king's letters stayed their course and bloody purpose, whereby they could proceed no further. But the other messenger, crafty and malicious, bearing hatred to the said Hubert, and rather wishing him to be slain than to be delivered, lingered by the way on purpose, although commanded to make haste; and when he came, went only to the middle sort; more like a messenger meet to serve a dead man's errand, than to serve the turn of those who be alive. And so in like manner, by the just hand of God it fell upon him; for this messenger stumbling with his horse, riding but at a soft or foot pace, and rather walking than riding, fell down backwards from his horse's back, and there brake his neck and died. This merciful message of the king was (as is said) sent by the instigation of Radulph, bishop of Chichester, lord chancellor, a virtuous and a faithful man, and one that could skill to have compassion on the miseries of men; of whom it was declared before, that he, being elected archbishop of Canterbury, would not give one halfpenny to their expenses by the way, to get his election confirmed by the pope; and who afterwards by the said pope was defeated and frustrated of his election, as relation was made before. Thus, through God's providence, by the means of the king's letters, the army returned, and Hubert's life (contrary to this expectation) was preserved.

Henry III. A.D. 1232.

Sage counsel of an earl to the king.

Juxta versum, saith the story, Alitem alas alis alium ne longiùs, ales.

The marvellous working of the Lord's help in time of need.

See Appendix.

A notable example of God's just punishment.

After this, the archbishop of Dublin with much labour and great suit entreated and obtained of the king to grant unto the said Hubert respite, till the thirteenth day of January, to provide himself with his answer to such things as were commenced against him. Then Hubert, trusting to enjoy some safety, by the king's permission to him granted, to breathe himself a little, and to walk abroad, took his journey towards St. Edmundsbury, where his wife was; and, passing through the county of Essex, was inned there in a certain town belonging to the bishop of Norwich. Of this when the king was certified, fearing lest he would raise up some commotion

The archbishop of Dublin again maketh intercession for Hubert.

See Appendix.

See Appendix.

(1) Ex additamentis Matth. Paris. fol. 81.

Henry III. A. D. 1232.

in the realm, he sendeth in hasty anger after him Sir Godfrey Craucombe, knight, with three hundred men; commanding, under pain of hanging, that they should apprehend him, and bring him to the tower of London: which commandment to accomplish, there lacked no haste. Hubert, having intelligence of their coming (rising out of his bed, naked as he was) ran unto the chapel standing near unto the inn, where he holdeth with the one hand the cross, with the other hand the sacrament of the Lord's body. Then Godfrey, with his aforesaid armed soldiers, entering into the chapel, willed him to come out. When he would not do this, with violent hands he drew him out of the chapel, and taking the cross and the sacrament out of his hands, fast bound him with fetters and gives under a horse's belly, and brought him, as they were commanded, to the tower. And so, certifying the king what they had done (who then tarried up waking for them), he rejoiced not a little thereat, and went merrily to his bed.

Hubert flieth to the church for refuge. *See Appendix.*

Violently drawn out of the church, and cast into the tower of London.

On the morrow, Roger, bishop of London, having knowledge how, and in what order, he was taken violently out of the chapel, cometh unto the king, blaming him boldly, for violating the peace of holy church, and protesting, that, unless the party were loosed again, and sent to the chapel from whence he was drawn, he would enter sentence of excommunication against all the deed doers.

The king compelled to send Hubert again to his sanctuary. *See Appendix.*

The king, as he did not deny his transgression herein, so he sendeth him, albeit against his will, out of the tower, unto the said chapel again, and by the same soldiers who brought him out before. This done, he giveth straight charge and commandment, under pain of hanging, to the sheriffs of Hertford and Essex, that they, in their own persons, with the strength of both shires, should watch and compass about the chapel, and see that the said Hubert might no ways escape; which commandment of the king was accomplished with all diligence. But Hubert took all this patiently, and continued in the chapel praying both night and day, and commending his cause unto the Lord; whom he desired so to deliver him from that instant danger, as he always sought the king's honour by his faithful and trusty service. And, as he continued in his prayer, so the king, continuing in his rage, commanded that no man should entreat for him, or make any mention of him in his presence. Notwithstanding this, Lucas, archbishop of Dublin, his true, and almost only friend, ceased not to pray and weep to the king for him, desiring the king at least to intimate to him, what he purposed should be done with Hubert. Whereunto the king answering, said, That of these three things, one he should choose: Whether he would abjure the realm of England for ever, or be condemned unto perpetual prison, or else, confess himself openly to be a traitor? But Hubert hereunto said, That he would choose none of these articles, as one who knew himself neither guilty nor worthy of any such confusion: but, to satisfy somewhat the mind of the king, he would be contented to depart the realm for a season; but to abjure the realm, he would not so do.

Example of a constant friend in time of need.

Three things put to Hubert.

See Appendix.

In this mean time it befel that Ranulph, earl of Chester and Lincoln, one of his sorest enemies, died. Hubert all this while remained in the chapel, enclosed and guarded about with the power,

as I said, of two shires, and so continued, till at length, by the commandment of the king, his two servitors, who ministered unto him within the chapel, were taken from him. Then Hubert, seeing no other remedy but there to starve for famine, offered himself of his own accord to the sheriffs, saying, that he would rather put himself in the king's mercy, than there desperately perish for hunger. And so was he taken, and being fast bound in fetters, was brought again, and clapped, by the king's commandment, in the tower of London. *Henry III.* A.D. 1232. Hubert reduced again to the tower.

Not long after this, word was brought unto the king by certain, that the said Hubert had much treasure lying in the house of the new Templars in London. Whereupon, the king, to try out the truth thereof, sendeth for the prior or master of the house; who, not daring to deny, confessed that there was indeed treasure brought into the house, but the quantity and number thereof he could not tell. The king, desirous to seize upon the treasure, required and charged the master with his brethren, with threatening words, to bring forth the treasure to him, saying, that it was taken and stolen out of his treasury. But they answered again, that the treasure was committed with trust and faith unto their hands, and therefore they neither would, nor ought, to let it go out of their hands, being trusted withal, without the assent of him who committed the same unto them. When the king could get no other answer at their hands, neither durst show any further violence against them, he sendeth unto Hubert in the tower, requiring of him the aforesaid treasures. To whom he, answering again mildly, yielded both himself, his treasures, and all that ever he had, unto the king's will and pleasure; and so, sending word unto the master and brethren of the temple, willeth them to take all the keys, and deliver the goods, with all that there was, unto the king, who, receiving the same, and taking an inventory of that which was received, caused it to be brought to his treasury, whereof the number both of the plate, of the coin, and of the jewels, was of price unknown. The enemies of Hubert, supposing thereby to take advantage against him to bring him to his end, came with open complaint unto the king, crying out against Hubert, that he was a thief, a traitor, and a robber of the king's treasure, and, therefore, by right was worthy to be hanged: and thus cried his accusers daily in the king's ear. "But the hearts of kings," saith the wise man, "are in the hands of the Lord," to be ruled, not after man's will, but as it pleaseth God to direct them. And so this king, having now his will and fill upon poor Hubert, and somewhat coming more unto himself, answered again in this wise: "That there was no such need to deal so straitly with him, who from the time of his youth first served mine uncle, King Richard, then my father, King John, in whose service (as I heard say) beyond the seas, he was driven to eat his horse;[1] and who, in my time, hath stood so constantly in defence of the realm against foreign nations; who kept the castle of Dover against King Louis, and vanquished the Frenchmen upon the seas; also at Bedford and at Lincoln he hath done such service. And if against me he hath dealt any thing untruly, which yet is not evidently proved, yet he shall never be put by me to so villanous a death. I had rather be counted a king foolish and

Bereft of all his treasures.

God ruleth the hearts of kings.

The king's answer in defence of Hubert.

See Appendix

A worthy word of a king.

(1) Matth. Paris. fol. 81.

Henry III. A.D. 1232.

simple, than be judged a tyrant or a seeker of blood, especially of such as have served me and mine ancestors, in many perils so dangerously, weighing more the few evils which yet be not proved, than so many good deserts of his evident and manifest service, done both to me and to the whole realm." Thus the king, somewhat relenting to poor Hubert, his old servant, granted unto him all such lands as he had had given him by King John, his father, and whatsoever else he had by his own purchase.

The king's mind relenteth toward Hubert.

Thus Hubert, after long trouble, a little cheered with some piece of comfort, set Lawrence, his trusty friend that never left him, one that belonged to St. Alban's, to be his steward and overseer of those possessions granted to him by the king. Shortly upon the same, after the king's mind was seen thus something to relent, the envy also of the nobles, being now partly satisfied, began to turn to mercy; insomuch that four earls, to wit, Earl Richard, the king's brother; William, earl of Warren; Richard, earl Marshal; and William, earl Ferrers, became sureties to the king for him; upon whose surety he was transferred to the castle of Devizes, where he was under the keeping of four soldiers by them appointed, having the liberty of the castle. But the bishop of Winchester, who always hunted after the life of Hubert, craftily cometh to the king, and desireth the custody of that castle, making no mention of Hubert, to the intent, that by the keeping thereof he might the sooner despatch him. Hubert having thereof some inkling, breaketh the matter to two of his servants; who, with compassion tendering his misery, watched their time, the keepers being asleep, and conveyed him by night upon their backs, fettered as he was, into the parish church of the town, and there remained with him. The keepers, when they missed their prisoner, were in great perplexity, and, after diligent search, finding him at length where he was in the church, with violent force drew him from thence to the castle again; for which injury to the church, the bishop of Sarum, understanding the order of the matter, cometh to the castle where the keepers were, and required that Hubert should be brought again into the church from whence he was taken. Which when the keepers refused to do, saying, they would rather he should hang than they, the bishop gave sentence of excommunication against them. This done, he, with the bishop of London, and other bishops, goeth immediately to the king, complaining of the injury done to Hubert, and especially of the contumely against holy church; neither would they leave the king before they had obtained that he should be brought back again into the church, and so he was. Not long after, the king, in great displeasure, sendeth to the sheriff of the shire to keep him well watched in the church, till he either came forth, or there perished with famine.

Hubert put in the castle of Devizes.

A.D. 1233.

See Appendix.

Conveyed into the parish church.

Brought back to the castle.

Delivered out of prison, and carried into Wales.

It befel, in the mean season, that great dissension arose between the king and the nobles of the realm, by reason whereof Hubert was taken and carried away by Richard, earl Marshal, into Wales, and there remained until the king at length was reconciled with his nobles, and so received, along with the rest, the said Hubert again into his favour.[1] Of this dissension more shall be showed (Christ willing) hereafter.

(1) Ex Matth. Paris., et ex Floribus Historiarum

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As the beginning of this trouble of Hubert's first sprang out of vexing the pope's barns, so likewise Roger, bishop of London, suspected for the same cause, was forced to travel up to Rome, there to purge himself before the pope; where, after much money consumed, and being robbed also by the way, he got nothing else, but lost his labour, and so came home again. There, doing the part of a good bishop, after his return from Rome, he attempted to expel and exclude out of his diocese all those Italian usurers, called, as is before said, Caursini. These Caursinites coming with the pope's legates into England, and lending their money to religious houses, colleges, and churches, had their debtors bound unto them in such sort as was of much advantage to them, and much injury to the others, as in the form of their obligations in the story of Matthew Paris is largely expressed.[1] Against these Caursinites the bishop of London being worthily inflamed with zeal of justice, first, with loving admonition, went about to reclaim them for the wealth of their souls, and afterwards with sharp words he began to charge them. But they, disregarding christian counsel, and despising the bishop's threatenings, would not leave the sweetness of their occupation; wherefore the bishop, proceeding to the sentence of excommunication, precisely and strictly charged them to depart his diocese. But they, again, being confident and emboldened upon the pope's defence, not only set at light his excommunication, but also wrought such ways with the pope that they caused the said bishop of London, being both aged and sickly, to be cited peremptorily to appear beyond the seas, there to answer to such objections as they should infer against him. And thus, the bishop, minding rather to cover than to open the faults of the church, and partly being let with infirmity and age, was compelled to let the cause fall.

Roger, bishop of London, goeth to Rome to purge himself before the pope. *See Appendix.*

Usurers excommunicated and expelled by the bishop of London.

And thus much of the pope's merchants here in England, who were not so busy here for their part, but the pope, the great master of these merchant usurers, was as busy for his. And although his barns here in England were destroyed, and his bank something decayed, yet he thought to win it up in another way, for he proclaimed, the same year, a general visitation through all the religious houses, exempt or not exempt, universally pertaining to his jurisdiction; where, by the cruel dealing of the visitors, many were compelled to appeal and to travel up to Rome, to the great expenditure of their money, and the filling of the pope's coffers. But as touching this visitation, to make short, saith the story, it tended not to any reformation so much as to the deformation of the universal order:[2] "While all those who before, through all parts of the world, followed only the rule of Benedict, now, through new devised constitutions, are found in all places so divided and divers, that of all monasteries, and other churches of religion, scarce may two be found which do agree in one rule and institution of life."

General visitation of the pope through all religious houses.

Great diversity among religious orders.

All the while that Hubert, above mentioned, was secluded from the king, Peter, bishop of Winchester, bare all the rule, and above all other alone was accepted. This bishop being in such principal

(1) Matth. Paris. fol. 65.

(2) "Dum omnes, qui in diversis orbis partibus unicam Benedicti secuti fuerant regulam, per novas constitutiones ita inveniantur ubique discordes, quod ex omnibus cœnobiis, vel aliis religiosorum ecclesiis vix duo habeantur in norma vivendi concordes."—Ex Parisiensi.

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favour with the king, as by whose counsel all things were administered, removed the natural servitors who were Englishmen, out of their offices, and placed other strangers, namely, of Poictou, and of other countries, in their room. Among those who were thrust out, was William, under-marshal, who supplied the room of Richard, lord great Marshal of England; for which cause the said Lord Richard was mightily offended. Also Walter, treasurer of the king's house, was not only expelled, but also amerced in a hundred pounds, and put from all his holds and munitions, which he had by the king's patent granted to him.

Old servitors of the king put out and discharged.

Moreover, by the counsel of the said bishop of Winchester, all the old counsellors, as well bishops, as other earls and barons, and all the nobles, were rejected from the king in such sort, that he would hear and follow no man's counsel, but only the said Peter, bishop of Winchester, and his cousin, Peter de Rivaulx; whereby it came to pass, that all the greatest holds and munitions in the realm were taken from the old keepers, and committed to the custody of the said Peter. Then the bishop of Winchester, to plant and pitch himself more strongly in the king's favour, adjoined to his fellowship Stephen Segrave, succeeding in the place of Hubert, the justice: also Robert Passelew, who had the keeping of the treasure under the aforesaid Peter Rivaulx. So by these three all the affairs of the realm were ordered. Moreover, to make their party more sure, by them was provided, that soldiers and servitors from beyond the sea, as Poictevins and Bretons, were sent for, to the number of two thousand, who were placed partly about the king, partly were set in castles and holds within the realm, and had the oversight and government of shires and baronies, who then oppressed the nobles of the land, accusing them to the king for traitors; whom the simple king did easily believe, committing to them the custody of his treasures, the sitting in judgments, and the doing in all things. When the nobles, thus oppressed, came to complain of their injuries to the king, by the means of the bishop of Winchester, their cause was nothing regarded; insomuch that the said Winchester, moreover, accused certain bishops also to the king, so that he did flee and shun them as open traitors and rebels.

See Appendix.

The king forsaketh his nobles and sticketh to strangers.

Richard, earl marshal, admonisheth the king.

These things standing thus out of order, Richard, the noble Marshal of England, with others of the nobles joining with him, seeing these oppressions and injuries daily growing, contrary to the laws and wealth of the realm, came to the king, and blamed him for retaining such perverse council about him of the Poictevins and other foreigners, to the great prejudice of his natural subjects, and of the liberties of the realm; humbly desiring and beseeching him, that he, with as much speed as might be, would reform and redress such excesses, whereby the whole realm seemed to lie in danger of subversion. Otherwise, if he refused to see correction thereof, he, with other peers and nobles, would withdraw themselves from his council, so long as he maintained the society of those foreigners and strangers about him.

Disdainful answer of the bishop.

To this Peter Winchester, answering again, said, that the king right well might call unto him what foreigners and strangers him listed, for the defence both of his kingdom, and of his crown; and

what number of them he would, as by whom he might be able to bridle his proud and rebellious subjects, and so to keep them in awe and good order.—When the earl and the nobles could get no other answer of him, in great perturbation they departed, promising among themselves, that in this cause, which so touched the state of the whole realm, they would with constancy join together, to the parting with their lives. *Henry III.* A. D. 1233. of Winchester.

After this, the aforesaid Peter, bishop of Winchester, with his accomplices, ceased not by all means to inflame the king's heart to hatred and contempt of his natural people, whom they so vehemently perverted, that he, accounting them no other than his enemies, sought, by all diligence, the utter destruction of them, sending daily for more garrisons of the Poictevins, till in short space they replenished well near the whole land, whose defence the king only trusted unto: neither was any thing disposed in the realm, but through the guiding of this Peter, and of the Poictevins. Petrus de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester, perverter of the king by wicked counsel.

The king, thus guarded and strengthened with these foreign aliens and strangers, proclaimed a parliament to be holden at Oxford, where the nobles were warned to be present. They, considering the indignation of the king conceived, would not appear. Again, they were required the first, second, and third time to present themselves. The assembly proceeded, but they came not for whom the king looked. In this assembly or parliament, it was plainly told the king, by a Dominic friar preaching before him, that unless he removed from him the bishop of Winchester, and Peter Rivaulx his kinsman, he should not, neither could, long enjoy peace in his kingdom. This although it was bluntly spoken by the friar against the bishop, yet this remedy he had; the friar had nothing to lose. Yet was there another chaplain of the court, who perceiving the king somewhat mitigated by the former preaching, and after a courtlike dexterity handling his matter, being a pleasant conceited man, thus merrily came to the king, asking a question, "What is the thing most pernicious and dangerous of all other things to them that travel by the seas?" "That," said the king, "is best known to such as travel in that kind of traffic." "Nay," saith he, "this is easy to be told." The king demanding what it was, "Forsooth," quoth he, "stones and rocks;" alluding merrily, but yet truly, to the bishop of Winchester, whose name and surname was Petrus de Rupibus, for 'Petræ' in Latin signifieth stones, and 'Rupes,' rocks. Notwithstanding, the king, either not perceiving the meaning, or not amending the fault, again sendeth to his nobles, to have them come and speak with him at Westminster. But they, fearing some train to be laid for them, refused to appear, sending plain words to the king by solemn message, that his grace, without all delay, should seclude from him Peter, bishop of Winchester, and other aliens of Poictou, or, if he would not, they, with the common assent of the realm, would displace him with his wicked counsellors from his kingdom, and have, within themselves, tractation for choosing a new king. *See Appendix.* Merry apothegm of the king's chaplain. Message of the nobles to the king.

The king, at the hearing of this message, being mightily moved, partly to fear, partly to indignation, especially having the late example of King John, his father, before his eyes, was cast into great perplexity, doubting what was best to be done. But Winchester, War raised by him against his nobles.

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with his wicked counsel, so wrought with the king, that he proceeded with all severity against them; insomuch that, in a short time, the sparkles of poisoned counsel kindling more and more, grew to a sharp battle between the king and Richard, earl Marshal, with other nobles, to the great disquietness of the whole realm. This war was presignified by terrible thundering and lightning, heard all England over in the month of March, with such abundance of rain and floods accompanying the same, as cast down mills, overcovered the fields, threw down houses, and did much harm through the whole realm.

Great thunders and floods in England.

To prosecute here, at large, the whole discourse of this war between the king and the earl marshal, which continued near the space of two years; to declare all the parts and circumstances thereof; what troubles it brought, what damages it wrought unto the whole realm, what trains were laid, what slaughter of men, what waste of whole countries ensued from Wales unto Shrewsbury, how the marshal joined himself with Llewellyn, or Leoline, prince of Wales, how the Poictevins were almost all slain and destroyed, how the king was distressed, what forgery wily Winchester wrought by the king's letters to entrap the Marshal, and to betray him to the Irishmen, amongst whom he was at length slain: for all this I refer to other authors, who at large do treat of the same, as Matthew Paris, Florilegus, and others.[1] This is to be noted and observed (which rather pertaineth to our ecclesiastical history), to see what sedition and continual disquietness there was in those days among almost all christian people, being under the pope's catholic obedience; but especially, to mark the corrupt doctrine then reigning, it is to be marvelled, or rather lamented, to see the king and the people then so blinded in the principal point and article of their salvation, as we find in stories, which, making mention of a house or monastery of converts builded the same year by the king at London, do express in plain words, that he then did it "for the redemption of his soul, of the soul of King John, his father, and for the souls of all his ancestors:"[2] whereby may be understood in what palpable darkness of blind ignorance the silly souls redeemed by Christ were then enwrapped, who did not know, nor yet were taught, the right doctrine and first principles of their redemption.

Why monasteries were builded.

Mention was made a little before of dissolving the election of John, prior of Canterbury, who was chosen by the monks to be archbishop of the said church of Canterbury, but by the pope was defeated. After him one John Blund was elected, who, travelling up to Rome this year, A.D. 1233, to be confirmed of the pope, was also repealed and unelected again, for that it was thought in England,

Archbishop of Canterbury elected by the chapter, unelected by the pope.

(1) A brief abstract of fifty years of these melancholy times will serve to recal, to the recollection of the reader, the events to which our author here alludes. The king, at an early age, came to the throne, A.D. 1216. Excess and extravagance pervaded the court. The people were oppressed—the clergy suffered the most disgraceful extortion from Pope Gregory IX.—violence and rapine troubled the realm—the baronial aristocracy seconded the ambitious designs of the earl of Leicester, A.D. 1258—they usurped the power of the throne—a civil war, accompanied with its usual horrors, succeeded—the king and his brother Richard were defeated and taken prisoners, at Lewes, on the 14th May, A.D. 1264—in the following year the earl of Leicester called a parliament, distinguished as the one to which deputies from the boroughs were first summoned—and on the 4th of August that nobleman fell in the battle of Evesham, fighting against Prince Edward (afterwards Edward I.), upon which King Henry was restored to the throne.—Ed.

(2) "Pro redemptione animæ suæ et Regis Johannis patris sui, et omnium antecessorum suorum.' —Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 86.

and so complained of to the pope, that he had received of Peter, bishop of Winchester, a thousand marks, and had another thousand promised him of the said Winchester, who by his money thought to make him on his side, and also wrote to the emperor to help forward his promotion in the court of Rome. Notwithstanding, both he, with his giving, and the other, with his taking of bribes, were both detected and disappointed of their purpose. For the pope, hating then the emperor, for the same cause, admitted not the election; pretending as the cause, that he was proved to hold two benefices without his dispensation. After him, by the commandment of the pope, one Edmund, canon of Salisbury, was ordained archbishop, and had his pall sent to him from the pope. This Edmund, for his virtues, was afterwards canonized by the popish monks there for a saint, and called St. Edmund. About this time, also, Robert Grosthead was made bishop of Lincoln.

Henry III. A.D. 1233. Corruption of bribes.

This Edmund, accompanied with other bishops, during this trouble between the king and his nobles, being in council at Westminster, in the year next ensuing (A.D. 1234), came, uttering their minds boldly, in the name of the lords, and declaring unto the king, as became his faithful servants, that the counsel, which he then followed, was not sound or safe, but cruel and dangerous, both to him, and to the state of the realm; meaning the counsel of Peter Winchester and Peter Rivaulx, with other adherents.

A.D. 1234. *See Appendix*

Faithful Counsel of the Bishops given to the King.

1. For that they hate and contemn the English nation, calling them traitors and rebels, and turning the king's heart from the love of his natural subjects, and the hearts of them from him, as appeareth by the earl marshal and others, sowing discord among them.

2. Item, By the said counsel, to wit, by the aforesaid bishop and his fellows, King John, the king's father, lost first the hearts of his barons, after that lost Normandy, and afterwards, other lands also, and in the end wasted all his treasure, so that since that time the regiment of England had never any quiet after.

3. Item, By the said counsel also, in their time and memory, the kingdom of England had been troubled and suspended, and in conclusion, she that was before the prince of provinces, became tributary; and so, war ensuing upon the same, the said King John, his father, incurred great danger of death, and at last was extinguished, after lacking both peace of his kingdom and of his own heart.

4. Item, By the said counsel the castle of Bedford was kept a long time against the king, to the great loss both of men and treasure, beside the loss of Rochelle, to the shame of the realm of England.

5. Item, Through their wicked counsel, at this present, great perturbation seemed to hang over the whole realm; for else, if it had not been for their counsel, and if true justice and judgment might have been ministered unto the king's subjects, these tumults had never been stirred, and the king might have had his land unwasted, and his treasure unconsumed.

6. Item, In that faith and allegiance, wherewith they were obliged unto him, they protested unto him, that his said council was not a council of peace, but of division and disquietness, to the end that they who otherwise, by peace, could not aspire, by disturbing and disheriting others, might be exalted.

7. Item, For that all the castles, forts, munitions, also all the officers of the exchequer, with all other the greatest escheats of the realm, were in their hands, of the which if the king would demand account, he should prove how true they were.

8. Item, For that neither by the king's seal nor commandment, except it

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bore withal the seal of Peter Rival, almost any business of any weight could be despatched in the realm, as though they counted their king for no king.

9. Furthermore, by the aforesaid counsel, the natural subjects and nobles of the realm were banished the court, which it was to be feared would grow to some inconvenience both to the king and to the realm; forasmuch as the king seemed to be more on their side, than they on his, as by many evident conjectures may appear.

10. Item, It was not well to be taken and liked, the said council standing of strangers and aliens, that they should have in their power both the king's sister, and many other noblemen's daughters, and other women marriageable, with the king's wards and marriages, which they bestowed and divided among themselves and men of their affinity.

11. Item, The said council, regarding neither the laws nor the liberties of the realm, confirmed and corroborated by excommunication, did confound and pervert all justice: wherefore it was to be feared, that they would run under excommunication, and the king also, in communicating with them.

12. Item, Because they kept neither promise, nor faith, nor oath with any person, neither did observe any instrument made, never so formal, by law, nor yet did fear any excommunication; wherefore they were to be left for people desperate, as who were departed from all truth and honesty.

"These things," said the bishops, "we, as your faithful subjects before God and men, do tell and advertise your grace, desiring and beseeching you, that you will remove and seclude from you such counsel: and as the custom is of all other kingdoms to do, that you will so govern in like manner your kingdom by your own natural liege people, and such as be sworn unto you of your own realm. For thus," said they, "in verity we denounce unto you, that unless in short time you will see these things reformed, we, according to our duty, will proceed by the censure of the church against you and all others that gainstand the same, tarrying no other thing, but only the consecration of this our reverend archbishop."

Excommunication denounced by the bishops against the king.

These words of the bishops thus said and finished, the king required a little time of respite, wherein to advise with himself about the matter, saying, that he could not, on such a sudden, remove from him his council, before he had entered with them account of his treasure committed to them; and so that assembly brake up.

His answer.

It followed then, after this communication so broken up, that the king resorted to the parts of Norfolk, where, coming by St. Edmundsbury, where the wife of Hubert, the justice, was, he being moved with zeal of pity toward the woman, who very humbly behaved herself to the king, did grant her eight manors,[1] which her husband before with his money had purchased, being then in the custody and possession of Robert Passelew, one of the king's new counsellors above specified. It was not long after this, that Edmund, the archbishop, was invested and consecrated in the church of Canterbury; who, shortly after his consecration, about the month of April, coming with his suffragans to the place of council, where the king with his earls and barons were assembled, opened to him the cause and purpose of his coming, and of the other prelates, which was, to put him in remembrance of their former talk had with him at Westminster; denouncing, moreover, to him expressly, that unless with speed he would take a better way, and fall to a peaceable and godly agreement with the true and faithful nobles of his realm, he immediately, with the other prelates there present, would pass the sentence of excommunication against him, and against all them that would be enemies to the same peace, and maintainers of discord.

The pity of the king toward the wife of Hubert.

Edmund consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, afterwards canonized by Pope Innocent IV.

Excommunication rightly practised.

The king, after he heard the meaning of the bishops, with humble

(1) "Manor places."—Old editions.—Ed.

and gentle language answered them, promising to condescend to them in all things. Whereupon within few days after, the king, coming to some better remembrance of himself, commanded the aforenamed bishop of Winchester to leave the court, and to return home to his bishopric, there to attend unto the spiritual charge and care of his flock committed to him. Moreover, he commanded Peter Rivaulx, the bishop's cousin, some stories say his son, who had then the disposing of all the affairs of the realm, to render unto him his castles, and to give account of all his treasures whereof he had the keeping, and so to void the realm; swearing, moreover, unto him, that if he had not been beneficed, and within orders of the church, he would have caused both his eyes to be plucked out of his head.

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Peter Rivaulx called to account of the king's treasures

Henry likewise expelled the Poictevins out of the court, and from the custody of his munitions, sending them home into their country, and bidding them no more see his face. Thus the king, wisely despatching his wicked counsellors, first did send Edmund, the archbishop, with the bishops of Chester[1] and of Rochester, into Wales to Llewellyn, and to Richard, earl Marshal, and others, to treat with them of peace. Also he received back to his service men of his natural country, to attend about him, offering himself willing to be ruled by the counsel of the archbishop and the bishops, by whose prudence he trusted his realm should be reduced again to a better quietness.

Poictevins and strangers sent home by the king.

But in the mean time, while these things were doing in England, the aforesaid Richard, earl Marshal, by the falsehood of the bishop of Winchester, and Peter Rivaulx, forging the king's letters to the Irishmen against him, and partly by the conspiracy of Gilbert de Marisco, being circumvented by the Irishmen in war, and there taken and wounded, was by them, through the means of his surgeon, slain.

Richard, earl Marshal, fraudulently slain in Ireland.

Great slaughter at the same time there was of them who were called Catini, about the parts of Almain. These Catini were esteemed of Pope Gregory and the papists to be heretics, but what their opinions were, I find it not expressed in Matthew Paris.

Catini, slain about Almain, judged of the papists for heretics.

In like sort the Albigenses before mentioned, accounted also by the pope's flock to be heretics, with their bishops, and a great number and company of them, were slain by commandment of Pope Gregory IX., at the same time, in a certain plain in Spain.[2]

Albigenses slain in Spain. *See Appendix.*

How the archbishop of Canterbury, with two other bishops, was sent into Wales for entreaty of peace, ye heard before; at whose return, after the time of Easter, the king going toward Gloucester to meet them by the way, as he was in his journey at Woodstock, there came messengers from Ireland, declaring to the king the death of Richard, earl Marshal, and the order thereof, through the forged letters of Winchester, and others; whereat the king made great lamentation and mourning, to the great admiration of all them that were by, saying and complaining, that he left not his like in all the realm again.

After this, the king proceeding in his journey, came to Gloucester, where the archbishop, with the other bishops, coming to the king, declared to him the form and condition of peace, which they had concluded with Llewellyn, which was this:—If the king would be

The saying of Llewellyn king of Wales

(1) See p. 386, note (1).—Ed.

(2) Ex Matth. Paris., fol. 87. [Ed. Paris. 1644, p. 271.]

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reconciled before with the other nobles with whom he was confederate, such as the king had banished out of his realm, to the end that the concord might be the more firm between them: thus, said they, was Llewellyn contented, although with much ado and great difficulty, to receive the league of peace, saying and protesting this unto them, that he feared more the king's alms than all the puissance both of him and of all his clergy in England.

Peace concluded between the king and his nobles.

This done, the king, there remaining with the bishops, directed his letters to all the exiles and banished lords, and to all his nobles, that they should repair to him about the beginning of June, at Gloucester, promising to them his full favour, and reconcilement to them and to their heirs; and, that they might suspect no fraud therein, they should have their safe conduct by the archbishop and bishops. Whereupon, through the mediation of the said archbishop and the bishops, first cometh to the king Hubert, earl of Kent, offering himself to the king's good will and favour, whom the king, with cheerful countenance, received and embraced, restoring him not only to his favour, but also to his household and counsel, with his livings and possessions, from which he had been disseized before. Then Hubert, lifting up his eyes to heaven, gave praise and glory to God, by whose gracious providence he, being so marvellously preserved through so great distresses and tribulations, was again so happily reconciled to the king and to his faithful friends. After him, in like sort, came in Gilbert Basset, a nobleman; Richard Suard; also Gilbert, the brother of Richard earl Marshal, who was slain; which Gilbert recovered again his whole inheritance, as well in England as in Ireland, doing his homage to the king, and his service due for the same; to whom also was granted the office of the high marshal court, belonging before to his brother Richard.

Hubert, earl of Kent, restored to the king's favour.

Giveth thanks to God.

Falshood and murder cometh out. Kings many times abused by wicked counsel.

In the same council or communication, continuing then at Gloucester, the said Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, bringing the forged letters, wherein was betrayed the life of Richard, earl Marshal, sealed with the king's seal, and sent to the great men of Ireland, read the same openly, in the presence of the king and all the nobles. At the hearing whereof, the king, greatly sorrowing and weeping, confessed there in truth, that being forced by the bishop of Winchester and Peter Rivaulx, he commanded his seal to be set to certain letters presented unto him, but the tenor thereof he said and sware he never heard; whereunto the archbishop answering, desired the king to search well his conscience, and said, that all they who were procurers, or had knowledge of those letters, were guilty of the death of the earl Marshal, no less than if they had murdered him with their own hands.

Bishop of Winchester and others called to answer.

Then the king, calling a council, sent his letters for the bishop of Winchester, for Peter Rivaulx, Stephen Segrave, and Robert Passelew, to appear and yield account for his treasures unto them committed, and for his seal by them abused. But the bishop and Rivaulx, keeping themselves in the sanctuary of the minster church of Winchester, neither durst nor would appear. Stephen Segrave, who succeeded after Hubert, the justice, and was of the clergy before, after became a layman, and now, hiding himself in St. Mary's church, in the abbey of Leicester, was turned to a clerk again. Robert Passelew covertly hid himself in a certain cellar of the New Temple, so secretly, that

none could tell where he was, but thought he was gone to Rome. At length, through the aforesaid Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, means was made that a dilatory day was granted by the king, for them to answer. At which day, first appeared Peter Rivaulx, then Stephen Segrave, after him Robert Passelew, each of them severally one after another, showed themselves; but, not able to answer for themselves, like traitors were reproved, and like villains were sent away. *Henry III.* A. D. 1230.

VARIANCE BETWEEN POPE GREGORY IX. AND THE CITIZENS OF ROME.[1]

While peace thus between the king and the nobles was reconciled in England, dissension and variance the same time and year began in Rome between the pope and the citizens of Rome. The cause was, for that the citizens claimed by old custom and law, that the bishop of Rome might not excommunicate any citizen of the city, nor suspend the said city with any interdiction, for any manner excess.

To this the pope answered again, "Quòd minor Deo est, sed quolibet homine major" (to use the very words of mine author); "Ergo, major quolibet cive, næ, etiam rege vel imperatore:" that is, "That he is less than God, but greater than any man: ergo, greater than any citizen, yea also, greater than king or emperor." And for so much as he is their spiritual father, he both ought, and lawfully may, chastise his children when they offend, as being subjected to him in the faith of Christ, and reduce them into the way again, when they stray out of course.

Moreover, the citizens allege again for themselves, that the potestates of the city and the senators do receive of the church of Rome yearly tribute, which the bishops of Rome were bound to pay unto them, both by new, and also ancient laws. Of the which yearly tribute they have been ever in possession up to the time of this Pope Gregory IX. The pope bound to pay to Rome yearly tribute.

Hereunto the pope answered, and said, that although the church of Rome in time of persecution, for her own defence and for the sake of peace, was wont to aid the head rulers of the city with gentle rewards,[2] yet ought not that now to be taken for a custom; for that custom only ought to stand, which consisteth not upon examples, but upon right and reason.

Further, a thing unheard of and never before done, the citizens wanted, at the commandment of the Senator,[3] to appropriate their country within new and larger limits, and to subject the same, being so enlarged, to new assessments.

To this the pope again made answer, that certain lordships, and even cities and castles, of his own be contained within the compass of the said limits, as the city of Viterbo and the town of Montalto, which they presume to appropriate within their precinct; but, to ascribe to themselves and usurp that which pertaineth to others, is against right and justice.

For these and such other controversies rising between the pope and the Romans, such dissension was kindled, that the pope with his cardinals, leaving the city of Rome, removed to Perugia, as partly before is recited, thinking there to remain and to plant themselves; Flieth the city of Rome.

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 91. [Edit. 1640, p. 408.] (2) "Donis gratuitis." Lat.—Ed.
(3) The title of the chief magistrate of Rome: see Ducange in vocem.—Ed.

Henry III. A. D. 1230.

but the Romans, prevailing against him, overthrew divers of his houses in the city, for the which he did excommunicate them. The Romans then, flying to the emperor, desired his aid and succour; but he, belike to pleasure the pope, gathering an army, went rather against the Romans. Then the pope's army, whose captains were the earl of Toulouse (to purchase the pope's favour) and Peter the aforesaid bishop of Winchester (whom the pope for the same end had sent for from England, partly for his treasure, partly for his practice and skill in feats of war), and the emperor's host joined together, and cast down the villages belonging to the citizens in the suburbs bordering about the city of Rome, to the number of eighteen, and destroyed the vineyards. Whereat the Romans, being not a little offended, brast out of the city with more heat than order, to the number of one hundred thousand (as the story reporteth), to destroy Viterbo, the pope's city, with sword and fire. But the multitude, being unordered and out of battle-array, and unprovided for jeopardies which by the way might happen, fell into the hands of their enemies, who were in wait for them, and of them destroyed a great number; so that altogether[1] were slain to the number of thirty thousand; but the most part was of the citizens. And this dissension thus begun was not soon ended, but continued long after.[2]

Warreth against the Romans.

Church of Rome degenerated from the image of the true church.

By these, and such other stories, who seeth not how far the church of Rome hath degenerated from the true image of the right church of Christ, which, by the rule and example of the gospel, ought to be a daughter of peace, not a mother of debate; not a revenger of herself, nor a seeker of wars, but a forgiver of injuries, humbly and patiently referring all revenge to the Lord; not a raker for riches, but a winner of souls; not contending for worldly mastership, but humbling themselves as servants; and not vicars of the Lord, but jointly like brethren serving together, bishops with bishops, ministers with ministers, deacons with deacons, and not as masters, separating themselves by superiority one from another; and briefly communicating together in doctrine and counsel, one particular church with another; not as a mother one over another, but rather as a sister church one with another, seeking together the glory of Christ, and not their own. And such was the church of Rome first in the old ancient beginning of her primitive state, especially while the cross of persecution yet kept the bishops and ministers under, in humility of heart and fervent calling upon the Lord for help; so that happy was that Christian then, who with liberty of conscience only might hold his life, how barely soever he lived. And as for the pride and pomp of the world, striving for patrimonies, buying of bishopries, gaping for benefices, so far was this off from them, that then they had little leisure, and less list, so much as once to think upon them. Neither did the bishops, then, of Rome, fight to be consuls of the city, but sought how to bring the consuls unto Christ, being glad if the consuls would permit them to dwell by them in the city. Neither did they then presume so high, to bring the emperors' necks under their girdles, but were glad to save their necks in any corner from the sword of the emperors. Then lacked they outward peace, but abounded in inward consolation,

Difference between the church of Rome that was, and the church of Rome that is.

(1) "Hinc inde," between both parties.—Ed.

(2) Ex M. Paris. fol. 92, [p. 408, whence the text has been in several instances corrected.—Ed.]

God's Holy Spirit mightily working in their hearts. Then was one catholic unity of truth and doctrine amongst all churches, against errors and sects; neither did the east and west, nor distance of place, divide the church, but both the east church and the west church, the Greeks and the Latins, made all one church. And, albeit there were then five patriarchal sees appointed for order sake, differing in regions, and peradventure also in some rites one from another; yet all these consenting together in one unity of catholic doctrine, having one God, one Christ, one faith, one baptism, one spirit, one head, and linked together in one bond of charity, and in one equality of honour; they made altogether one body, one church, one communion, called one catholic, universal, and apostolic church. And so long as this knot of charity and equality did join them in unity together, so long the church of Christ flourished and increased, one being ready to help and harbour another, in time of distress, as Agapetus and Vigilius, flying to Constantinople, were there aided by the patriarch; so that, all this while, neither foreign enemy, neither Saracen, nor soldan or sultan, nor caliph, nor Chorasmian, nor Turk, had any power greatly to harm it.

Henry III. A.D. 1230.

East church. West church.

Catholic church.

See Appendix.

But through the malice of the enemy, this catholic unity did not long continue, and all by reason of the bishop of Rome, who, not contented to be like his brethren, began to extend himself, and to claim superiority above the other four patriarchal sees, and all other churches in the world. And thus, as equality amongst christian bishops was by pride and singularity oppressed, so unity began, by little and little, to be dissolved, and the Lord's coat, which the soldiers left whole, to be divided. Which coat of christian unity, albeit of long time it hath been now seam-ript before, by the occasion aforesaid, yet notwithstanding, in some sort it held together in some mean agreement, in subjection to the see of Rome, till the time of this Pope Gregory IX., A.D. 1230, at which time this rupture and schism of the church brake out into a plain division, utterly dissevering the east church from the west church, upon this occasion.

Schism between the Greek church and the church of Rome. Equality, mother of concord.

There was a certain archbishop elected to an archbishopric among the Greeks, who, coming to Rome to be confirmed, could not be admitted unless he promised a very great sum of money. Which when he refused to do, and detested the execrable simony of the court of Rome, he made his repair home again to his own country, unconfirmed, declaring there to the whole nobility of that land, the case how it stood. For the further confirmation of this, there were also others, who, coming lately from Rome, where they had proved the same, or worse, came in and gave testimony to his saying. Whereupon all the churches of the Greeks, at the same time hearing this, departed utterly away from the church of Rome, which was in the days of this Pope Gregory IX., insomuch that the archbishop of Constantinople, coming afterwards to the general council at Lyons, there openly declared, that whereas before-time he had under him above thirty bishopries and suffragans, now he had not three; adding, moreover, that all the Greeks, and certain others, with Antioch, and the whole empire of Romania, even to the gates, almost, of Constantinople, were gone from the obedience of the church of Rome, &c.[1]

The cause and occasion why the Greek church utterly brake from the Romans.

See Appendix.

All Greece gone from the obedience of the church of Rome.

See Appendix.

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 112, &c. fol. 186.

Henry III. A.D. 1232.

By the occasion of the aforesaid separation of the Greeks from Pope Gregory, it happened shortly after (A.D. 1232), that Germanus, archbishop and patriarch of Constantinople, wrote to the said Pope Gregory IX., humbly desiring him to study and seek some means of unity, how the seamless coat of the Lord Jesus thus lamentably rent, not with hands of soldiers, but by discord of prelates, may be healed again; offering this, moreover, that if he will take the pains to stir out, he, for his part, notwithstanding his old age and feeble body, would not refuse to meet him in the mid way, to the intent that the truth on both sides being debated by the Scriptures, the wrong part may be reduced, the slander stopped, and unity re-formed between them.

Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, writeth to Pope Gregory IX.

This request of the patriarch, as it was both godly and reasonable, so it had been the bishop's part again, with like humility, to have condescended to the same, and to have been glad with all his might to help forward the reformation of christian unity in the church of Christ, and so to have showed himself the son of peace: but the proud bishop of Rome, more like the son of discord and dissension, standing still upon his majesty, refused thus to do; but wrote again in answer to his letters with great disdain, seeking nothing else but how to advance his see above all other churches; and not only that, but, also, shortly after, he sent forth his preaching friars, to move all Christians to take the sign of the cross, and to fight against the Greeks, no otherwise than against the Turks and Saracens; insomuch that, in the Isle of Cyprus, many good men and martyrs were slain for the same, as by the letters of the said Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, is to be seen.[1]

The pope setteth the west church to fight against the east church.

The patriarch's letter to the pope, and the pope's answer thereto, being long and tedious to read, are omitted here, but are extant in the history of Matthew Paris;[2] the summary effect whereof, notwithstanding, I thought here briefly to notify, for the simple and unlearned multitude, who, not understanding the Latin, may hereby perceive the fault of this schism not so much to rest in the Greek church, as in the church of Rome, as by the contents of this letter may appear.

See Appendix

SUBSTANCE OF A LETTER OF GERMANUS, THE PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, TO POPE GREGORY IX., A.D. 1232.

In this letter the said Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, writing to Pope Gregory, first after his reverend salutation and preamble following upon the same, entering then upon the matter, showeth the occasion of his writing, which was by five observant friars repairing thither, whom he, gently receiving into his house, had conference with them touching this discord between the two churches, how it might be reduced again to unity; and afterwards, perceiving the said friars to make their journey towards Rome, he thought, therefore, by them to write his letters, wherein first lamenting this division in the house of God, and reciting the inconveniences which come thereof, by the example of Judah and Israel, Jerusalem and Samaria, Cain and Abel, Esau and Jacob, also of other such like, both private and public societies, where brother fighteth against brother, like as among

The inconvenience of discord.

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 112. (2) Ibid. fol. 3, et 111.

fishes the greater devoureth the lesser; he proceedeth then further gently to exhort Pope Gregory to the study of unity. *Henry III.* A. D. 1232.

And forasmuch as the pope had accursed, belike, those churches of the Greeks before, he therefore, taking his ground upon the words of St. Paul, [Gal. i.] where he accurseth every such person and persons, whatsoever they be, either man or angel of heaven, that shall preach any other gospel than hath been preached, willeth the pope to stand with him upon the same ground of the apostle's curse; so that if the stroke of that curse have lighted upon him or his churches, he desireth him to show the wound, and to help to wipe away the blood, to minister some spiritual plaster, to bind up the sore, and to save his brethren from perishing who lay in danger, according to the saying of the wise man, "A brotherly friend is tried in adversity."

Whether the church of the Greeks or the pope's church lieth more under the danger of God's curse.

"But if we (saith he), of the Greek church be free from the stripe of this curse of the apostle, and you Italians, and of the Latin church, be stricken therewith and lie thereby in danger of destruction, I trust that you, through ignorance and wilful obstinacy, will not so suffer yourselves to be separated from the Lord, but rather will suffer a thousand deaths before, if it were possible for a man so often to die."

And as touching this great discord between us, if either contrariety of doctrine, or swerving from the ancient canons, or diversity of rites received of our forefathers, be any cause thereof, we here take heaven and earth to witness, that we for our parts are ready, and desire also, upon due trial of profound truth of God's word, and invocation of the Holy Ghost, to join hands with you, or you to join with us. But, to say the very truth, and to tell you plainly, this we suppose, that many mighty and noble potentates would sooner incline to your obedience, were it not that they feared your unjust oppressions, your insatiable exactions, and inordinate provisions wherewith you wring your subjects, by reason whereof have risen amongst us cruel wars, one fighting against another, desolation of cities, bulls and interdictions set upon church-doors, division of brethren, and churches of the Grecians left without service, where God should be praised. So that now only one thing lacketh, which I believe to be predefined and appointed from above long before to us Grecians, the time I mean of martyrdom, which also now hasteneth fast upon us, that the tribunal of tyrants should be opened, and the seats of torments be set, that the blood of martyrs should be spilled, and we brought to the stage of martyrdom, to fight for the crown of glory."

The Greeks afraid of the pope's oppressions.

The patriarch of Constantinople prophesieth of the martyrdom of the Grecians.

"This that I do speak, and wherefore I speak it, the noble island of Cyprus doth already know and feel, which hath made many new martyrs, and hath seen valiant soldiers of Christ, who of long time before, passing through water and tears of sorrow, now at last have also passed through fire, and so entered into the heavenly rest. How say you, be these good and seemly, O holy pope! the successor of St. Peter, the apostle? Is this the bidding of that good Peter, the meek and humble disciple of Christ? Doth he thus instruct the seniors and elders in his epistle, where he writeth in this wise? "The elders which are among you, I beseech, which am also a fellow-elder with them, and witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be opened: feed the flock of God which is amongst you, having care and sight over it, not of coaction, as compelled against your wills, but willingly, of your own accord; not for filthy lucre' sake, but freely and heartily; neither as bearing dominion and lordship over the church, but showing yourselves as an example to the flock: and when the chief Pastor shall appear, you shall receive an incorruptible crown of eternal glory." [1 Pet. v. 1, 4.] And this is the doctrine of Peter, as they shall see who do not obey it. As for us, the other part of the said epistle is sufficient: wherein he willeth them to rejoice which are in heaviness through manifold temptations, that the trial of their faith being much more precious than gold that perisheth, and is tried in fire, may be their laud, honour, and glory, at the appearing of the Lord Jesus. [1 Pet. i. 7.] But bear with me,

The pope's persecution in the isle of Cyprus.

The tyranny and avarice of the pope chastened by the words of St. Peter.

Henry III. A.D. 1232.

I pray you, O holy father, and of all your predecessors most meek, and suffer my words though they be something sharp, for they be sighings of a sorrowful heart."

He exhorteth the pope to come and meet with him, that they might confer together about the unity of faith.

"Wherefore, gird about your loins with fortitude, and light up the candle of your discretion, and seek the groat that is lost, of the unity, I mean, of faith. And we will also with like compassion join with your holiness, and I will not spare this weak body of mine, in pretending any excuse either of age or the length of the way: for the more laborious the travail is, the more crowns it bringeth. And St. Paul saith, 'Every man shall receive reward according to his travail.'"

The Greek church sound and sincere in doctrine.

"Neither are we ignorant, if it please your holiness, that like as we Grecians, for our parts, do labour in all respects to keep and observe the sincerity of true faith and doctrine, not to err, nor swerve in any part or point from the statutes of the blessed apostles and ancient fathers, so the church, likewise, of old Rome doth, for her part, labour also, we know well, to follow the sincere verity of christian doctrine, and thinketh herself to err in nothing, nor to need any remedy or reformation. And this we know is the judgment and sayings of both the churches, as well of the Greeks as of the Latins. For no man can see any spot in his own face, without he stoop down to the glass, or else be admonished by some other, whether his face be blotted or no. Even so have we many great and fair glasses set before us: first, the clear gospel of Christ, the epistles of the apostles, and divinity books of ancient writers. Let us therefore look into them well; they will show every man's mind and judgment, whether he go right or wrong. The God of peace tread down Satan speedily under our feet. The Author of peace confound the sower of discord. He that is the cause of all goodness destroy the hater of all that which is good, and which giveth cause of offence and slander. And he who is God of all joy and peace, send us, who are shepherds of his sheep reasonable, the angel of peace, and the messenger of great glad tidings, as he did in the Nativity of Christ to the shepherds of brute sheep and unreasonable; and make us worthy to sing that joyful song of God's praise, "Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace; good-will to men;" and to receive one another with an holy kiss. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the peace of God the Father, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with you always. Amen."[1]

He exhorteth the church of Rome to look her face in God's glass; that is, to try their doctrine by God's word.

SUBSTANCE OF ANOTHER EPISTLE OF GERMANUS, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, AND PRIMATE OF THE GREEK CHURCH, TO THE CARDINALS OF ROME.

See Appendix.

Another letter the said Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, wrote also the same time to the pope's cardinals, wherein he first commendeth them for their wisdom and counsel, and then, showing what utility cometh by giving good counsel, he saith:

"Forsomuch as God, many times, that which he hideth from one, inspireth to another, so that that good thing which by the Almighty God is sunderly dispensed to divers, through common counsel and conference spreadeth to the public utility of many," &c.

After this, eftsoons, he beginneth to exhort them, that they, like charitable ministers and discreet counsellors, should take in hand the spiritual armour of God, to cast down the stop and partition wall of the old discord between the Greek and Latin church, and that they should be a means to the bishop of Rome, that they who so long have been dissevered by dissension, may now be conjoined in unity of peace, in brotherly charity and communion of faith.

"Concerning which matter, I have (saith he) already written to his holiness. And now, I beseech the King of heaven, who took the shape of a servant to help his miserable servants, and was exalted upon the cross to raise them up

(1) Ex libro Matth. Paris manuscripto, ff. 3 et 111.

who were fallen into the profundity of desolation, that he will vouchsafe to put from your hearts all elation of mind, extolling itself over and above the unity of your brethren and fellow-servants, and to enlighten your consciences with the true light of understanding, that we may altogether agree in one, and that there be no schism amongst us. Let us, therefore, as we are instructed, so abide in one mind, that it be not said of us, as it was of the Corinthians before us, 'I hold of Paul, I of Apollos, I of Cephas, and I of Christ;' [1 Cor. i. 12;] but that all we, as we hold the name of Christ, and are called Christians, so may also abide in that wherein we are instructed, in one mind; that is, to follow love and charity in Christ Jesus, having always in our hearts the words of the apostle, saying, 'One Lord, one faith, one baptism.'" *Henry III.* A.D 1232.

"And now to be plain with you in that I have to say, I shall desire you not to be offended with me in uttering the truth as a friend unto you. 'The words,' saith Solomon, 'of a wise man telling truth, be like to nails which be driven in deep:' and truth for the most part breedeth enemies; and, therefore, though I am partly afraid, yet will I simply confess the truth unto you. Certes, this division of christian unity amongst us, proceedeth of no other cause but only of the tyranny, oppression, and exactions of the church of Rome, who of a mother is become a stepdame, and hath put her children from her whom long time she nourished (after the manner of a ravening bird, which driveth her young from her); which children, how much the more humble and obedient they are to her, the less she esteemeth them, and treadeth them underfoot, not regarding the saying of the gospel, 'Whoso humbleth himself shall be exalted.'" [Luke xviii. 14.] The tyranny and oppression of the church of Rome is the only cause of breaking unity between the Greek church and the Latin.

"Let modesty, therefore, something temper you, and let the avarice of the court of Rome, although that cannot well out of the flesh which is bred in the bone, yet surcease a while, and let us together condescend to the trial of the truth; which truth being found out on both sides, let us constantly embrace the same."

"For why? we have been altogether sometimes, both Italians and Greeians, in one faith, and under the same canons, having peace with each other, and defending one another, and confounding the enemies of the church. At what time, many flying out of the west parts (while the tyranny of the heretics endured) made their concourse to us, and were received; and part fled unto you, that is, old Rome, as to a strong tower of refuge, and so received they comfort in both places, and one brother was thus received into the bosom of another, by mutual love for their defence." The old amity and concord between the east church and the west.

"Then, afterwards, when Rome had been often distressed by the barbarous and heathen nations, the Grecians were ever ready to rescue and deliver them. Did not Agapetus and Vigilius flee unto Constantinople by reason of the dissensions then at Rome, and being honourably received, were here defended under our protection? although the like kindness was never yet showed on your part to us again in our like necessities. Notwithstanding, we ought to do good to them also that be ungrateful; for so doth the sea participate her smooth and calm tides even unto the pirates, and so 'God causeth the sun to shine upon the just and unjust.' But, alas for sorrow, what bitter division is this, that hath thus sequestered us asunder? One of us detracteth another, shunning the company one of another, as the damnation of his soul. What a mortal hatred is this that is come among us? If you think we are fallen, then do you help to lift us up, and be not to us a stumbling-block to our bodily ruin, but helpers unto the spiritual resurrection of our souls; so shall we acknowledge ourselves bound unto you to give you condign thanks accordingly." Agapetus and Vigilius fled to Constantinople for succour.

"But if the blame and first origin of all this offence proceedeth from Rome, and the successors of Peter, the apostle; then read ye the words of St. Paul to the Galatians, saying, 'When Peter came to Antioch I withstood him to the face, because he was to be rebuked.' [Gal. ii. 11.] Howbeit this resistance was no cause of any discord, or breach between them, but the cause rather of further search and profounder disputations, provoking temporal agreement; for they were fast joined together in the bond of charity in Christ, agreeing in faith and conformity of doctrine, separated by no ambition or avarice, in which points, would God we also were like unto them! This to us, in our minds, gendereth a great offence, that you gaping so greedily after terrene possessions, scrape together all that you can scratch and rake. You heap up gold and Paul reproveth Peter.

Henry III. A.D 1232.

silver, and yet pretend that you be the disciples of Him who said, 'Gold and silver I have none,' &c. [Acts iii. 6.] You make whole kingdoms tributary to you, and kings and princes your vassals. You augment your money by usury, and by feats of merchandise. You unteach by your deeds that which you teach in words."

He meaneth of the kingdom of England, and others which were made tributary to the see of Rome.

"Moderate yourselves, therefore, with more temperance, that you may be an example to us and to all the world. You see how good a thing it is for one brother to help another. Only God alone needeth no help or counsel, but men need to be holpen one of another. And were it not that I do reverence the blessed apostle Peter, the chief of Christ's apostles, the rock of our faith; I would here put you in remembrance how greatly this rock was shaken and removed from the foundation at the sight of a silly woman; and Christ of his secret purpose permitted the same, who, by the crowing of the cock, brought him again to remembrance of that which was foretold him, and raised him from the slumber of desperation. Then he, being thus waked, washed his face with tears, confessing himself, before God and all the world, to be a true pattern of repentance, who before bare the keys of the kingdom, saying thus unto us, 'May not he which falleth, rise again? Oh you which are fallen, rise up and behold me, and hearken unto me, travelling towards Paradise; the gates whereof to open I have received power.'"

The immoderate avarice of the court of Rome.

Peter's faith shaken.

Peter an ensample of repentance.

"And thus do I write unto you, not for any instruction, but only to put you in remembrance: for I know how God hath endued you with all wisdom and knowledge; as Solomon saith, 'Give only occasion to the wise, and he will learn wisdom: teach the just man, and he will be glad to take instruction.'"

Christian countries and nations in the east which are not under the bishop of Rome.

"This one thing more I will say, and so make an end: There be great and mighty nations that are of like mind and opinion with us. First, the Ethiopians, who inhabit the chief part of the east. After that the Syrians, and others besides, of greater number than they, and more disposed to virtue, as the Hiberi, Alani, Gothi, Chazari, with innumerable people of Russia, and the kingdom of great victory, that of the Bulgarians. All these are obedient unto us as their mother church, persisting hitherto constantly in the ancient and true orthodox faith immoveable."

Christ the only head of the church.

"The God of all holiness, who for our sakes became man, and who only is the head of his church and congregation, vouchsafe to gather us again together in unity, and grant that the Grecian church, together with her sister church of old Rome, may glorify the same Christ, the Prince of Peace, by the unity of faith, to the restitution of sound and wholesome doctrine, wherein many years agone they have agreed and were united. God grant unto you brotherly charity, and the hand of the most mighty God govern you all, holy cardinals, till that ye joyfully arrive in the haven of everlasting tranquillity. The grace of God be with you all. Amen."[1]

The pope proclaimeth war against the Greek church.

Shortly after the sending of these letters, pope Gregory prepared to send men of war, signed with the cross, to fight against the Grecians; whereupon the archbishop of Antioch, with the said Germanus, solemnly excommunicated the pope, after he first had excommunicated them.[2] In the mean time, by the tenor of these letters of the patriarch sent to the pope and to the cardinals, it is evident to all men who have eyes in their heads to see: First, how the whole universal church of Christ, from the east parts to the west, in ancient times, was altogether united in one consent of doctrine, and linked together in brotherly charity, one church brotherly to help another, both with temporal aid and spiritual counsel, as the case required. Neither was then any one mother-church above other churches, but the whole universal church was the mother-church, and spouse of the Lord, to every faithful believer; under which universal church, in general, were comprehended all other particular churches in special, as sister churches together; not one greater than another, but all in like equality, as

The archbishops of Antioch and Constantinople excommunicate the pope.

Five things to be considered. *See Appendix.*

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 111. (2) Ibid. fol. 118

God gave his gifts, so serving one another, ever holding together the unity of faith and sisterly love. And so long was it, and rightly might so be called, the catholic church, having in it true unity, universality, and free consent. Unity in doctrine, universality in communicating and joining together of voices, consent in spirit and judgment. For whatsoever was taught at Rome, touching faith and salvation, it was no other than was taught at Antioch, Syria, &c.

Henry III. A. D. 1232.

The true catholic church, where it was, and what. Unity, universality, and consent.

Secondly, how in process of time, through occasion of the tyranny and violent oppression of the bishops of Rome, this ring of equality, being broken, all flew in pieces, the east church from the west, the Greek from the Latin; and that which was one before, now was made two; unity turned to division, universality to singularity, and free consent to dissension.

The church hath her name of catholic, whereby, and when

Thirdly, here is also to be noted, after this pitiful breach of equality, how many and what great nations departed from the communion of the church of Rome, and especially about this time above specified of pope Gregory IX., A.D. 1230; so that both before and after that time, many councils were holden, and many things concluded in the west church, whereunto the one half of Christendom, lying in the east parts, did never agree; and contrary, many councils holden by them, which in the Latin church were not received; so that the church now, as she lost the benefit of universal consent, so also she lost the name of 'Catholic.' Whereupon this question is to be asked, namely, whether, when the council of Lateran, under pope Innocent III., ordained the doctrine of transubstantiation and auricular confession, here, in the west church, without the free consent of the east church, the same doctrine is to be counted catholic or not?

Whether the doctrine of transubstantiation, made without the free consent of the east churches, be catholic or no? *See Appendix.*

Fourthly, in the departing of these churches from the bishop of Rome, here also is to be noted, that the same churches of the Greeks, notwithstanding they sequestered themselves, and fell out with the church of Rome, and that justly, yet they kept their unity still with their God, and retained still the true '*ὀρθοδοξίαν*,' that is, the true and sincere doctrine of faith; ready to debate and try the truth of their religion by the Scriptures, as they here, in their own writings, desire to have the truth examined, according as ye have heard. Wherefore the church of Rome hath done them open wrong, which being offered so gently to try, and to be tried, by the truth of God's word, not only would stand to no trial, nor abide conference, but also hath excommunicated those as heretics, who appear here to be more orthodox Christians than themselves.

The church of Rome proved not to be catholic.

Fifthly, these things thus standing, then have we to conclude that the church of Rome falsely pretendeth itself to be catholic: for if the name of 'catholic' must needs import an universal consent of the whole, how can that be catholic where the consent of so many famous and true christian churches hath been lacking; and, furthermore, where the consent that hath been amongst themselves, hath rather been coacted than any true or free consent? Which is easy to be proved; for let these fires and faggots cease, let kings and princes leave to press their subjects with the pope's obedience, let the Scripture and the bishops alone, every one in his own diocese, govern their flock after the rule of God's word, and how few be there in this west end of the world, trow you, that would not do the same that these Grecians,

The proceedings of Rome stand upon no free consent, but are coacted.

Henry III. A.D. 1235.

Ethiopians, and Syrians, have done before us?—And thus much of this patriarch's letters, sent to pope Gregory, concerning the Greek church.

The miserable estate of the west parts of Christendom under the pope.

When I consider the doings of these Grecians, as I cannot but commend their wisdom, and judge their state happy and blessed, in shaking off from their necks the miserable yoke of the pope's tyranny; so, on the other hand, considering with myself the wretched thraldom of these our churches here in the west part of the world, under the bishop of Rome; I cannot tell whether more to marvel at, or to lament, their pitiful state, who were brought into such oppression and slavery under him, that neither could they abide him, nor yet durst cast him off. So intolerable were his exactions, so terrible was his tyranny, his suspensions and excommunications so much like a madman's dagger, drawn at every trifle, that no christian patience could suffer it, nor nation abide it. Again, so deeply did he sit in their consciences, they falsely believing him to have the authority of St. Peter, that for conscience' sake neither king nor Cæsar durst withstand him, much less poor subjects once mute against him. And although his takings and spoilings, namely, in this realm of England, were such, that neither the laity nor spiritualty could bear them, yet was there no remedy; but bear them they must, or else the pope's sentence was upon them, to curse them as black as pitch.

Excommunications like a fool's dagger.

The false persuasion of the pope's supremacy, cause of much wretchedness.

In reading the histories of these times, any good heart would lament and rue to see the miserable captivity of the people; what they suffered under this thraldom of the bishop of Rome, whereof part hath been showed before; more, God willing, shall follow hereafter, and some part here presently I express.

A BRIEF TABLE OR DECLARATION OF THE POPE'S UNREASONABLE GATHERINGS, EXACTIONS, AND OPPRESSIONS, IN THE REALM OF ENGLAND, IN THE DAYS OF KING HENRY III.[1]

And first, to begin with the elections of the bishops, abbots, deans, and priors within this realm: it cannot be told what mass of money grew to the pope's coffers thereby, especially in this king's days; forasmuch as in his time scarcely any election happened, either of archbishop, bishop, abbot, or any room of dignity, but, when the covent or chapter had chosen one to their mind, the king, who had married a stranger, and sought therefore to prefer strangers, would set up another. By reason of this, when the other part was fain to appeal to Rome, and there to plead the case, no small rivers of English money, besides expenses and travel by the way, went flowing to the pope's see. And though the election went never so clear, yet the newly elect must needs respect the holy father with some gentle reward, and further, by his oath was bound every three years, either in his own person, or by another, to visit 'limina apostolorum.'

See Appendix.

So in the house of St. Alban's, when John Hertford was elected abbot, their public election was not enough, but for the confirmation of the same, the monks were fain to send Reinold, the physician,

(1) The substance of the facts here recorded appear to be contained in the Harl. MSS. Brit. Mus. No. 419, Art. 9: "Concerning the wicked and unreasonable demeanour of divers popes, against christian princes, the foundation of divers orders, beginning of new ceremonies, and some other historical observations," with a note: "Written probably by Matthew Paris."—Ed.

and Nicholas, a monk, to Rome, with a sufficient bag of money, through the mediation whereof the election might stand, and the new abbot was sworn every third year, by himself or another, to visit the dorsels[1] of the apostles. *Henry III.* A.D. 1237.

Another such contention happened between the king and the monks of Winchester, about the election of William Rale, whom the monks had chosen, but the king refused, willing to place a stranger, and therefore sent to Rome his messengers, namely, Theobald, a monk of Westminster, and Master Alexander, a lawyer, with no small sum of money, to evacuate the election of the aforesaid William Rale; commanding, moreover, that the gates of Winchester should be shut against him, and that no man should be so hardy, there, as to receive him into his house. Whereupon the said William, being excluded, after he had laid his curse upon the whole city of Winchester, made his repair to Rome, where, for eight thousand marks promised to the pope, his bishopric (spite of the king's heart) was confirmed, and he received.[2] A.D. 1243. *See Appendix.* Eight thousand marks given out of the bishopric of Winchester to the pope.

After the death of Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, ye heard before how the monks had elected Walter, a monk of Canterbury. But the king, to stop that election, sent up his proctors, Alexander Savensby, bp. of Coventry, and Henry Sanford, bp. of Rochester, to the pope, to evacuate that election, and to place Richard chancellor of Lincoln. Which proctors perceiving at first how hard and unwilling the pope and cardinals were thereunto, and considering how all things might be bought for money, rather than the king should fail of his purpose, they promised on the king's behalf to the pope, for maintaining his wars against Frederic, the emperor, a disme, or tenth part of all the moveables in the realm of England and Ireland. At the contemplation of this money, the pope, eftsoons, thinking to pass with the king, began to pick quarrels with the aforesaid Walter, for not answering rightly to his questions about Christ's descending to hell, the making of Christ's body on the altar, the weeping of Rachel for her children, she being dead before; also about the sentence of excommunication, and certain causes of matrimony; his answers whereunto, when they were not to the pope's mind, he was put back, and the king's man preferred, which cost the whole realm of England and Ireland the tenth part of their moveable goods, by reason whereof, what money was raised to the pope's Gazophylacium,[3] I leave to the estimation of the reader.[4] A.D. 1229. And yet, for all this, the said Richard, the costly archbishop of Canterbury, within less than two years after, falling out with the king about the castle and lordship of Tunbridge, went and complained of him to the pope; in the traverse whereof it cost the king a great piece of money, and yet missed he his purpose. In that journey the said archbishop, returning homeward, by the way, departed. A.D. 1231. *See Appendix.* Tenth part of all movables in England and Ireland given to the pope. Money spent at Rome between the king and the archbishop of Canterbury.

Of the like dissension ye heard before, between the king and the covent of Durham, for not choosing Master Lucas, the king's chaplain, whom the king offered to be their bishop; about the suit whereof, The costly elections of bishops.

(1) "The dorsels of the apostles." "Limina apostolorum." The arrival of the abbot, every third year, to visit, with a full purse, the seats of the apostles, was both agreeable and advantageous to the pope.—Ed. *See Appendix*

(2) Ex Matth. Paris. fols. 164, 240.

(3) The ecclesiastical treasury.—Ed.

(4) Ex Matth Paris. fol. 71.

Henry III. A.D. 1240.

when much money was bestowed on both sides well-favouredly, the pope, defeating them both, admitted neither Master William nor Master Lucas, but ordained the bishop of Sarum to be their bishop. A.D. 1228.[1]

Money coming to the pope for the election of the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. *See Appendix.*

Between the monks of Coventry and the canons of Lichfield, arose another like quarrel, which of them should have the superior voice in choosing their bishop; in which suit, after much money bestowed in the court of Rome, the pope, to requalify each party with some retribution for their money received, took this order indifferently between them, that each party by course should have the choosing of their bishop. A.D. 1228.[2]

Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, condemned at Rome in a thousand marks.

What business arose likewise between Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks of Rochester, about the election of Richard Wendour, to be their bishop; and what was the end thereof? First, the archbishop was fain to travel himself to the pope, and so did the covent also send their proctors, who, probably being better moved, weighed down the cause, so that the good archbishop in that affair against the monks, and partly in another cause against the earl of Arundel, was condemned of the pope in a thousand marks, whereof the greatest part, no doubt, redounded to the pope's coffers. A.D. 1238.[3]

The fifth part of the goods of the clergy granted to the pope. *See Appendix.*

After the return of the said Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, from Rome, it chanced that the monks of Canterbury had elected their prior without his assent; for which he did excommunicate the monks, and evacuate their election. Not long after this, the pope's exactors went about to extort from the churchmen the fifth part of their goods to the pope's use, fighting then against the emperor. This cruel exaction being for a great while resisted by the prelates and clergy, at length the aforesaid archbishop, thinking thereby to get the victory against the monks, was contented to yield to the said exaction; adding, moreover, of his own, for an overplus, eight hundred marks, whereupon the rest of the clergy were fain to follow after, and contribute to the pope's exactors. A.D. 1240.[4]

Great expense of money in the court of Rome, between the bishop of Lincoln and the cathedral church.

In the church of Lincoln (which see, before the Conquest, was at Dorchester, and afterwards by William Rufus translated from thence to Lincoln) rose a grievous contention between Robert Grosthead, then bishop, and the canons of the cathedral church, about their visitation, whether the bishop should visit them, or the dean; which matter being put to arbitrators, could not be composed before the bishop and the chapter, after their appeal made unto the pope, had both gone to Rome, where, after they had well wasted their purses, they received at length their answer, but paid full sweetly for it. A.D. 1239.[5]

At what time the canons of Chichester had elected Robert Passelew to be their bishop, at the king's request, the archbishop with certain other bishops, taking part against the king's chaplain, repelled him, and set up Richard Witch. Upon this, what sending and going there was unto Rome, and what money bestowed about the matter, as well on the king's part as on the bishop's, read the story thereof in Matthew Paris.[6]

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. (2) Ibid. fol. 68. (3) Ibid. fol. 114.
(4) Ibid. fol. 132. b. (5) Ibid. fol. 119. (6) Ibid. fols. 182, 184, 186.

Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln (of whom relation was made before), having a great care how to bring the privileged orders of religious houses within his precinct under his subjection and discipline, went unto Rome, and there, with great labour and much effusion of money, as the story saith, procured of the pope a mandate, whereby all such religious orders were commanded to be under his power and obedience. Not long after, the monks, who could soon weigh down the bishop with money, not abiding that, sent their factors to the pope, who, with their golden eloquence so persuaded him, and stirred his affections in such sort, that soon they purchased to themselves freedom from their ordinary bishop. Robert Grosthead having intelligence of this, made up to Rome, and there complaining to the pope, declared how he was disappointed and confounded in his purpose, contrary to promises and assurance made to him before; to whom Pope Innocent, looking with a stern countenance, made this answer: "Brother," said he, "what is that to thee? Thou hast delivered and discharged thine own soul. It hath pleased us to show favour unto them. Is thine eye evil, for that I am good?" And thus was the bishop sent away with a flea in his ear, murmuring with himself, yet not so softly, but that the pope heard him say these words: "O money! money! what canst not thou do in the court of Rome?" Wherewith the pope being somewhat pinched, gave this answer again: "O ye Englishmen! Englishmen! of all men most wretched; for all your seeking is how ye may consume and devour one another."[1] A.D. 1250.

Henry III. A.D 1250.

How prettily the pope can take with both hands.

Money may do much at Rome.

The pope's answer to Robert Grosthead.

It happened moreover the same year that the said Robert Grosthead excommunicated and deprived one Ranulph, a beneficed person in his diocese, being accused of incontinency; who, after the term of forty days, refusing to submit himself, the bishop wrote to the sheriff of Rutland to apprehend him as one contumacious. The sheriff, because he deferred or refused so to do (bearing favour to the party), and being there-for solemnly excommunicated by the bishop, uttered his complaint to the king. Whereat the king taking great displeasure with the bishop for excommunicating his sheriff, and not first making his complaint to him, sendeth forth a substantial messenger, Master Moneta, such as he was sure would speed, unto Pope Innocent; by virtue of whose words, the pope, easy to be entreated, sendeth down a proviso to the abbot of Westminster, charging that no prelate or bishop in the realm of England should molest or enter action against any of the king's bailiffs or officers, in such matters as to the king's jurisdiction appertained. And thus was the strife ended, not without some help and heap of English money; so that no wind of any controversy here stirred in England, were it never so small, but it blew some profit for the pope's advantage.[2] A.D. 1250.

Justice perverted by the pope's authority for money.

In like manner no little treasure grew to the pope's coffers by the election of Boniface, the queen's uncle, a Frenchman, to be archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1243, and of Ethelmare, the queen's brother, to be bishop of Winchester, against the wills of the prior and covent there, A.D. 1250, besides many such other escheats, which made England poor, and the pope rich.

Money coming to the pope, by the election of two prelates, both strangers.

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 230. (2) Ibid. fol. 231.

Henry III. A. D. 1237.

I come now something likewise to touch briefly of the pope's dispensations, provisions, exactions, contributions, and extortions in England in this king's days, for to discourse all, it is not one book will hold it.

Marriage with Elenor the king's sister, a nun, made good by the pope for money. *See Appendix.*

Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester, had married Elenor, the king's sister, and daughter of King John, who by report of stories had taken the mantle and ring; wherefore the king, and his brother Richard, earl of Exeter, were greatly offended with the marriage. The earl Simon seeing this, made a hand of money, and posting over to Rome, after he had talked a few words in Pope Innocent's ear, the marriage was good enough; and letters were sent to Otho, the pope's legate here, to give sentence solemnly with the earl. Notwithstanding, the Dominic friars, and others of the like religious fraternity, withstood that sentence of the pope stoutly, saying, that the pope's holiness was therein deceived, and souls were in danger; that Christ was jealous over his wife; and that it could not be in anywise possible that a woman who had vowed marriage with Christ, could afterwards marry with another, &c. A. D. 1238.[1]

What inconvenience cometh by the pope's dispensations. *See Appendix.*

As there was nothing so hard in the wide world, wherewith the pope would not dispense for money, so, by the said dispensations, much mischief was wrought abroad; for, by reason thereof, the people relying upon the pope's dispensation, little regarded what they did, what they promised, or what they swore. This well appeared in the case of this King Henry III.; who, being as great an exactor of the poor commons as ever was any king before him or since, and thinking thereby to win the people sooner to his devotion, most faithfully promised them once or twice, and thereto bound himself with a solemn oath, both before the clergy and laity, to grant unto them the old liberties and customs as well of Magna Charta, as of Charta de Foresta, perpetually to be observed; whereupon, a fifteenth was granted to the king. But, after the payment was sure, the king trusting, by the pope's dispensation, for a little money, to be discharged of his oath and covenant, went from what he had before promised and sworn.

In like manner, the said king, another time, being in need of money, signed himself with the cross, pretending and swearing deeply in the face of the whole parliament, that he would himself personally fight in the Holy Land against the Saracens. But, as soon as the money was taken, small care was had for performance of his oath, it being put into his head by certain about him, that he needed not to regard that perjury, forasmuch as the pope, for one or two hundred pounds, would quickly discharge him thereof.[2]

Wilful perjury maintained by the pope's dispensations.

Enormities which spring from them.

Out of the same corrupt spring of these popish dispensations, have proceeded also many other foul absurdities, for there were many young men in those days who enjoyed benefices, and yet were not priests; and when, by the procurement of Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, the said young men should be forced, whether they would or not, to enter orders, they, laying their purses together, sent to Rome, and obtained of the pope a dispensation to remain still as they were; that is, to have the fruits of benefices to find them at school or university, and yet being themselves neither ministers to take charge,

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 114. (2) Ibid. fol. 273

nor yielding any service for their profits taken.[1] Besides innumerable heaps of enormities more, proceeding from the pope's dispensations, as dispensing one man to have sundry bishopries, encroach on pluralities of benefices, making children parsons, legitimatizing bastards, with other such things, the particulars whereof, for brevity' sake, I do omit till further opportunity. *Henry III.* A. D. 1237.

THE INTOLERABLE OPPRESSION OF THE REALM OF ENGLAND BY THE POPE'S EXACTIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS, AND OTHER SLEIGHTS, USED IN THE TIME OF KING HENRY III.

Although these emoluments, thus rising daily to the pope's purse by simony and bribery, by elections and dispensations, might seem sufficient to satisfy his greedy appetite; yet so insatiable was the avarice of that see, that he, not yet contented herewith, over and besides all this, sent almost every year some legate or other into this realm to take for his advantage. Insomuch, that during all this king's time, the realm was never long without some of the pope's leaguers, with all violence exacting and extorting continual provisions, contributions, and sums of money to be levied out of cells, abbeys, priories, fruits of benefices, and bishopries, and also laymen's purses, to the miserable impoverishing both of the clergy and temporalty, as hereunder followeth.

First, after Pandulph, was sent into this realm Cardinal Otho, procured by the king, without the assent of his nobles, to assist him in certain affairs he had to do. At receiving of this legate, great preparation was made; many rich and precious gifts in scarlet, in plate, in jewels, in money, and in palfreys, were given him; whom the king also himself went as far as the sea-side to receive, bowing down his head in low courtesy to the cardinal's knees; to whom also the bishop of Winchester for his part gave, towards keeping his house, fifty fat oxen, an hundred semes of wheat, and eight great vessels of pure wine. This legate, at his first coming, beginneth first to bestow such benefices as he found vacant upon those whom he brought with him, without respect to whether they were meet or unmeet.[2] A.D. 1237. The receiving of Otho the pope's legate into the realm. *See Appendix.*

After this, the pope, hearing how the nobles and commons of the realm began to stomach the cardinal for his excessive procurations and exactions, sent for him home; but the king, because he stood in fear of his nobles, and thought to have a stay by the cardinal against all occurrents, entreated him to stay while he wrote to the pope to obtain further license for him to tarry; and so he did, not without some English money, ye may be sure.

In this mean time of vacation, Otho, thinking to lose no time, but to gather also some crumbs in Scotland, made as though he would set things there in order, which were in the church of Scotland, to be reformed; and so cometh to the king of Scots,[3] being then in York with King Henry, to have leave to enter. Unto him the king thus made answer, that he never saw to his remembrance, any pope's legate in his land, neither was there any such need (God be praised) for such to be sent for. Matters there were well enough, and needed no help of his. And as he could never learn either in the days of his Otho seeketh to come into Scotland. The king of Scots' answer to him. Scotland hitherto never

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 256. (2) Ibid. fol. 103. (3) Alexander II.—Ed.

Henry III. A.D. 1238.

father, or any his predecessors, that any such entrance to any legate was granted; so he, for his part, would not now begin. "But yet, notwithstanding, forasmuch as I hear," said he, "that you are a good man, this I tell you before, that if you will needs adventure in, do it warily, and take heed to yourself, lest it happen to you otherwise than I would wish; for they be a savage and unruly people, given much to murder, and shedding blood, whom I myself am scarcely able to bridle; so that if they fall upon you, I shall not be able to help you; for how they also invaded me, and sought to expel me from my kingdom, ye heard of late. And therefore I warn you before, take heed betime what you think best to do." After the cardinal heard the king speak these words, he plucked in his horns, and durst proceed no further, but kept him still by the side of King Henry. Notwithstanding, shortly after, the same legate coming to the borders of Scotland, there called the bishops to him, and so, when he had well filled his bags, came back again.[1]

troubled with any pope's legate.

Otho stopped from going into Scotland.

It was not long before license came from Pope Gregory to his legate Otho, for his longer abode here in the realm (as welcome as water in the ship), with new authority also to proceed in the pope's affairs; who, first showing the bishops and the clergy his letters of longer tarrying, required of them, forasmuch as no man, said he, warreth of his own charges, to be supported with new procurations; which was, to have, of every able church, four marks; and where one church was not able to reach thereto, that other churches should join withal to make up the said money. Notwithstanding, the bishops a great while stood in the denial thereof.[2]

Oppressions of the cardinal.

A.D.1238 Besides he assembled together all the black monks of St. Benedict's order, giving to them strict orders, which shortly after, for money, he released to them again.[3]

Moreover, by the said Otho, and the pope's other exactors, with special bulls directed down for the same, the collation of benefices being taken out of the hands of the patrons, they were given to light and vile runagates, coming from Italy and other places, such as it pleased the pope and his legate to bestow them upon; to the great prejudice of the ancient liberty and right of the true patrons thereof. Whereupon the earls, and barons, and nobles of the realm, addressed letters unto Pope Gregory IX. by Sir Robert Twing, knight, for redress of such wrongs and injuries; who otherwise should be forced, they said, to invocate the succour of their king, who both was able, and was no less willing, according to his duty, they trusted, to reform such enormities, and to defend the liberties of his realm. The tenor of the letters is to be read in Matthew Paris.[4]

Nobles of England write to the pope for collation of benefices wrested out of their hands.

Not long after, A. D. 1240, came a new precept from Pope Gregory, by Peter Rubeus, the pope's nuncio, to the aforesaid Otho, that all the beneficed clergy, as well in England as in France, should pay to the pope the fifth part of their revenues. Whereupon when the clergy made their complaint to the king, seeking to be relieved by him, the king answered them, that he neither would, nor durst stand against the pope in any case; and so without all hope of succour he sent them away.[5] Then were the archbishops, bishops,

Peter Rubeus, the pope's carrier.

All beneficed men in England compelled to give the fifth part of their

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. fols. 106, 123. b. (2) Ibid. fols. 123, 128, 132. (3) Ibid. fols. 116, 119.
(4) Ibid. fol. 128. a. (5) Ibid. fol. 132.

Henry III. A.D. 1240.

abbots, and prelates of the church commanded to assemble together at Reading, there to hear the pope's pleasure and commandment concerning the payment of this fifth part, where, in the end, the matter concluded thus: the prelates desired a further time to be given them to advise upon the matter, and for that season the assembly brake up.[1] Many excuses and exceptions were alleged by the clergy; first, that whereas the money was gathered to fight against the emperor, they ought not to contribute their money contrary to the liberties of the church. Item, that forasmuch as they had paid a tenth not long before unto the pope, upon condition that no more such payments should be required of them, much less now the fifth part should be exacted of them, because an action twice done, maketh a custom. Item, that seeing they had oftentimes to repair unto the court of Rome, if they should give this money against the emperor, it would turn to their danger when going through his land. Item, that seeing their king had many enemies, against whom they must needs relieve the king with their money, they could not so do if the realm were thus impoverished. All these excuses, with divers others, notwithstanding, they were compelled at length to conform themselves to the pope's good pleasure, through the example given by Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, who, to obtain his purpose against the monks of Canterbury, with whom he was then at strife, began first to yield to the legates eight hundred marks for his part, whereby the rest also were fain to follow after.[2]

Revenues to the pope.

A.D. 1240.

Excuses of the clergy, why they would not contribute to the pope.

See Appendix.

Furthermore, the same year, the pope agreed with the people of Rome, that if they would aid him against Frederic the emperor, whatever benefices were to be given in England, the same should be at their arbitrement to be bestowed upon their children. Whereupon commandment was sent to the aforesaid Edmund, archbishop, and to the bishops of Lincoln and Sarum, that all the collations of benefices within the realm should be suspended, till provision were made for three hundred children of the citizens of Rome to be first served. Upon this so miserable request, the said Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, for sorrow to see the church so oppressed, departed the realm, and so continuing in France, died at Pontigny.[3] This Edmund was afterwards made a saint, and canonized by pope Innocent IV.

Three hundred children of Rome, placed in benefices in England.

Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, dieth in exile, afterwards canonized.

This done, Peter Rubeus, the pope's nuncio, and Ruffinus, went into Scotland, from whence they brought with them three thousand pounds for the pope's use about All-hallow-tide the same year. At that time, moreover, cometh another harpy from the pope to England, named Mumelius, bringing with him three and twenty Romans here into the realm to be beneficed. Thus, what by the king on the one side, and what by the Cardinal Otho, Peter Rubeus, Ruffinus, and Mumelius, on the other side, poor England was in a wretched case.[4]

Twenty three Romans brought to England to be beneficed.

See Appendix.

Another pretty practice of the pope to prowl for money, was this: the aforesaid Peter Rubeus, coming into religious houses and into their chapters, caused them to contribute to the pope's holiness, by the example of this bishop and that abbot, pretending that he and he, of their own voluntary devotion, had given so much and so much,

(1) Matth. Paris. fol. 122. (2) Ibid. fols. 132, 136. (3) Ibid. fol. 134. b. (4) Ibid. fol. 137

Henry III. A.D. 1241.

and so seduced them.[1] Also the pope craftily suborned certain friars, authorized with full indulgence, that whosoever had vowed to fight in the Holy Land, and was disposed to be released of his vow, needed not to repair to Rome for absolution, but paying so much money as his charges would come to in going thither, he, resorting to the said friars, might be assoiled at home. A.D. 1240.

The pope for money releaseth Christians of their vows.

Now all these troubles laid together, were enough to vex the meekest prince in the world, besides which, by way of access to the king's molestation, he had much ado with the prelates and clergy of his realm, who were always tampering with his title, especially in their assemblies and councils; to whom the king, to restrain them from that presumption, did both send and write, as appeareth by the evidence of record, commencing, "Rex misit Galfridum de Langley,"[2] &c. That is, the king sent Geoffry Langley to the archbishop of York and to other bishops purposed to meet at Oxford, to appeal for him, lest, in the said council there called, they should presume to ordain something against his crown and dignity. This was done A.D. 1241.[3] In the same year came a commandment apostolical to the house of Peterborough, that they, at the pope's contemplation, must needs grant him some benefice lying in their donation, the fruits whereof were worth at least an hundred pounds, and if it were more it should be the better welcome; so that they should be as the farmers, and he to receive the profits. In fine, the covent excused themselves by the abbot being then not at home. The abbot, when he came home, excused himself by the king being the patron and founder of the house. The king being grieved with the unreasonable ravening of these Romanists, utterly forbade any such example to be given.[4] But what happened? The abbot, being for this accused to the pope by one of the legates, and coming up about four years after, in the time of Pope Innocent, to the council of Lyons, was so rated and reviled, and so shamefully thrust out of the pope's court, that for sorrow he fell sick upon the same, and there died.[5]

Abbot of Peterborough thrust out of the pope's court.

The obligation of king John's tribute to the pope burned. *See Appendix.*

In the time of this council of Lyons, pope Innocent IV., forasmuch as the instrument or obligation, whereby the realm of England stood tributary to the pope, was thought to be burned in the pope's chamber a little before, brought forth either the same, or another chart like unto it; whereunto he straitly charged and commanded every English bishop there present at the council, severally to set his hand and seal. This unreasonable petition of the pope, albeit it went sore against the hearts of the bishops, yet (see in what miserable subjection the pope had all the bishops under him) none of them durst otherwise do, but accomplish the pope's request therein, both to their own shame, and with prejudice to the public freedom of the realm. Amongst which bishops, the longest that held out, and last that put to his seal, was the bishop of London. This act, when the king and the nobility understood, they were mightily and worthily therewithal offended.[6] A.D. 1245.

The bishops of England put their hands and seals to the pope's bill.

After that time Cardinal Otho was sent for by pope Gregory in all haste to come to the general council; two others in his room

(1) Matth. Paris, p. 134. (2) Turris Lond.
(3) The passage in asterisks is not found in the Editions previous to 1596.
(4) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 143. (5) Ibid. fol. 184. (6) Ibid. fol. 192.

here remained, whose names were Peter Rubeus and Petrus de Supino. Of whom the former, bearing himself for the pope's kinsman, brought out his bills and bulls under the pope's authority, to such an abbot, or to such a prior, or to such and such a bishop, and so extorted from them a great quantity of gold and silver. The other, to wit, Petrus de Supino, sailed to Ireland, from whence he brought with him a thousand and five hundred marks for the pope's use, A.D. 1241.[1] All which money notwithstanding, gotten by both the collectors, in the carriage of it up to Rome, about the death of pope Gregory, fell into the hands of Frederic, the emperor; who caused it to be restored, as nearly as he could, to those from whom it was taken.[2]

A thousand five hundred marks brought out of Ireland for the pope.

After these came in Master Martin, a new merchant from the new pope Innocent IV. (A. D. 1244) armed with full power to suspend all prelates in England from giving benefices, till the pope's kinsmen were first preferred; neither would he take the fruits of any benefice, unless it were above the value of thirty marks. At his first coming, he required prelates, and especially religious houses, to furnish him with horses and palfreys, such as were convenient for the pope's especial chaplain and legate to sit upon; also with plate, raiment, provision for his kitchen and cellar, &c.; and such as refused, or made excuses, he suspended, as the abbot of Malmesbury, and the prior of Merton. All prebends that were void he sought out and reserved for the pope's behoof; among which was the golden prebend of Sarum, belonging to the præcentor of the choir, whom he preferred to the bishopric of Bath, and so seized upon the prebend, being void, against the wills both of the bishop and the chapter.[3] Moreover, he brought with him blanks in paper and parchment, signed in the pope's chamber with his stamp and seal; wherein he might afterward write to whom, and what he would,[4] requiring, furthermore, of the king, in the pope's behalf, to help his holiness with a contribution to be taxed amongst his clergy, of at least ten thousand marks;[5] and, to the end that the pope might win the king sooner to his devotion, he writeth in the king's behalf to the nobles and commons of the realm, that they should not fail, upon pain of his great curse, to confer such subsidy of money to the assistance of the king, as he then had demanded of them; but they stood stiff in not granting it him.

Another messenger for the pope's money. A.D. 1244.

His extortion upon the clergy of England. *See Appendix.*

Contribution of ten thousand marks for the pope.

The pope craftily holdeth with the king, that the king might hold with him.

While the insatiable avarice of the pope thus made no end in gathering riches and goods together in England; the nobles and barons, with the community as well of the clergy as the laity, weighing the miserable state of the realm, and particularly of the church, the clergy of which now neither had liberty left them to choose their own ministers, nor yet could enjoy their own livings, laid their heads together, and so exhibited an earnest intimation to the king; beseeching him to consider the pitiful affliction and oppression of his subjects under the pope's extortion, living in more thraldom than ever did the people of Israel under Pharaoh. Whereupon, the king beginning at last to look up, and to consider the injuries and wrongs received in his realm, through the avarice of the court of Rome, directeth to pope Innocent IV. the following letter.

Intimation given to the king touching the insupportable oppression of the realm by the pope.

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 247. b.
(2) Ibid. fol. 151.
(3) Ibid. fols. 167, 180.
(4) Ibid. fol. 178. b.
(5) Ibid.

Henry III.

King Henry's Letter to Pope Innocent IV.[1]

A. D. 1244.

To the most holy father in Christ, and lord Innocent, by the grace of God, chief bishop: Henry, by the same grace, king of England, &c., greeting and kissings of his blessed feet. The more devout and obsequious the son showeth himself in obeying the father's will, the more favour and supportation doth he deserve to find again at his father's hands. This therefore I write, for that whereas both we and our realm have ever and in all things been, hitherto, at the devotion and commandment of your fatherhood; and that, although in some certain affairs of ours and of our kingdom, we have found your fatherly favour and grace sometimes propitious unto us, yet in some things again, as in provisions given and granted to your clerks of foreign nations, both we and our kingdom have felt no small detriment; by reason of which provisions, the church of England is so sore charged and burdened, that not only the patrons of churches, to whom the donations thereof do appertain, are defrauded of their right, but also many other good works of charity thereby do decay, for that such benefices as have been mercifully bestowed upon religious houses to their sustentation, are now wasted and consumed, by your provisions.

The king offereth to kiss the pope's feet.

Damage caused by the pope in the realm of England. *see Appendix.*

Wherefore, forasmuch as your see apostolic ought to be favourable to all that be petitioners to the same, so that no person be wronged in that which is his right, we thought therefore to be suitors to your fatherhood, most humbly beseeching your holiness, that you will desist and surcease for a time from such provisions to be exacted. In the mean season, may it please your fatherhood, we beseech you, that our laws and liberties (which you may rightly repute none other but your own) you will receive to your tuition, to be preserved whole and sound, nor to suffer the same, by any sinister suggestion in your court, to be violated and infringed. Neither let your holiness be any whit moved there-for with us, if, in some such cases as these be, we do or shall hereafter resist the tenor of your commandments; forasmuch as the complaints of those who daily call upon us, do necessarily enforce us thereunto; who ought, by the charge of this our office and kingly dignity committed to us of Almighty God, to foresee that no man, in that which is his right, be injured, but truly to minister justice to every one, in that which duly to him appertaineth.—This letter was sent the eight and twentieth year of the king's reign.[2]

A man would think that this so gentle and obedient letter of the king to the pope, would have wrought some good effect in his apostolical breast, to withdraw his provisions, and to have tendered the king's so reasonable and honest request: but, how little all this prevailed to stop his insatiable greediness and intolerable extortions and oppressions, the sequel well declareth. For, besides that shortly after the pope sent Master Martin with blanks, being bulled for contribution of ten thousand marks, in all haste to be paid also, even immediately upon the receiving of this letter—[3] it followeth in mine author, that the said pope Innocent IV., after all this great submission of the king, and such manifold benefits and payments yearly out of this realm received, was not ashamed to take of David, prince of North Wales, five hundred marks a year, to set him against the king of England, exempting him from his fealty and obedience due to his own liege lord and king, to whom both he and all other Welshmen had sworn subjection before, as by the seals and obligations as well of that David himself, as of other Welsh lords, in this behalf doth appear.[4]

See Appendix.

The pope setteth Welshmen against the king of England.

In the mean while Master Martin did not let sleep his business, in making up his market for the pope's money of ten thousand marks, but was still calling upon the prelates and clergy, who, first excusing

(1) "Sanctissimo in Christo patri, ac Domino Innocentio, Dei gratia summo pontifici: Henricus eadem gratia rex Angliæ, &c., salutem et pedum oscula beatorum," &c.
(2) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 172. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid.

themselves by the absence of the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, afterwards being called again by new letters, made their answer by the dean of Paul's, their prolocutor:— *Henry III.* A.D. 1244.

First, That the poverty of the realm would not suffer them to consent thereto.

Item, Whereas they had given before a contribution to cardinal Otho, for paying the pope's debts, and knew the said money to be employed to no such end as it was demanded for, more cause they had now to misdoubt, lest this contribution in his hands, who was a much inferior messenger than the cardinal, would come to the same or a worse effect. Excuses and reasons against contributions.

Item, If they should now agree to a new contribution, they feared lest it would grow to a custom, seeing that one action twice done maketh a custom.

Item, Forasmuch as a general council is shortly looked for, where every prelate of the realm must needs bestow both his travel and expenses, and also his presence, to the pope, if the prelates now should be bound to this tax, they would not be able to abide this burden. *See Appendix.*

Item, Seeing it is alleged, that the mother church of Rome is so far in debt, reason and right it were, that the mother so oppressed should be sustained by all her devout children meeting together in the general council; as by help of many, more relief might come than by one nation alone.

Lastly, They alleged, that for fear of the emperor and his threatenings, they durst not consent to the said contribution.

While these things were thus in talk between the pope's priests and the clergy of England, cometh in John Mariscal and other messengers from the king, commanding, in the king's name, that no bishop, that held his baronage of the king, should infief his lay fee to the court of Rome, which they owed only to him.[1]

Not long after this (A.D. 1245), the whole nobility of the realm, by general consent, and not without the king's knowledge also, caused an injunction to be laid on all the ports by the sea-side, that no messenger with the pope's letters and bulls from Rome, should be permitted to enter the realm; whereupon, some were taken at Dover, and there stayed. Notwithstanding, when complaint thereof was brought to the king by Master Martin, the pope's legate, there was no remedy but the king must needs cause these letters to be restored again, and executed to the full effect.[2] An injunction laid on the ports of England, to stop the pope's letters, yet all would not serve.

Then the king, upon advice, caused a view to be taken through every shire in England, to what sum the whole revenues of the Romans and Italians amounted, which, by the pope's authority, went out of England: the whole sum whereof was found yearly to be threescore thousand marks, to the which sum the revenues of the whole crown of England did not extend.[3] Sixty thousand marks yearly going out of England to the pope and his Italian clerks.

The nobles, then, understanding the miserable oppression of the realm, and being assembled together at Dunstable for certain causes, sent one Fulco, in the name of the whole nobility, unto Master Martin, the pope's merchant, with this message: That he, without delay, upon the same warning, should prepare himself to be

(1) Matth. Paris. fol 129. (2) Ibid. fol. 183 (3) Ibid. fol. 185. a.

Henry III. A. D. 1245.

gone out of the realm, under pain of being cut all to pieces. At which message the legate being sore aghast, went straight to the king, to know whether his consent was to the same or not. Of whom when he found little better comfort, he took his leave of the king, who bade him adieu in the devil's name, saith Matthew Paris, and thus was the realm rid of Master Martin.[1] A.D. 1245.

As soon as pope Innocent IV. had hereof intelligence by the complaint of his legate, he was in a mighty rage; and furthermore, remembering how the French king and the king of Arragon, not long before, had denied him entrance into their land, and being, therefore, in displeasure with them likewise, he began in great anger to knit his brows, and said, "It is best that we fall in agreement with our prince, whereby we may the sooner bring under these little petty kings (istos regulos), and so the great dragon being pacified, these little serpents we shall handle at our own pleasure as we list."

The proud words of the pope against the French king and the king of England.

Immediately after this followed the general council of Lyons, to which the lords and states of the realm, with the consent of the commonalty, sent two bills; one containing a general supplication to the pope and the council; the other, with the articles of such grievances as they desired to be redressed, whereof relation is made sufficiently before. The other bill of the supplication, because it is not before expressed, I thought here to exhibit for two causes: First, that men, now in these days, may see the pitiful blindness of those ignorant days, wherein our English nation here did so blindly humble themselves and stand on courtesy to the pope, whom rather they should have shaken off, as the Grecians did. Secondly, that the pride of the pope might the better appear in its true colours, who so disdainfully rejected the humble suit of our lords and nobles, when they had much more cause rather to disdain and stamp him under their feet. The tenor of the supplication was this.

See Appendix.

The Copy of the Supplication written in the names of all the Nobles and Commons of England, to Pope Innocent IV. in the General Council at Lyons, A.D. 1245.

To the reverend father in Christ, Pope Innocent, chief bishop; the nobles, with the whole commonalty of the realm of England, send commendation, with kissing of his blessed feet.

Our mother, the church of Rome, we love with all our hearts, as our duty is, and covet the increase of her honour with as much affection as we may, as to whom we ought always to fly for refuge, whereby the grief lying upon the child, may find comfort at the mother's hand; which succour the mother is bound so much the rather to impart to her child, how much more kind and beneficial she findeth him in relieving her necessity. Neither is it to the said our mother unknown, how beneficial and bountiful a giver the realm of England hath been now of long time for the more amplifying of her exaltation, as appeared by our yearly subsidy, which we term by the name of Peter-pence. Now the said church, not contented with this yearly subsidy, hath sent divers legates for other contributions, at divers and sundry times, to be taxed and levied out of the same realm: all which contributions and taxes, notwithstanding, have been lovingly and liberally granted.

Superstitious founding of monasteries in England.

Furthermore, neither is it unknown to your fatherhood, how our forefathers, like good catholics, both loving and fearing their Maker, for the soul's health as well of themselves, as of their progenitors and successors also, have founded

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 185. b.

monasteries, and largely have endowed the same, both with their own proper lands, and also with patronages of benefices, whereby such religious persons, professing the first and chiefest perfection of holy religion in their monasteries, might with more peace and tranquillity occupy themselves devoutly in God's service, as to the order appertained: and also the clerks, presented by them to their benefices, might sustain the other exterior labours for them in that second order of religion, and so discharge and defend them from all hazards: so that the said religious monasteries cannot be defrauded of those their patronages and collations of benefices, but the same must touch us also very near, and work intolerable grief unto our hearts. *Hen. III* A. D. 1245.

Injuries received by the pope.

And now see, we beseech you, which is lamentable to behold, what injuries we sustain by you and your predecessors, who, not considering those our subsidies and contributions above remembered, do suffer also your Italians and foreigners, who be out of number, to be possessed of our churches and benefices in England, pertaining to the right and patronage of those monasteries aforesaid: which foreigners, neither defending the said religious persons whom they ought to see to, nor yet having the language, whereby they may instruct the flock, take no regard of their souls, but utterly leave them of wild wolves to be devoured. Wherefore, it may truly be said of them, that they are not good shepherds, whereas they neither know their sheep, nor do the sheep know the voice of their shepherds; neither do they keep any hospitality, but only take up the rents of those benefices, carrying them out of the realm, wherewith our brethren, our nephews, and our kinsfolks, might be sustained, who could and would dwell upon them, and employ such exercises of mercy and hospitality as their duty required, of whom a great number now for mere necessity are laymen, and fain to fly out of the realm.

Benefices wickedly given away to Italians.

Threescore thousand marks yearly given to Italians out of the church of England.

And now, to the intent more fully to certify you of the truth, ye shall understand that the said Italians and strangers, receiving of yearly rents out of England not so little as threescore thousand marks a year, besides other avails and excises deducted, do reap in the said our kingdom of England more emoluments of mere rents than doth the king himself, being both tutor of the church, and governor of the land.

Italians received more in this land of mere rents, than did the king's crown.

Furthermore, whereas at the first creation of your papacy we were in good hope, and yet are, that by means of your fatherly goodness we should enjoy our franchises and free collation of our benefices and donatives, to be reduced again to the former state; now cometh another grievance which we cannot but signify unto you, pressing us above measure, which we receive by Master Martin, who, entering late into our land without leave of our king, with greater power than ever was seen before in any legate, although he beareth not the state and show of a legate, yet he hath doubled the doings of a legate, charging us every day with new mandates, and so most extremely hath oppressed us: First, in bestowing and giving away our benefices, if any were above thirty marks, as soon as they were vacant, to Italian persons. Secondly, after the decease of the said Italians, unknown to the patrons, he hath intruded other Italians therein, whereby the true patrons have been spoiled and defrauded of their right. Thirdly, the said Master Martinus yet also ceaseth not to assign and confer such benefices still to the like persons; and some he reserveth to the donation of the apostolic see; and extorteth, moreover, from religious houses, immoderate pensions, excommunicating and interdicting whosoever dare gain-stand him.

Detestable dealings of the pope's legate in England.

Wherefore, forasmuch as the said Master Martin hath so far extended his jurisdiction, to the great perturbation of the whole realm, and no less derogation to our king's privilege, to whom it hath been fully granted, by the see apostolic, that no legate should have to do in his land, but such as he by special letters did send for: with most humble devotion we beseech you, that as a good father will always be ready to support his child, so your fatherhood will reach forth your hand of compassion to relieve us, your humble children, from these grievous oppressions.

Complaint of the pope's legate.

And, although our lord and king, being a catholic prince, and wholly given to his devotions, and to the service of Christ Jesus our Lord, so that he respecteth not the health of his own body, will fear and reverence the see apostolic; and, as a devout son of the church of Rome, desireth nothing more than to advance the estate and honour of the same: yet, we who travail in his affairs, bearing the heat and burden of the day, and whose duty, together with him, is

Henry III. A. D. 1245.

to tender the preservation of the public wealth, neither can patiently suffer such oppressions, so detestable to God and man, and grievances intolerable, neither by God's grace will suffer them, through the means of your godly remedy, which we well hope and trust of you speedily to obtain. And thus may it please your fatherhood, we beseech you to accept this our supplication, who in so doing shall worthily deserve of all the lords and nobles, with the whole commonalty of the realm of England, condign and special thanks accordingly. A. D. 1245.[1]

Stout words of the lords to the pope.

See Appendix.

This supplication being sent by the hands of Sir R. Bygot, Knight, and W. de Powick, Esquire, Henry de la Mare, with other knights and gentlemen, after it was there opened and read, pope Innocent, first keeping silence, deferred to make answer thereunto, making haste to proceed in his detestable excommunication and curse against the good emperor Frederic. Which curse being done, and the English ambassadors waiting still for their answer, the pope told them flatly they should not have their request fulfilled. At this the Englishmen, departing in great anger, swore, with terrible oaths, that they would never more suffer any tribute, or fruits of any benefices (speaking of those whereof the noblemen were patrons) to be paid to that insatiable and greedy court of Rome, worthy to be detested in all worlds.[2]

The pope in anger with England. The bishops of England set their seals to the pope's tribute.

The pope, hearing these words, albeit making them no answer, thought to watch his time, and did. First, incontinently upon the same, during the said council, he caused every bishop of England to put his hand and seal to the obligation made by king John for the pope's tribute, as is above specified; threatening, moreover, and saying, that if he had once brought down the emperor Frederic, he would bridle the insolent pride of England well enough.

*[3] But here, by occasion of this council at Lyons, that the reader may see upon what slippery uncertainty and variableness the state of the king did depend; it is material here to interlace the form of a letter, sent by Henry III. to the prelates of his land, before they were transported over sea to Lyons; wherein may be gathered, that the king doubted they would be shoving and heaving at his royalty, and, therefore, directed these letters unto them, otherwise to prepare their affections,—the tenor whereof followeth.

Charge to the Prelates of England about to assemble in the Council at Lyons, that they should ordain nothing to their King's prejudice.

The king to the archbishops, bishops, and to all other prelates of his land of England, appointed to meet at a council at Lyons, greeting: you are, as you know, bound unto us by oath, whereby you ought to keep all the fealty that you can unto us, in all things concerning our royal dignity and crown. Wherefore we command you, upon the fealty and allegiance wherein you are firmly bound unto us, enjoining that you do your uttermost endeavour, as well to get as to keep, and also to defend the right of us and our kingdom; and that neither to the prejudice of us, nor of the same kingdom, nor yet against us or our rights, which our predecessors and we, by ancient and approved custom, have used, you presume to procure or attempt any thing in your council at Lyons: nor

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 188. (2) Ibid. fol. 193.

(3) This passage in single asterisks is not found in the editions which were published previous to A. D. 1596.

(4) "Rex archiepiscopis, episcopis, et omnibus aliis prælatis terræ suæ Angliæ, conventuris ad concilium Lugdunense, salutem. Vinculo juramenti nobis (ut nostis) adstricti," &c.

that you give assent to any that shall procure or ordain ought in this case, upon your oath aforesaid, and the loss of your temporalities, which you hold of us. Wherefore, in this behalf, so behave yourselves, that for your good dealing and virtue of thankfulness, we may rather specially commend you, than for the contrary by you attempted, which God forbid, reprove your unthankfulness, and reserve vengeance for you in due time. Witness ourself, &c. the nine and twentieth year of our reign."

In like sort wrote he to the archbishops and bishops, &c. of Ireland and Gascony.*

The pope stirreth up Louis the French king against the king of England. *See Appendix.*

After this council ended, about the feast of St. Andrew [Nov. 30th] pope Innocent came to Clugny, where was then appointed a secret meeting or colloquy between the pope and Louis, the French king (who was then preparing his voyage to Jerusalem), in which colloquy the pope sought all means to persuade the French king, in revengement of his injury, to war 'contra regulum,' as he termed it; that is, against the weak and feeble king of England; either to drive him utterly from his kingdom, or else so damnify him, that he should be constrained, whether he would or no, to stoop to the pope's will and obedience; wherein he also would assist him with all the authority he was able. Nevertheless, the French king to this would not agree; first for the consanguinity that was between them, for their two queens were sisters; secondly, for the truce that they had taken; thirdly, for fear of the emperor, lest he should take his part; fourthly, for that it could not be without the spilling of much christian blood; and, lastly, because he was preparing his voyage to the Holy Land, where his coming was already looked for. And thus the French king, denying the pope's bloody request, refused not only to enter upon a war with the king and the realm of England, but also, shortly after, concluded with him longer truce. A. D. 1246.[1]

See Appendix.

First fruits for seven years gathered for the archbishop of Canterbury.

Straight upon the neck of this followed the exaction of Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, that he had bought of the pope; which was, to have the first year's fruits of all benefices and spiritual livings in England for the space of seven years together, until the sum should come to ten thousand marks; whereat the king at first was greatly grieved, but in conclusion, he was fain at last to agree with the archbishop, and so the money was gathered.[2]

Prelates of England charged to find horse and harness for the pope's war.

Over and besides all other exactions, wherewith the pope miserably oppressed the church of England, this also is not to be silenced; how the pope, sending down his letters from the see apostolic, charged and commanded the prelates to find him, some five, some ten, and some fifteen, able men, well furnished with horse and harness, for one whole year, to fight in the pope's wars. And, lest the king should have knowledge thereof, it was enjoined them, under pain of excommunication, that they should reveal it to none, but to keep it secret to themselves for half a year.[3]

See Appendix.

The pope's bait laid for more money.

The pope still, notwithstanding, partly being belaboured by suitors, partly of his own mind thinking it good to give somewhat to the king and people of England, as fathers are wont to give something to their babes to play withal to keep them still, sent down this releasement to the king, that hereafter, whensoever any of the pope's nephews or cardinals were to be beneficed in any church of

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 196 (2) Ibid. fol. 197 (3) Ibid. fol. 206.

Henry III. A.D. 1246.

England, either he or the cardinals should first make the king privy thereto, and instantly crave his good will in obtaining the procuration, or else the same to stand as of no effect.[1] Howbeit, all this seemed to be done but of policy, to get the king's favour, whereby he might be suffered more freely to pass with greater exactions, as afterwards appeared. For when the aforesaid pope, Innocent IV., had knowledge, about that time, of certain rich clerks leaving great substance of money, who died intestate, as of one Robert Hailes, archdeacon of Lincoln, who died, leaving thousands of marks, and much plate behind him, all which, because no will was made, came to temporal men's hands; also of Master Almarike, archdeacon of Bedford, who was found worth a great substance when he died; and likewise of another, one John Hotosp, archdeacon of Northampton, who died suddenly intestate, leaving behind him five thousand marks, and thirty standing pieces of plate, with other infinite jewels besides: he sent forth upon the same a statute to be proclaimed in England, that whatsoever ecclesiastical person henceforth should decease in England intestate, that is, without making his will, all his goods should redound to the pope's use.[2]

A new law of the pope to seize upon all the goods of clergy who die intestate.

Six thousand marks to be gathered of the clergy of England for the pope. *See Appendix.*

Furthermore, the pope, not yet satisfied with all this, addresseth new letters to the bishop of Winchester, and to Walter, bishop of Norwich, for gathering up, amongst the clergy and religious houses in England, six thousand marks to the behoof of the holy mother church, without any excuse or delay, by virtue of obedience. This tallage being greatly grudged by the clergy, when it came to the king's ear, he eftsoons directeth contrary letters to all the prelates, commanding them, on pain of forfeiting their temporalities to the king, that no such subsidy-money should be gathered or transported out of the realm. But the pope again, hearing hereof, in great anger writeth to the prelates of England, that this collection of money, upon pain of excommunication and suspension, should be provided, and brought to the new Temple, in London, by the feast of the Assumption next ensuing.

The pope in a chafe.

See Appendix.

And furthermore, forasmuch as he perceived the king to go about to withstand his proceedings, taking thereat great disdain, he was, at the same time, about to interdict the whole land; to whom then one of his cardinals, called Johannes Anglicus, an Englishman born, speaking for the realm of England, desired his fatherhood for God's sake to mitigate his moody ire, and with the bridle of temperance to assuage the passion of his mind: "which," said he, "to tell you plain, is here stirred up too much without cause. Your fatherhood," quoth he, "may consider that these days be evil. First, the Holy Land lieth in great perils to be lost. All the Greek church is departed from us. Frederic, the emperor, is against us, the mightiest prince this day in all Christendom. Both you and we who are the peers of the church, are banished from the papal see, thrust out of Rome, yea, excluded out of all Italy. Hungary, with all coasts bordering about it, looketh for nothing but utter subversion by the Tartarians. Germany is wasted and afflicted with inward wars and tumults. Spain is fierce and cruel against us, even to the

The miserable troubles of Christendom.

See Appendix.

(1) Matth. Paris. fol. 202. (2) Ibid. fol. 203.

cutting out of the bishops' tongues.[1] France by us is so impoverished, that it is brought to beggary; which also conspireth against us. Miserable England, being so often plagued by our manifold injuries, even much like to Balaam's ass beaten and bounced with spurs and staves, beginneth at length to speak and complain of her intolerable griefs and burdens, being so wearied and damnified, that she may seem past all recovery; and we, after the manner of Ishmael, hating all men, provoke all men to hate us."

Henry III. A. D. 1246.

For all these words of Johannes Anglicus, his cardinal, the pope's choleric passion could not yet be appeased, but forthwith he sendeth commandment, with full authority, to the bishop of Worcester, that in case the king would not speedily surcease his rebellion against his apostolical proceedings, he would interdict his land; so that in conclusion the king, for all his stout enterprise, was fain to relent at last, and the pope had his money. A.D. 1246.[2]

Power given to the bishop of Worcester to interdict the land. The king fain to relent to the pope.

Ye heard before of the Greek churches, under the empire of Constantinople, how they sequestered themselves from the company of the Romish church, insomuch that Germanus II., the patriarch of Constantinople, and the archbishop of Antioch, did excommunicate the bishop of Rome:[3] and after the said Germanus, another bishop of Constantinople[4] at the council of Lyons protested, that whereas before there were thirty suffragans belonging to that province, now there were not three that held with the church of Rome. This breach, albeit it chiefly brast out in the time of Pope Gregory IX. (A.D. 1230) to open war and bloodshed, yet the same had begun, and so continued, long before, in such sort as in the time of pope Innocent III. if any priest had said mass in their churches, they would wash the altar afterwards; as appeareth by the acts of the Lateran Council.[5] Wherefore pope Innocent IV. now (as his other predecessors had done before) bearing an old grudge against those churches of the Greeks, and neither willing by conference to try with them, nor able by learning to match with them, thought by force of arms to subdue them, and sent to the provincial of the Grey Friars, with other his associates of the same order, in England, his precept authentical, containing in it these articles:—

The Grecians used to wash their altars, if any Latin mass had been said upon them.

I. That the said provincial, or his friars, should inquire about all usurers actually living, and of all such men's evil-gotten goods gained "per usuriam pravitatem" should make attachment, for the use and preparation for this war against the Greeks; excommunicating all them by district[6] censures of the church, who repugned against it. *See Appendix*

II. That all they who took the badge of the cross, for the recovery of the said empire of the Greeks, or who with their goods and cattle[7] would help sufficiently unto the same, should be absolved of all their sins.

III. That all the goods left in the testaments of them that were departed which had been gotten by usury, should be taken up to the subsidy of the empire aforesaid; all repugners and rebellers against the same to be excommunicated.

IV. That such goods as in the testaments of the dead were left, or which should be left the next three years to come, for restitution of such goods as the dead had evil gotten, they should take up for the subsidy of the empire aforesaid; excommunicating, &c.

V. That such goods as were left to be distributed in pious uses after the

(1) Of Spain, he meaneth, because the king of Arragon a little before had cut off the tongue of a certain bishop that did reprehend him. (2) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 207. [Edit. 1640, p. 715.]
(3) Suprà, p. 413—418.—Ed. (4) Nicolas de Plaisance, Latin Patriarch.—Ed.
(5) Ex actis concilii Lateranensis, cap. 4. [Labbe, tom. xi. col. 152.]
(6) "District," from the Latin "districtus," severe, sharp: "per censuram ecclesiasticam," M. Paris.—Ed. (7) "De suis catallis," Lat., chattells.—Ed.

Henry III. A. D. 1246.

arbitrement of the executors of the wills of the dead, or were not in their wills deputed to any certain places or persons named, nor were of right due to any, nor were yet bestowed by the said executors to the aforesaid uses, they should collect to the use and subsidy aforesaid, and give certificate to the see apostolic of the quantity thereof; excommunicating all repugners and rebellers against the same.

VI. That they should diligently inquire of goods evil gotten or evil come by, of such men as were alive, and them they should attach for the subsidy aforesaid, in case the parties, who ought to be satisfied for those goods evil gotten, could not be found; giving certificate thereof, and excommunicating, &c.

VII. That the said provincial, or his friars, should have full power to absolve those that were excommunicated, who wittingly had done any fraud touching the collection aforesaid, so that the said persons did make due satisfaction to the deputies aforesaid.[1]

What man, having eyes, is so blind, which seeth not these execrable dealings of the pope to be such as would cause any nation in the world to do as the wise Grecians did, and perpetually to abrenounce the pope, and well to consider the usurped authority of that see not to be of God? But such was the rude dulness then of miserable England, for lack of learning and godly knowledge, that they, feeling what burdens were laid upon them, yet would play still the ass of Balaam, or else the horse of Æsop, which, receiving the bridle once in its mouth, could afterward neither abide its own misery, nor yet recover liberty. And so it fared with England, under the pope's thraldom: as partly by these stories above hath been declared, partly by other in like case following is to be seen.

An unreasonable exaction of the pope.

For so it followeth in the history of Matthew Paris, how the pope taking more courage by his former abused boldness, and perceiving what a tame ass he had to ride upon, ceased not thus, but directed a new precept the same year (A.D. 1246) to the prelates of England, commanding by the authority apostolic, that all beneficed men in the realm of England, who were resident upon their benefices, should yield to the pope the third part of their goods, and that they who were not resident should give the one half of their goods, and that for the space of three years together; with terrible comminations against all them that did resist; and ever with this clause withal, "non obstante," which was like a key that opened all locks. Which sum cast together was found to amount to sixty thousand marks; which sum of money could scarcely be found in all England to pay for King Richard's ransom.[2] The execution of this precept was committed to the bishop of London, who, conferring about the matter with his brethren in the church of Paul's, as they were busily consulting together and bewailing the importable burden of this contribution, which it was impossible for them to sustain, suddenly come in certain messengers from the king,—Sir John Lexinton, Knt., and Lawrence Martin, the king's chaplain,—straitly, in the king's name, forbidding them in any case to consent to this contribution, which should be greatly to the prejudice and desolation of the whole realm.[3]

Threescore thousand pounds exacted of the clergy for the pope.

This being done on the first day of December, in the year aforesaid, shortly after, in the beginning of the next year (A.D. 1247), February 3d, the king called a parliament, where by common advice it was agreed that certain ambassadors should be sent to Rome, to make manifest to the court of Rome the exceeding grievances of the realm, delivering, moreover, this letter to

A parliament.

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 205. [Edit. 1640, p. 710.] (2) See Appendix, and suprà, p. 317.—Ed
(3) Ibid. fol. 207. [Edit. 1640, pp. 716, 717.]

the pope in the name both of the temporalty and also of the clergy, as here followeth. *Henry III.*

A. D. 1247.

Another Letter sent to Pope Innocent IV., in the names of the whole Clergy and Commonalty of England, A. D. 1247.[1]

To the most holy father in Christ, and lord Innocent, by God's providence chief bishop; the whole commonalty, both of the clergy and laity within the province of Canterbury, send devout kissings of his blessed feet. Like as the church of England, since she hath first received the catholic faith, hath always showed herself faithful and devout in adhering to God, and to our holy mother the church of Rome, studying with all kind of service to please and to serve the same, and thinking never otherwise to do, but rather to continue and increase as she hath begun: even so now, the same church, most humbly prostrate before the feet of your holiness, entirely beseecheth your clemency to accept her petition, in sparing this imposition of money, which so manifold ways for the subversion of other nations, by the commandment of your holiness, is laid upon us; considering that not only it is importable, but also impossible which is enjoined us. For although our country sometimes yieldeth forth fruit for the necessary sustentation of the inhabitants, yet it bringeth forth neither gold nor silver, neither were able to bring forth, of long time, so much as now-a-days is required; which also being burdened and overcharged of late days with another such like imposition, but not so great as this, is not able any whit to answer unto that which is exacted.

More fools you, in giving to the church so much.

Furthermore, besides this commandment of your holiness, there is required of the clergy a subsidy for our temporal king, whose necessities neither possibly we can, nor honestly we ought, to forsake; whereby he may both withstand the invasion of the enemy, and maintain the right of his patrimony, and also recover again that which hath been lost; in consideration whereof, we have directed the bearers hereof to the presence of your holiness with our humble supplication, to explain to you the dangers and inconveniences which are like to ensue upon the premises, which by no means we are able to sustain, although notwithstanding we know ourselves by all bonds of charity to be obliged to your devotion and obedience. And, because our general community hath no seal proper, we have signed therefore these presents with the public seal of the city of London.[2]

The like letters were sent also unto the cardinals to the same effect. The pope understanding these things, and perceiving that there was no striving against such a general consent, and yet loth to forego his sweet harvest, which he was wont to reap in England, craftily devised to send this answer again unto the king, much like to the same which he sent before, which was, that although the pope in time past, upon his own will and pleasure, to the importable grievance of the realm of England, hath every where, and without respect, through the whole land, made his provisions in giving their benefices unto his Italians, yet now, the Lord be praised, that tempest, said he, is overblown: so that hereafter, if the pope shall grant his provision for any of his nephews or cardinals, they shall come first and make their instant suit unto the king, without all enforcement, so that it shall stand wholly in the king's free arbitrement to do herein what he thinketh good, &c.[3]

The pope's answer to the king of England.

This answer of the pope, albeit it was but a subtle shift for the time, yet neither did he long stand to what he had thus promised to the king; for shortly after, and within few days of the same, and

The pope false to his promise.

(1) "Sanctissimo patri in Christo ac domino Innocentio, Dei providentia summo pontifici, universitas cleri et populi per provinciam Cant. constituti devota pedum oscula beatorum. Cum Anglicana ecclesia," &c.

(2) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 209.

(3) Ibid. b.

Henry III. A.D. 1247.

in the time also of the said parliament holden at London, the pope sent two English friars into the realm, whose names were John and Alexander, with full authority, after the largest sort, for new contributions; who, first pretending lowly submission to the king, while they had leave granted to range about the realm, but afterwards coming to the bishops and rich abbots, showed themselves forth in their full authority, in such sort as they became rather tyrants than extortioners.

Subtle practices of the pope to get money.

Among others, coming to Robert, bishop of Lincoln, who of all others bare special mind to the order of "Observants," these two friars, as proud as Lucifer, bringing forth the terrible mandate with the pope's bulls, required and eke commanded, under the pope's mighty curse, to have the gathering in his diocese of six thousand marks. Likewise of the abbot of St. Alban's they required four hundred marks, under great penalty, and that in short time to be paid.

See Appendix.

The bishop of Lincoln's answer to the friars.

The bishop, although well liking, before, that order of friars, yet seeing the impudent behaviour, and more impudent request of those merchants, thus answered to them again, 'that this exaction, saving,' saith he, 'the pope's authority, was never heard of before, and neither was honest, nor yet possible to be performed; and, moreover, was such as did not only concern him, but the whole public state of the clergy, and of the whole realm in general; and therefore it should be absurdly and rashly done of him to give them answer herein, before the king and the rest of the council, with others to whom the matter generally did appertain, were made privy thereunto,' &c., and so for that time he shook them off.[1]

The abbot of St. Alban's maketh great suit to the pope for the four hundred marks that he should pay.

Furthermore, as touching the abbot of St. Alban's, when he also alleged the same causes, he pretended, moreover, that he would appeal, and so did, to the pope and his cardinals. Whereupon immediately was sent down from pope Innocent as his legate John the English friar before-mentioned; who, bringing down a new special precept to the aforesaid abbot, cited him either to appear at London the morrow after St. Giles's day, or to disburse to the use of the pope the aforesaid four hundred marks. By reason whereof the abbot was driven to send his proctors again, with a new supplication, to the pope at Lyons; who in the end, through great instance of monied friends, agreed with the abbot for two hundred marks, besides his other charges borne; and so was that matter compounded, little to the abbot's profit.[2]

See Appendix.

To recite all damages and grievances received from the bishop of Rome in this realm of England, neither is any history sufficiently able to comprehend, nor if it were, scarcely is there any that would believe it. Notwithstanding, to those above declared, this one I thought to commit likewise to memory, to the intent that they who now live in this age may behold and wonder, in themselves, to see into what miserable slavery, passing all measure, not only the subjects, but kings also of this realm were brought, under the intolerable yoke of the pope's tyranny, which in those days neither durst any man cast off, nor yet was able to abide, as by this example ensuing, with infinite others like to the same, may appear.

After pope Innocent IV. had taken such order in the realm, that

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 210. (2) Ibid. fol. 213.

all prelates of the church were suspended from collation of any benefice, before the pope's kinsfolks and clerks of Italy had been provided for; it happened A. D. 1248, that the abbot of Abingdon had a commandment from the pope, to bestow some benefice of his church in all haste on a certain priest of Rome, which the abbot, as an obedient child unto his father, the pope, was pressed and ready to accomplish accordingly. But the Roman priest, not contented with such as fell next to hand, would tarry his time, to have such as were the principal and for his own appetite, having a special eye to the benefice of the church of St. Helen in Abingdon, which was then esteemed worth a hundred marks a year, besides other vails[1] and commodities belonging to the same, the collation whereof the priest required by the authority apostolical to be granted unto him.

Henry III. A. D. 1247. How this realm of England was oppressed by the pope *See Appendix.*

As this passed on, the incumbent chanced at last to die and the benefice to be empty; which eftsoons being known, the same day cometh a commandment, with great charge from the king to the abbot, to give the benefice to one Ethelmare, the king's brother by the mother's side, who at the same time was possessed of so many benefices, that the number and value thereof was unknown. The abbot, here, being in great perplexity, and not knowing what to do, whether to gratify his king or to obey the pope, took counsel with his friends; who, well advising of the matter, gave him counsel to prefer the brother of his prince and patron, so that the king would undertake to stand in his defence against the pope, rather than the Romish priest, whom always he should have lying there as a spy and watcher of him, and like a thorn ever in his eye; and so the king assuring the abbot of his undoubted protection and indemnity against all harms, the benefice was conferred forthwith on the king's brother.

The Roman priest, not a little aggrieved thereat, speedeth himself in all haste to the bishop of Rome, certifying him what was done, and partly also (as the manner is of men) making it worse than it was; upon whose complaint the pope directly, in great anger, cited up the abbot personally to appear before him, to answer to the crime of disobedience. The abbot trusting to the king's promise and protection (who neither could help him in that case, neither durst oppose himself against the pope), being both aged and sickly, was driven to travel up to the court of Rome, in great heaviness and bitterness of mind. Where, in conclusion, after much vexation and bitter rebukes, besides great expenses, he was fain to satisfy the pope after his own will, compounding to give him yearly fifty marks in part of making amends for his trespass of disobedience.[2]

The abbot of Abingdon condemned in fifty marks for denying an English benefice to the pope's nephew. *See Appendix.*

To this also may be added another like fact of the pope, as outrageous as this, against the house of Binham. For when the benefice of Westle, in the diocese of Ely, was void by the death of the incumbent, who was an Italian, and one of the pope's chamber, the donation of which benefice belonged to the priory of Binham; another Italian, who was a bastard and unlearned, born in the city of Genoa, called Heriggetto de Malachana de Volta, brought down the pope's letters to Berardo de Nympha, the pope's agent here in England, with strict charge and full authority, commanding him to see the said benefice conferred in any case on Heriggetto. Yea,

A detestable extortion of the pope used against the priory of Binham, in Norfolk.

(1) "Vails," additional profits.—Ed. (2) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 222.

Henry III. A.D. 1247.

and though the benefice had been given already, yet, notwithstanding, the possessor thereof should be displaced, and the said Heriggetto preferred: yea, also, "non obstante," that the said pope himself had before given his grant to the king and realm of England, that one Italian should not succeed another in any benefice there, yet, for all that, the said Heriggetto, upon pain of excommunication, was to be placed therein.[1]

The Grecians excused and purged in parting from the church of Rome.

And thus much hitherto of these matters, through the occasion of the east churches and the Grecians, to the intent all men that read these stories, and see the doings of this western bishop, may consider what just cause these Grecians had to seclude themselves from his subjection and communion; for what christian communion is to be joined with him who, so contrary to Christ and his gospel, seeketh for worldly dominion, so cruelly persecuteth his brethren, is so given to avarice, so greedy in getting, so injurious in oppressing, so insatiable in his exactions, so malicious in revenging; stirring up wars, depriving kings, deposing emperors, playing 'rex' in the church of Christ, so erroneous in doctrine, so abominably abusing excommunication, so false of promise, so corrupt in life, so void of God's fear; and, briefly, so far from all the parts of a true evangelical bishop? For what seemeth he to care for the souls of men, who setteth in benefices boys and outlandish Italians; and further, one Italian to succeed another, who neither did know the language of the flock, nor would once abide to see their faces? And who can blame the Grecians then for dissevering themselves from such an oppressor and giant against Christ?

The miseries of England through subjection to the church of Rome.

England plagued by the pope when it needed not.

Whose wise example if this realm had then followed, as they might, certes our predecessors had been rid of an infinite number of troubles, injuries, oppressions, wars, commotions, great travails and charges, besides the saving of innumerable thousands of pounds, which the said bishop full falsely had raked and transported out of this realm of ours. But, not to exceed the bounds of my history, because my purpose is not to stand upon declamations, nor to dilate common places, I will pass this over, leaving the judgment thereof to the further examination of the reader. For else, if I listed to prosecute this argument so far as matter would lead me, and truth peradventure would require me to say, I durst not only say, but could well prove the pope and court of Rome to be the only fountain and principal cause, I say, not only of much misery here in England, but of all the public calamities and notorious mischiefs which have happened these many years throughout all these west parts of Christendom, and especially of all the lamentable ruin of the church, which not only we, but the Grecians also, this day do suffer by the Turks and Saracens. Whosoever well considereth by reading of histories the course of times, and vieweth withal the doings and acts passed by the said bishop of Rome, together with the blind leading of his doctrine, shall see good cause not only to think, but also to witness the same. Only one narration touching this argument, and yet not transgressing the office of my history, I mind (the Lord willing) to set before the reader's eyes, which happened even about A. D. 1244, in the time of this king Henry's reign.

The pope and court of Rome the principal cause of all the public calamities throughout Christendom

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 240.

Henry III.

A. D. 1247.

In that year it chanced, that St. Louis, the French king, son to queen Blanche, fell very sorely sick, lying in a swoon or trance for certain days, in such sort that few thought he would have lived, and some said he was gone already. Among others, there was with him his mother, who, sorrowing bitterly for her son, and given somewhat, as commonly the manner of women is, to superstition, went and brought forth a piece of the holy cross, with the crown and the spear; which piece of the holy cross Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople, whom the Grecians had deposed a little before for holding with the bishop of Rome, had sold to the French king for a great sum of money, and blessing him with the same, also laid the crown and the spear on his body, making a vow withal in the person of her son, that if the Lord would visit him with health, and release him of that infirmity, he should be croised or marked with the cross, to visit his sepulchre, and there solemnly to render thanks in the land which Christ had sanctified with his blood. Thus as she, with the bishop of Paris, and others there present, was praying, behold the king, who was supposed by some to be dead, began with a sigh to pluck to his arms and legs, and so stretching himself began to speak, giving thanks to God who, from on high, had visited him, and called him from the danger of death. As the king's mother with others there took this to be a great miracle wrought by the virtue of the holy cross; so the king amending more and more, as soon as he was well recovered, received solemnly the badge of the cross, vowing for a freewill sacrifice unto God, that he, if the council of his realm would suffer him, would, in his own person, visit the Holy Land: forgetting belike the rule of true Christianity, where Christ teacheth us otherwise in the gospel, saying, that "neither in this mount, nor in Samaria, nor at Jerusalem, the Lord will be worshipped, but seeketh true worshippers, who shall worship him in truth and verity." A. D. 1244.[1]

The sickness of Louis the French king.

The superstition of the king's mother.

See Appendix.

The king recovereth.

The people of France blinded with a false miracle.

The vain vow of Louis, the French king.

After this was great preparation and much ado in France toward the setting forth to the Holy Land. For after the king first began to be croised, the most part of the nobles of France, with divers archbishops and bishops, with earls, and barons, and gentlemen, to a mighty number, received also the cross upon their sleeves. Amongst whom was the earl of Artois, the king's brother, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Brabant, the countess of Flanders, with her two sons, the earl of Bretagne, with his son, the earl of Bar-sur-Seine, the earl of Soissons, the earl of St. Pol, the earl of Dreux, the earl of Retel, with many noble persons besides. Neither lacked here whatsoever the pope could do, to set forward this holy business, in sending his legates and friars into France, to stir the people to follow the king, and to contribute to his journey. Whereupon it was granted to the king to gather of the universal church of France, by the pope's authority, the tenth part of all their goods for three years' space together, upon this condition, that the king likewise would grant to the pope the twentieth part for so many years after, to be gathered of the said church of France. This was agreed to A.D. 1246.[2]

Great preparation in France toward a voyage to the Holy Land.

See Appendix.

Shortly after this, A.D. 1247, followed a parliament in France, where the king with his nobles being present, there was declared how the king of the Tartars, or Turks, hearing of the voyage of the French

See Appendix

(1) Matth. Paris. fol. 182. (2) Ibid. fol. 204, b.

Henry III A.D. 1248.

king, had written a letter to him, requiring that he should become his subject. In that parliament the time was prefixed for taking their journey, which should be after the feast of St. John Baptist, the very next year ensuing. Also they that were croised were sworn to persist in their purpose, and the sentence of the pope's great curse was denounced on all them that went from the same.[1] Furthermore, for better speed in his journey, the king through all his realm caused it to be proclaimed, that if any merchant or other person had been injured at any time by the king's exactors, either by oppression, or borrowing of money, let him bring forth his bill, showing how or wherein, and he should be recompensed. At this time William Longspath, a worthy warrior, with the bishop of Worcester and certain other great men in the realm of England, moved by the example of the Frenchmen, prepared themselves likewise to the same journey.

Time of the king's voyage appointed.

Persuasions given to the French king to turn his voyage.

The next year after, A.D. 1248, the French king yet still remaining in his purposed journey, lady Blanch, his mother, also the bishop of Paris, his brother, with the lords of his council, and other nobles, and his special friends, advertised him with great persuasions to alter his mind touching that so adventurous and dangerous a journey, for that his vow, said they, was unadvisedly made, and in time of his sickness, when his mind was not perfectly established: and what jeopardies might happen at home it was uncertain; the king of England being on the one side, the emperor on the other side, and the Poictevins in the midst, so fugitive and unstable: and as concerning his vow, the pope should friendly dispense with him, considering the necessity of his realm, and the weakness of his body. Besides all this, his mother, upon her blessing required him, and his brethren, of all love, desired him to stay at home, and not in his person to adventure; others might be sent in his room, with no less furniture to achieve that enterprise, and to discharge him of his vow, especially seeing at the making thereof that his senses were feeble, his body weak, and reason, through sickness and very death, almost decayed.

The king's answer to his lords, laying down and taking up his cross again. A.D. 1248.

To whom the king again said, "forasmuch as you say, that for feebleness of my senses I took this vow upon me: lo, therefore, as you here will me, I lay down the cross that I took." And putting his hand to his shoulder, he tore off the badge of the cross, saying to the bishop, "Here, Sir, I resign to you the cross wherewith I was signed;" at the sight whereof there was no small rejoicing of all that were there present. To whom the king then, both altering his countenance and his speech, thus spake: "My friends," said he, "whatsoever I was then in my sickness, now I thank God I am of perfect sense, and reason sound, and now I require my cross again to be restored unto me:" saying, moreover, that no bread should come into his mouth before he were recognised again with the same cross, as he was before. At the hearing of this, all there present were astonied, supposing that God had some great matter to work, and so moved no more questions unto him.

See Appendix.

Setteth forth on his journey.

Upon this drew nigh the feast of John Baptist, which was the time fixed for the setting forth. And now being in readiness, the king, in a few days after, was entering his journey; but yet one thing lacked,

(1) Matth. Paris. fol. 211.

for the king, perceiving the mortal variance between the pope and good Frederic, the emperor, thought best first, before his going, to have that matter appeased, whereby his way both might be safer through the emperor's countries, and also less jeopardy at home after his departure; and therefore, upon the same, he took first his way to Lyons, where the pope was, partly to take his leave, but most especially to make reconcilement between the emperor and the pope. *Henry III.* A. D. 1248.

Where is to be noted by the way, that as touching the good emperor there was no let nor stay; who rather sought all means how to compass the pope's favour, and never could obtain it; insomuch that before he should be excommunicated in the council of Lyons, he not only answered sufficiently by Thadeus, his attorney, discharging himself against whatsoever crimes or objections could be brought against him, but so far humbled himself to the pope and the council, that for all detriments, damages, losses, or wrongs done on his part, what amends soever the pope could or would require, he would recompense it to the uttermost. This would not be taken.

Furthermore, if the pope, he said, could not abide his tarrying in his own dominions and empire, he would go fight against the Saracens and Turks, never to return into Europe again; offering there to recover whatsoever lands and kingdoms did, at any time, belong to Christendom, so that the pope only would be contented that Henry, his son, who was nephew to Henry, then king here in England, should be emperor after him. Neither could this be admitted.

Then he offered, for truth of his promise, to put in the French king and the king of England to be his sureties, or else for trial of his cause, to stand to their award and arbitrement. Neither would that be granted. At least he desired, that he might come himself and answer before the council; but the proud pope in no case would abide that, saying, that he did not yet find himself so ready and meet for martyrdom to have him to come thither to the council; for if he did, he would depart himself.[1] The emperor offereth the French king and king of England to be his sureties.

This obstinate rancour and devilish malice of pope Innocent and his predecessor against that valiant emperor and against the Grecians, what disturbance and mischief it wrought to the whole church, what strength it gave to the Saracens and Tartars, how it impaired christian concord, and weakened all christian lands, not only the host of the French king did find shortly after, but Christendom, even to this day, may and doth feel and rue. Neither can in stories be found any greater cause, which first made the Turks so strong, to get so much ground over Christendom as they have, than the pestilent working of this pope, in deposing and excommunicating this worthy emperor. For, as there was never no emperor of long time who more victoriously prevailed in bridling and keeping under these enemies of Christ, or would have done more against them, than the said Frederic, if he might have been suffered: so, after the deposing and excommunicating of him, when the French king neither would abide at home, as he was counselled, neither was yet able, without the help of others, to withstand the force and multitude of the said Saracens and Tartars being now joined together, neither yet could the emperor be suffered by the pope to rescue the king, it followed thereof, that the Beginning of the Turks victories over Christendom.

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 187.

Henry III. A.D. 1249.

good king being taken prisoner, and all his army destroyed, the Turks thereupon got such a hand and such a courage against the Christians, that ever since they have brast in further upon us, and now have prevailed so far, as neither the power of the pope nor of all Christendom is able to drive them out; as hereafter by the sequel of my story is further to be declared.

Pope Innocent IV. would not be reconciled with the emperor.

In the mean time, to return to where before we left, when the French king, coming thus unto the pope at Lyons to entreat for the emperor, could find no favour, he took his leave, and with great heaviness departed, setting forward on his journey to Marseilles, and so sailed to the isle of Cyprus, where he remained all that winter, and there falling into penury and lack of victual, he was fain to send to Venice, and other islands by, for help of provision. The Venetians gently sent unto him six great ships laden with corn, wine, and other victuals requisite, besides the relief of other islands more. But especially Frederic, the emperor, understanding of their want, so furnished the French camp with all plenty of necessaries, that it had abundance. Whereupon the French king, moved with the kindness of the emperor, wrote special letters to the pope in the emperor's behalf; but the hard heart of the pope would not relent. Blanch, the king's mother, hearing in France what the emperor had done to her son, sent him most hearty thanks, with presents and rewards manifold.[1]

The French army relieved by the emperor Frederic.

The French king again entreateth the pope for the emperor.

Death of certain of the French captains.

The French army lost many distinguished men on its way to Egypt. Particularly, the bishop of Noyon, who was earl Palatine and one of the twelve peers of France, died on board ship near Cyprus. The earl of St. Pol and Blois was accidentally killed with a stone at Avignon, before the embarkation: he had under him fifty bannerets, who were dispersed after his death. John earl of Dreux, a young officer of great promise, died at Cyprus, with many noble personages of both sexes, who fell sick from change of air and diet.[2]

Damietta gotten again by Frenchmen, June 5th.

In this mean time, about the beginning of June A.D. 1249, the Frenchmen got Damietta, being the principal fort or hold of the Saracens in all Egypt. After the winning of Damietta, the prince and people of the Saracens, being astonished at the loss thereof, offered to the Christians great ground and possessions more than ever belonged to Christendom before, so that they might have Damietta restored to them again. But the pride of the earl of Artois, the king's brother, would in no case accept the offers of the Saracens, but required both Damietta and Alexandria, the chief metropolitan city of all Egypt, to be delivered unto them. The Saracens, seeing the pride and greediness of the Frenchmen, in no case could abide it: which turned afterwards to the great detriment of our Christians, as in the end it proved.[3]

A.D.1250. Victory of the French over the Saracens, Feb. 9th.

The next year ensuing, which was A.D. 1250, on Ash Wednesday, the Frenchmen, issuing out of their tents by the city of Damietta, flew upon the Saracens who besieged them, and so after a great number of the enemy slain, with victory and great spoils returned to their tents again. Now, within the city of Damietta was the queen with her ladies, and the pope's legate and bishops, with a garrison of horsemen and footmen for the defence of the city strongly appointed. The next day, the Frenchmen supposing to have the like hand of the Saracens, as they had the day before, gave a fresh assault upon them; but in that conflict the Saracens had so strongly

French discomfited by the Saracens.

(1) Matth. Paris. fol. 226. (2) Ibid. fo. 229. [M. Par., p. 771. See Appendix.—Ed.] (3) Ibid.

appointed themselves, that the Frenchmen lost ten times more than they got the day before, and so, after a great slaughter of their men, retired unto their tents again. Whereupon, the Saracens began to take great heart and courage against our men, stopping also the passages round about the city of Damietta, that no victuals could pass unto them. In like manner the Soldan also, gathering the galleys about Alexandria and all the land of Egypt, so enclosed the seas, that no intercourse should be to them by water. *Henry III.* A.D. 1250.

The French men again well offered by the Soldan.

At length, after long talk and consultation between them on both sides, the Soldan advised them betimes to resign unto him the city of Damietta, with the furniture which they found therein, and they should have all the country about Jerusalem, with all the captives of the Christians, in a friendly manner restored unto them: wherewith the Christians, said he, ought to be contented, and to seek no further, but only to have the land of Jerusalem; which being granted to them, they should not encroach into other lands and kingdoms, to which they had no right. This form of peace, as it liked well the meaner sort of the poor soldiers, and divers others of the said council and nobility; so the proud earl of Artois, the king's brother, in no case would assent thereto, but still required the city of Alexandria to be yielded to them; to which the Egyptians would by no means agree.

The earl of Artois and the pope's legate again refuse the form of peace offered.

The Frenchmen eat their own horses in Lent-time.

From that time the French army, being compassed about by sea and land, began every day more and more to be distressed for lack of victuals and with famine, being driven to such misery that they were fain to eat their own horses in Lent-time, which should have served them for other uses; neither could any Christian, nor Frederic, being deposed by the pope, send them any succour. Furthermore, the more misery the Christians were in, the more fiercely did the Saracens press upon them on every side, detesting their forward wilfulness, insomuch that divers of the christian soldiers, not able to abide the affliction, privily conveyed themselves, as they could, out of the camp to the Saracens, who were gladly received and relieved; some were suffered still to keep their faith, and some married wives amongst them, and for hope of honour did apostate to their law, and so wrought no little harm to the Christians. The Soldan, being perfectly instructed by these fugitives of all things belonging to the king's army, sent him word in derision, asking where were all his mattocks, forks, and rakes, his scythes, ploughs, and harrows, which he brought over with him, or why he did not use them, but let them lie by him to rust and canker? All this, and much more, the king with his Frenchmen were fain to take well in worth. It happened, shortly after, that this Soldan died, being poisoned by his own servants, which was to the Christians an aggravation of their miseries; for, albeit the said Soldan had been a cruel tyrant to the Christians, yet was he hated of his own people, whereby his strength was the less. After him succeeded another much more cruel; who, as he was better loved, so he became much stronger, by a general confederacy of all the Saracens who were in the east parts, joining now together; so that when the Christians desired now to have the form of peace before proffered, he flatly denied them. And so the French host, which at first began to be feared,

The Soldan's message deriding the Frenchmen.

The Soldan dieth, a worse followeth.

The French desire again the

Henry III.

A.D. 1250.

by their pride and over-greediness growing more and more into contempt amongst their enemies, now were utterly despised.

The Christians, thus seeing all things to go backward with them, and how the infidel Saracens daily did prevail, began to murmur against God, and some also, who were well settled before, to stagger in their religion, casting out these words of infidelity: "How is this," said they, "that the Lord hath left us in whose cause we fight? How often within the time of remembrance have we been confounded by these Saracens and infidels, who, with shedding of our blood, have enjoyed great spoils and victories? First, this city of Damietta, which we Christians had gotten dearly, with effusion of so much christian blood, afterwards we were constrained for nought to resign again. After that, the army of the Templars, fighting for the holy temple against the Saracens, near to Antioch, was vanquished, and the standard-bearer slain in the fields. Again, within these few years, our Frenchmen, fighting in like manner against the Saracens at the city of Gaza, were put to the worst, and many afterwards out of captivity ransomed by Richard, duke of Exeter, brother to Henry III., king of England. Then came in the Chorosmians, sent by the Soldan of Babylon, who, by a wile, invaded the Christians in the city of Jerusalem, where almost all the christian army in the Holy Land were destroyed And now here, our most christian king, together with the whole nobility, is like to be in danger utterly to be overthrown. And how is it that the Lord thus standeth against us, and fighteth with them? Hath he more regard of them than of us?"[1] Such murmuring words of an unstable faith many there began to cast out, as taking displeasure on account of their sufferings: but not considering, on the other side, what idolaters they were, what pride and discord was amongst them, what cruelty and murder they had showed at home in persecuting the poor Albigenses, what superstition they first brought out with them, with what idolatry they proceeded, putting their trust in masses, in the pope's indulgences, in worshipping of images, and in praying to saints. And what helps then could they look for at God's hand, who had images in their temples, to fight against them who had none? or what marvel if the Lord of hosts went not with their army, committing such idolatry every day in their pavilions to their sacramental bread and wine as they did, and fighting with the strength of their own merits, and not by the power of their faith in Christ alone, which is the only victory that overcometh the world? [1 John v. 4.] Finally, having in their camp the legate of him whom the Lord taketh to be his enemy: as by example of Frederic, the emperor, may be well perceived; who, after he was accursed by pope Gregory a little before, coming the same time to war against the Saracens in Palestine, God's blessing wrought so mightily with him, that without any bloodshed he recovered Jerusalem, and set all the country about it in great quietness, till at last the popish Templars, who at the pope's setting on, went about to betray him to the Soldan of Babylon, lost all again by their own malicious mischief, which the emperor before had gotten.[2]

peace offered before, and could not have it.

Victories over the Templars and keepers of Jerusalem.

See Appendix.

Why the Lord did not prosper the Christians fighting against the Saracens.

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 231. (2) Ex Matth. Paris.

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